



A Psychoanalytic History
of the Jews



A Psychoanalytic History of the Jews

Avner Falk



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*How Odd
of God
to choose
the Jews!*

—William Norman Ewer

*The things that you're li'ble
to read in the Bible
They ain't necessarily so.*

—Sportin' Life, in Ira Gershwin &
DuBose Heyward, *Porgy and Bess*



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Preface

HISTORY IS IN THE EYE OF THE BEHOLDER

Scholem (1961:viii) thought that “the great task of Jewish scholarship in our generation [is] the task of rewriting Jewish history with a deeper understanding of the interplay of religious, political and social forces.” Significantly, Scholem omitted psychological forces. Scholem’s antipsychoanalytic bias had personal roots (Falk 1982:8–9). This book sets out to carry Scholem’s “great task” one step further: to explore the emotional forces behind Jewish history. Since this book was born out of my lifelong preoccupation with Israel and Judaism, and since I make no claim to that historical holy grail, objectivity, a preface explaining this preoccupation and my point of view seems called for.

I was born in British Palestine, which the Palestinian Jews called Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel), in 1943. My parents had come from Orthodox Jewish families in Germany and Poland. My father, Meinhard Egon Falk (1913–92), came to Palestine in 1933, the year of Hitler’s accession to power in Germany, from Breslau, the capital of German Silesia (now the Polish city of Wrocław). My father attended the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, which had been inaugurated in 1925, becoming secular in the process. In line with the practice of Palestinian Jewish immigrants, he hebraized his name to Meir Eliezer Falk. My father was later joined by his two siblings and parents. My mother, Adele Rojza Szpiro, born in 1916, came to Palestine from Łódź, Poland, in 1935, leaving her parents and most of her ten siblings behind. Her eldest sister had gone to Palestine. My mother changed her name to Ada and abandoned her family’s Orthodoxy.

In summer 1939, missing her family, my mother went back to Poland. On 1 September Germany invaded Poland. Hitler’s “Final Solution of the Jewish Question” had not yet been implemented; thanks to the British Palestinian immigrant visa in her Polish passport, my mother was allowed to leave Poland again for Palestine. Hitler’s “Final Solution” began in 1941. In the year of my birth both my maternal grandparents and most of their children were murdered by Hitler’s Nazis in the Łódź Ghetto. Two of my maternal uncles escaped and survived, eventually immigrating to Palestine, which in 1948 became Israel.

My paternal grandfather, Kurt Falk (1877–1944), was a leather merchant who

owned the *Schlesische Lederzentrale* (Silesian Leather Center) on Breslau's Wallstraße (Wall Street). He was an inmate at the Buchenwald concentration camp. Receiving, with his children's help, an immigration certificate from British Palestine, my grandfather was released prior to Hitler's "Final Solution" but was seriously ill at the time of my birth. He died when I was a year old; he was buried in Jerusalem's Mount of Olives Jewish Cemetery, which the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 placed in Trans-Jordan (now Jordan). His widow, my paternal grandmother, Hulda Sandberg Falk (1880–1969), survived him by twenty-five years. She died while I was studying in the United States. Since the Six-Day War (1967) had returned to Israel the Mount of Olives, with its Jewish cemetery, she was buried alongside her husband.

As a child I gradually "discovered" my Israeli and Jewish nationality (Davies 1973). The "Jewish state" of Israel was born, along with my sister, when I was five (1948) during a bloody war with the surrounding Arabs, which I experienced mainly as midnight air-raid sirens, bombs, and shelters. I was told that the Arabs were evil and wanted to kill us. I did not know that our leader David Ben-Gurion had been the Polish Jew David-Joseph Gryn (Falk 1987b, 1987c), and that when he proclaimed Israel's independence, Palestine had some six hundred thousand Jews and about twice as many Arabs. Nor did I know much about the Palestinian Arab refugees who had lost their homes. In the fifties I met the poor Jewish immigrants from Muslim countries who were living in squalid tents and shacks.

As a secular Israeli Jewish schoolboy in the 1950s I was taught a Zionist version of Jewish history. We Jews, I was told, were the "eternal people." We had resisted all attempts to destroy or assimilate us. We had always been a proud people in our own "Land of Israel." We Jews had invented monotheism and were God's chosen people. Our King Solomon had built the "First Temple of God" in Jerusalem and created a vast Jewish kingdom. We good Jews were exiled from our land by the evil Assyrians and Babylonians, returning to our beloved "Zion" under the benevolent Persians and building the "Second Temple," only to be oppressed again by the bad Greeks and exiled again by the evil Romans. Jewish history was a succession of persecutions, culminating with the Holocaust, which ended with our return to the Land of Israel.

By this version of Jewish history, all the world's Jews had been in "exile" and "diaspora" for nineteen centuries. They were persecuted everywhere, exiled from many countries, and tortured and massacred, until Theodor Herzl created Political Zionism in 1897 and brought the Jews back to their land. After suffering from the Ottomans, British, and Arabs in their own Land of Israel, and after six million Jews had been murdered by the Nazis in Europe, we Jews finally created our independent state of Israel and opened it up to the entire "Jewish People," whose existence nobody questioned. We Israeli Jews were the proud heirs of the ancient Hebrews, Israelites, and Maccabees. This view is widely held by Israeli Jewish historians (Ben-Sasson 1974, 1976). Goldberg and Rayner (1987:8), both rabbis, unabashedly voiced the Jewish religious view of history:

Any telling of history means . . . imposing the orderly, causal logic of hindsight on events that at the time seemed disorderly, arbitrary and haphazard. There could have

been no tidy pattern of progress whereby Abraham's Covenant with God reached its predestined fulfillment under Moses and Joshua several centuries later . . . unless one recognizes the basic premise of every known and unknown biblical author . . . that a special relationship exists between God and his chosen people, Israel; that God supports, guides, exhorts and occasionally even intervenes in the history of this people; and that no matter how rebellious, stiff-necked or deservedly punished the chosen people are, God will never ultimately desert them, nor they Him. Such a momentous premise will inevitably allow history to be interpreted in a particular—some would say distorted—way. . . . The lives of men and women, the rise and fall of empires, are part of a divine master-plan . . . which will culminate in nothing less than the establishment of God's kingdom on earth, through the special agency of His people, Israel. It is essential to emphasize this sense of Israel's destiny and mission if one is to understand properly the history of the Jewish people . . . as the Jews themselves interpreted it as happening. Without such a resolute faith in its own significance, this tiny, persecuted, exiled people would long since have disappeared; would never have maintained their distinctive cultural identity; would never have given birth to the two other monotheistic religions of western civilization.

This view implies that the Jews' belief in their own chosenness was a psychological defense against the fear of insignificance and cultural annihilation. Gilbert (1990:8) echoed the national aspect of this view without its religious interpretation:

The survival of the Jewish people down through the ages has been an extraordinary and unparalleled phenomenon. There is hardly another people on earth who can trace a continuous history that covers 4000 years. . . . The true miracle of Jewish survival is that it occurred first in the most fought-over region of the world—the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa—and, after the Diaspora, in many nations throughout the world. The Jews have managed to survive every crisis, every hardship.

The reality of "the Jewish people" as an ethnic entity and of the continuity of Jewish national life through the past four thousand years is taken for granted.

Having been brought up on the notion of the elected Jewish people, my first rude awakening came when I visited Europe for the first time in 1959, at the age of sixteen, and met some of its Jews, who did not consider themselves part of "the Jewish people." They considered themselves Italians, Frenchmen, Swiss, or Belgians of the Jewish faith. Some Jews did not even think there was such a thing as "the Jewish people." I later learned that the Jews were not the only people who felt they were God's chosen people. The Germans considered themselves a *Herrenvolk*. The Japanese felt they were the world's most intelligent and gifted people. In fact, the myth of election was to be found among all ethnic groups.

When I grew up and studied Jewish history further, things became more complicated still. The questions multiplied. Did the biblical texts, which often contradicted themselves, have more to them than met the eye? Why, and since when, was Yahweh's name ineffable? Who were those other gods in the Bible—El, Baal, Asherah, and Anath? Did the ancient Hebrews and Jews practice the "pagan" Canaanite religion? Were the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians really evil, or had the Jews been arrogant

and provocative? Were the Romans so vicious, or had the Jewish Zealots provoked them with their hopeless revolt, with which most of the Jews did not agree? Were the Israeli Jews heirs to the Maccabees, or were they a disparate, heterogeneous group of immigrants from all over the globe? Did we Israelis have anything in common with the ancient Hebrews or Maccabees? Above all, if Israel was so great, why did most Jews elect to live outside Israel?

In my twenties, during the 1960s, I studied clinical psychology and psychoanalytic therapy, first in Israel and later in the United States. Along with my professional activity as a psychotherapist, I began to apply psychoanalytic insights to my lifelong interests of history and politics. My personal view of Jewish history kept changing. It became clear to me that much of what I had learned at school was defensive myth-making, that people have an infinite capacity to deceive themselves, and that history was at least as much to be studied on the unconscious level as on the conscious one. My interest gradually shifted to the new fields of psychohistory, psychogeography, and political psychology. My psychoanalytic studies of Sigmund Freud, Sabbatai Sevi, Jerusalem, the Arab-Israeli conflict, David Ben-Gurion, Moshe Dayan, and Theodor Herzl finally crystallized into the ambition to rewrite Jewish history from the psychoanalytic viewpoint. Does psychoanalysis have any special light to shed on Jewish history?

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF JEWISH HISTORY

The terms Hebrew, Israelite, and Jew, now almost synonymous, did not always mean the same thing. Hebrew was the ancient Semitic language of Canaan. There are still disputes among scholars about Hebrew origins (Meek 1960). The name Israel, meaning "El shall reign," was an attribute of the Canaanite father god El. The word Jew derives from the Old French *juieu*, which in turn derives from the Latin *judaeus*, which comes from the Greek *ioudaios*. This is the adjective form of Iouda, the Greek form of the Hebrew name Yehudah (Judah), which, some scholars think, derives from the name of the god Yahweh. Yahweh was either a cultic name of El that became a separate deity (Cross 1973:66–75) or an imported deity that was syncretized with El. El's consort, Asherah (Qudshu), the great Canaanite mother goddess, then became Yahweh's consort (Gilula 1978–79; Meshel 1979; Lemaire 1984; Dever 1984; Olyan 1988; Merkur 1988).

The early Hebrew tribes were probably donkey-caravaneering Semitic nomads. Their religion was at first probably totemistic and animistic, later polytheistic. After the Hebrew tribes who left Egypt joined in a tribal confederacy, becoming monotheistic and settling in Canaan in the late thirteenth or early twelfth century B.C.E., they nevertheless remained divided into warring tribes for another two centuries. They were perpetually fighting their neighboring Canaanite tribes as well as their own brethren. Their henotheistic or monotheistic Yahweh religion coexisted for many centuries with Canaanite polytheism and "idolatrous" practices. During the First Temple period, Yahweh's consort Asherah was worshipped with him in the Temple.

These "pagan" Canaanite cults included ritual child sacrifice (the Moloch cult), common throughout the First Temple period. Because of the great importance of El (Israel), the Canaanized Hebrew tribes began to call themselves the Children of Israel (Israelites). During the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C.E. the Philistines and Midianites massacred the Israelites. This was the impetus for the rise of kingship in Israel. Around 1030 to 1020 B.C.E. the Israelite tribal elders got together and forced their prophet-judge Samuel to normalize their people: "Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations" (1 Sam. 8:5).

Samuel, who had hoped to have his two sons succeed him as judges, was forced to anoint Saul ben Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, as first king of Israel. The dominant tribe, however, was Judah, the proponent of the Yahweh religion (Meek 1960). Saul's reign lasted some twenty years, but the brave king suffered from manic-depressive illness. The young David became his music therapist, but his professional hazards were great, for the king attempted to kill him several times (1 Sam. 16:23, 19:10-11). Saul finally killed himself after being defeated in battle by the Philistines. David succeeded him sometime between 1012 and 1000 B.C.E. and seemingly unified the tribes of Israel into one nation.

Judah still sought to dominate the other tribes, and the Yahweh religion of Judah was fused with the polytheistic Canaanite cults of El, Asherah, Baal, Anath, Yamm, Ner, Shalem, and other deities (Gordon 1961). The Israelites worshipped the sun god Ner and the fire god Moloch (Melech) alongside their father god Yahweh, who was fused with El and with Baal. The great mother goddess Asherah was placed right next to Yahweh as his consort in the Temple of Yahweh. Biblical scholars sought to conceal this fact when writing the story several centuries later. David captured Jerusalem from the Jebusites, making it his new capital (1004 B.C.E.). Jerusalem (Yerushalem), named after the Canaanite god Shalem, later assumed a very deep emotional meaning for the Jews (Falk 1987a). David was a great political and military leader who ruled for some forty years and greatly expanded his kingdom, yet he was unable to bring about a true union of the Hebrews, who remained clannish, divided into tribes, and "stiff-necked" in their relations with their god Yahweh and with their prophets.

One of David's sons, Absalom (Avishalem), killed his half-brother, rebelled against his father, and was finally killed by his father's henchman. David's other son, Solomon, built a great Temple to Yahweh on Mount Moriah, north of the City of David in Jerusalem, and he too ruled for some forty years (972-932 B.C.E. or 967-928 B.C.E., depending on whose chronology one favors). His son and heir, however, lost most of his kingdom. The northern tribes, resentful of their domination by Judah, seceded. The kingdom was divided. There were now the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah. Ten tribes made up the northern kingdom; the remaining two, Judah and Benjamin, made up the southern one.

Jeroboam, the first king of Israel, made two "golden calves" (probably a bull and a cow) for his people to worship at Bethel. Indeed, El or Thoru-El (Bull-El), the father god of the Canaanites, had been adopted by the Israelites and fused with Yahweh

in what religious historians call syncretism. David's grandson Rehoboam, the first king of Judah, married his cousin Maachah, daughter of Absalom. Maachah's son/grandson Asa, almost certainly born of an incestuous union between her and her son Abijam (Aviyamm), wrought a furious religious and political revolution in Judah; he removed the great mother goddess Asherah from the Holy of Holies in the Temple, removed his own mother from the regency, and killed all Jews who refused to embrace his Yahweh religion.

Not only did the Israelites have to contend with each other, but they also had to defend themselves against the great empires around them, especially the Assyrian empire in the northeast and the Egyptian empire in the southwest. They were constantly threatened by invasions from north and south. More often than not they were engaged in war. The kingdom of Israel with its capital at Shomron (Samaria) lasted until 721 B.C.E., when it was finally destroyed by King Sharru-kin of Assyria (Sargon II, died 705 B.C.E.). The ten tribes of Israel were exiled, were assimilated among the pagan peoples in the Assyrian empire, and lost their national identity. Many Jews could not mourn this terrible loss (cf. Mitscherlich 1975). During the Middle Ages a myth was propounded that the ten lost tribes of Israel dwelt in a blessed land beyond the mythical Sambation River.

The name Babylon (in Baylonian, Bab-ilu) derives from the Old Akkadian word Bab-ilim, meaning "gate of the gods." In the seventh century B.C.E. the Babylonians displaced the Assyrians as the dominant power in Mesopotamia and by 612 B.C.E. the Assyrian capital of Nineveh fell to the Babylonian ruler Nabu-apal-usur ("Nabu preserve the son," Nabopolassar, died 605 B.C.E.) and to the Median king Huyakhshtrara (in Greek, Cyaxares; in Akkadian, Umak-Ishtar). After the kingdom of Israel in northern Canaan was destroyed by Assyria in 722–721 B.C.E., Judah remained the only sovereign kingdom of the Israelites. In 587–586 B.C.E. the kingdom of Judah itself was destroyed by Babylonia, the holy city of Jerusalem and the Temple of Yahweh burned down, and the Jews were exiled. Ever since, the history of the Jews has been tortuous and often tragic. The kingdom of Judah lasted until 586 B.C.E., when it was ultimately destroyed by the Babylonians under Nabopolassar's son Nebuchadnezzar. This ruler was so incensed by the Judaeen revolt against him that he had King Zedekiah's son slaughtered in front of him and then had Zedekiah himself blinded and exiled. With him went most of the Jewish nobility. Only the poor peasants remained. Jerusalem was destroyed, and Solomon's Temple burned down.

This was only the beginning of the tragic history of an ethnic and religious group destined to spend most of its existence in dispersion and exile. It was to undergo terrible persecutions and exterminations, to lose its identity as a nation, and, as a minority in most of the nations amidst which it lived, to be the target of the worst projections and externalizations of humankind. In 538 B.C.E. Cyrus the Great of Persia conquered Babylonia as well as most of the rest of the Middle East, which to him was the "world" at that time. He called upon the Jews to resettle Judaea. The Jews called him Yahweh's Messiah. The Jews were unable to mourn their historical losses.

It was too painful for them to do so. They lived in fantasy and in the past rather than in their present reality.

Most of the Jews had settled in Babylonia and in other lands around the Mediterranean basin, assimilated into the prevailing culture, and no longer wished to return to their ancient land. Less than half the Jews of the ancient world lived in Judaea between the return to Zion under Zerubbabel in 536 B.C.E. and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 C.E. This was known as the Second Temple period, because the handful of Jews who returned to Jerusalem from Babylonia built a new temple on the site of Solomon's. During that period, however, the Jews enjoyed no true political sovereignty, national independence, or religious freedom. The Jews were ruled in succession by Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Parthians. The dominant culture and language in Judaea was no longer Hebrew but (successively) Aramaic, Persian, and Greek. The Hellenistic culture made deep inroads into that of the Jewish people. There was perpetual strife between the moderate Jews who wished to accommodate Judaea to foreign rule (the Hellenizers) and the fanatical religious Zealots who wished to preserve the purity of the Jewish people and religion.

The latter repeatedly fanned the flames of rebellion. Finally the Zealots succeeded in dragging the entire people into a tragic, bloody, and hopeless revolt against the Romans, which ended in a terrible and bloody destruction of Judaea in 70 C.E. In 73 C.E., under siege, the Zealots of Massada on the Dead Sea committed mass suicide. In 132–35 an autocratic and fanatical Jewish leader named Bar-Koziba, and mythologized as Bar-Kochba (Son of the Star), directed another bloody revolt against the Romans, leading to the total destruction of Judaea and to the slaughter of half a million Jews. It was the worst military disaster in Jewish history (Harkabi 1983). Yet Bar-Kochba was glorified many centuries later as a hero.

Although the Philistines had disappeared as an ethnic group, the ancient Greeks called Canaan "Palaistine" (Land of the Philistines). The Romans transliterated this as Palaestina, which was later anglicized as Palestine. By 135 the only Jews left in Palestine were in the Galilee. Outside Palestine there were Jewish communities in virtually every country of the Middle East, North Africa, and southern Europe. In 323 C.E. the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great made Christianity a state religion of his empire. By 395 C.E. the Roman Empire was divided into the Western Roman Empire of Italy and the Eastern Roman Empire of Byzantium, with its capital at Constantinople. Palestine came under Byzantine rule.

The Jews were oppressed both as an ethnic and as a religious minority. They were blamed for all manner of evil, not the least of which was the murder of Jesus Christ. Palestine came under Muslim Arab rule in 638, Seljuk Turkish rule in the eleventh century, French and German Crusader rule in the twelfth, Mamluk rule in the thirteenth, and Ottoman Turkish rule in the sixteenth. The vast majority of the Jews were dispersed among the nations, living as minorities in their respective countries. This state of diaspora (dispersion) was to characterize the Jews for most of their history. In most countries the Jews were persecuted, becoming the psychological targets

of the unconscious projections of bad feelings and externalizations of self-images harbored by the majority. They were expelled from England in 1290, from France in 1306, from Spain in 1492, and from Portugal in 1497. In the sixteenth century they had to flee severe persecutions in Germany, Poland, and Russia, where their numbers grew rapidly. But in 1648–49 there were terrible massacres of Jews in the Ukraine, and later throughout Poland, as part of the Ukrainians' revolt against their Polish overlords led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the hetman of the Ukrainian Cossacks. Only in the late nineteenth century did the persecutions lead to mass emigration from Russia to America and to the birth of Political Zionism, which eventually led to the state of Israel.

THE INABILITY TO MOURN

Jewish history is replete with disaster and catastrophe. The destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E. and of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. were only a beginning. Crusader gangs massacred Jews in Europe in 1096–99 and there were many later massacres. There were ritual murder libels against Jews and executions of Jews throughout European history, from Norwich (1144) to Blois (1171) to Kishinyov (1903). There were innumerable pogroms against the Jews in czarist Russia during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Finally, the Nazis exterminated six million Jewish men, women, and children during the Second World War. It was only with the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, Zionist ideology has it, that the Jews found a safe haven in the world.

Between the destruction of the Second Temple in the first century and the European Renaissance in the sixteenth, from Flavius Josephus to Bonaiuto (Azariah) de' Rossi, there was almost no chronological Jewish historiography. The vast body of Jewish religious and secular writing for fifteen centuries remained ahistorical and anachronistic. This striking phenomenon was observed by several scholars (Patai 1976; Yerushalmi 1982; Roskies 1984; Ebel 1986). Despite the modern scientific Jewish historiography that began with Heinrich Graetz in the nineteenth century, twentieth-century Jewish historians still treat Jewish history from the idealized viewpoint that dominated my study of it as a schoolboy. There is no question in their mind about the Jews being one people, about the reality of "The Land of Israel" (rather than the state of Israel), about concepts like "exile" and "diaspora." They use the anachronistic and fantastic place-names that were given by the medieval Jews to the lands of their habitation as if they were real. Ben-Sasson (1976) consistently used the name *Eretz Israel* for medieval Palestine and the name *Ashkenaz* for medieval Germany. Terms like "exile," "diaspora" and "aliyah" are taken at face value, without any attempt to probe their psychological meaning.

Mourning one's losses is essential to normal growth. Loewenstein (1951:160–61) believed that the Jews have been in a "permanent state of mourning" since "the Great Destruction in 70 A.D." In fact, the Jews could not mourn their painful historical

losses and the blows to their self-esteem. The relation between the very prolonged absence of Jewish historiography and the Jewish denial of loss is clear-cut. The central theme of this book is the inability to mourn. *I believe that the inability to mourn is the most important psychological issue in Jewish history* and perhaps also in other peoples' histories. I also suggest a view of Jewish mysticism as an expression of the yearnings for rebirth, for fusion with the Great Early Mother and for salvation by Great Father messianic figures. One of the many striking anomalies of Jewish history was that the Jews *seemed* to adapt to their minority status in all countries and cultures but in fact did not. While retaining their religion, their traditions, their Hebrew language, and their historical identity, they adopted the languages, dress, food, and customs of the people amongst whom they lived and appeared to merge with them. Yet for many centuries the Jews lived in the past rather than in the present and in fantasy rather than in reality. They called the European countries in which they lived by Biblical Hebrew names such as Ashkenaz for Germany, Zarephath for France, and Sepharad for Spain. These biblical names had nothing whatsoever to do with the countries they designated, being the names of obscure tribes and lands in Genesis and Obadiah. The Jews designated Christian Europe as Edom and called the Crusader massacres the biblical *akedah* (binding of Isaac for sacrifice).

The processes of individual and group mourning are intertwined. The survivors of the destruction of Judaea who went into Babylonian exile in 586 B.C.E. could not mourn their losses. Their children were linking objects to those who had perished and compensated for the lost group objects. The inability to give up what was lost was transmitted to the next generation. In each person's mind the lost group objects, such as motherland, temple, and language, unconsciously stand for or replace personal objects, such as parental figures, from which people must separate over the course of their personal growth and development. This in turn involves personal mourning. The group's inability to mourn its collective losses resonates with the individual's inability to mourn his or her personal losses. This process seems to characterize Jewish history and is dramatically evident in the lives of Jewish and Israeli leaders (Falk 1985a, 1987b, 1993a).

There were large Jewish populations in the Iberian peninsula, in Western Europe, and around the Mediterranean basin. Jewish Spanish (Ladino) and Jewish German (Yiddish) were written in Hebrew characters. During the Middle Ages the Jews are said to have flourished in Muslim Spain, yet their greatest poet, Judah Halevi, felt compelled to compose in Arabic his *Defense of the Humiliated Faith*, an apology for Judaism. Most Jews were dirt-poor. They never fully mourned the loss of their "Land of Israel," which they repeatedly referred to in their prayers. The names of Zion and of Jerusalem were always on their lips and often on their minds. But their thoughts and feelings about the Land of Israel were psychogeographical fantasies (Stein and Nederland 1989). They were like the longings of a little child for its idealized, long-lost mother. The rulers of Palestine—whether Byzantines, Arabs, Seljuqs, Mamluks or Ottomans—did not stop the Jews from returning to Palestine. Moreover, the conditions of life in Palestine were not necessarily worse than in Europe, where Jews were

often persecuted, where blood libels repeatedly rose against them, and where they were massacred time and again.

Why did most Jews elect to remain in the “diaspora” and “exile” and not “make *aliyah*” to their own land? It may be helpful to examine some modern Hebrew words and Jewish numbers. The modern Hebrew term for immigration to Israel, *aliyah* (ascent), derives from the biblical account of Abraham’s “descent” into Egypt and his “ascent” back into Canaan (Gen. 12–13), and especially from that of Cyrus the Great’s purported proclamation to the Jews in 538 B.C.E.: “Whoever among you belongs to his people, may his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem in Judah, and build the house of the Lord [Yahweh], the God of Israel, the God who is in Jerusalem” (Ezra 1:3). While Jerusalem’s elevation is 800 meters (2,500 feet) above sea level, most of Israel is at sea level. Nonetheless over the centuries the notion of the “ascent” to Jerusalem was broadened to the whole country. This notion betrays the psycho-geographical fantasy behind it. The Land of Israel is imagined as being elevated above all other lands. Whoever comes to it is ascending to it. It is as if the Land of Israel were the Great Mother and the immigrant were the child looking up to her and ascending her body. This may give us a clue to the unconscious reasons behind the Jews staying away from Palestine. The corresponding term for emigration from Palestine is *yeridah* (descent). For many years Israelis who left their embattled country were regarded by those who stayed behind as traitors.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century there were some 2.5 million Jews in the whole world. Of these, only some five thousand lived in Palestine. Even after the rise of political Zionism in the late nineteenth century, few Jews migrated to Palestine. Between 1881 and 1914 only some forty thousand Jews out of 15 million in the whole world “ascended” to the “Land of Israel,” and most of them “descended” again (Ben-Sasson 1976:921). At the same time, some 2.5 million Jews migrated to America and other countries. Between 1917 and 1921 no more than thirty thousand Jews came to Palestine, despite the advent there of enlightened British rule and the Balfour Declaration, which promised the Jews a national home in Palestine. Throughout the 1920s no more than one hundred thousand Jews made the “ascent” to Palestine. The vast majority of the world’s Jews remained in Europe, primarily in Poland and Russia. Then came the horrific Holocaust (1941–45), during which Hitler’s Nazis exterminated some six million Jews all over Europe.

After the state of Israel came into being in 1948, enacting its Law of Return in 1950, Jews could freely immigrate there, yet most Jews elected to stay abroad. There are some five million Jews in Israel, most of them descended from refugees who came there because they had no choice. Others who stayed behind in Europe paid with their lives. Those who came to Palestine before the Holocaust were refugees from Hitler’s Germany and from other European countries, and those who came later were Holocaust survivors. After Israel was created, there were refugees from Muslim countries, and those who escaped Communism and other oppressive regimes in Eastern Europe after the Second World War. More than two-thirds of the world’s Jews remain outside Israel—in the United States, the Soviet Union, Argentina, France, and

the rest of the world. Even with the "massive" immigration from the former Soviet Union in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Jewish immigration to Israel hardly makes up for Jewish emigration from Israel. There are now several hundred thousand Israelis in the United States alone.

TWO VIEWS OF THE JEWISH SITUATION

Admittedly an oversimplification, it may be useful to delineate two opposing views on the Jewish Question: the Israeli Jewish view and the American Jewish view. While the Israeli Jews have a basically ethnonational Jewish identity, the highly assimilated American Jews have a mostly religious one. The simplified version of the Israeli Jewish view is that all the world's Jews are one people, the People of Israel, that Jews living outside Israel are unhappy in "exile" and "diaspora," and that, to be happy, all Jews should live in Israel. The simplified version of the American Jewish view is that Judaism is a matter of religion rather than nationality, that Jews (and anyone) can be happy wherever they are, and that there is no reason Jews have to live in Israel.

The Israeli Jews believe that something uniquely Jewish has preserved the Jews as an ethnic and religious group for three millennia. Why, they ask, after so many centuries of persecution and massacres, did the Jews not fully assimilate into their host nations? Why, they insist, even after the worst catastrophe of Jewish history, the Nazi Holocaust, do most Jews stay away from the one country where they are a majority? Is it healthy for most of the world's Jews to live outside Israel? What are the reasons for this curious avoidance of Israel by the majority of the world's Jews? The American Jews, on the other hand, are not at all sure that the Jews are one people. Why on earth, they ask, should all Jews migrate to Israel? It is better for the majority to stay where they are. The Jews are better off in the United States than in Israel. Why should Jews leave the "Golden Land" of the United States for a tiny Middle Eastern land beset by military, religious, social, cultural, and economic problems? Some American Jews think of Israel as a never-never land dreamed up by the Zionists. They believe that the Israeli Jews are deceiving themselves about their fate. Can Israel exist forever in a sea of enemies? The Israeli-Palestinian accords of 1993 and the Israeli-Jordanian agreements of 1994 seem to alleviate the gravity of this dilemma. Peace seems to have broken out in the Middle East at long last.

The American Jewish viewpoint stresses Israel's economic and security problems. The common view is that the Jews are better off in the United States, where they enjoy economic prosperity, cultural diversity, and freedom from war and military service. Had Israel been as wealthy, prosperous, and free of war as the United States, this argument goes, the world's Jews would have flocked to Israel. Yet fantasy plays a crucial role in such considerations. It seems that even when Jews were being massacred in Spain, in Poland, and other places, they migrated everywhere but Palestine. The Children of Israel on their way to Canaan under Moses longed for the imaginary fleshpots of Egypt, which they had never had. Some Jews still live in Arab and

Muslim countries that persecute them (Iran, Yemen, and Syria are current examples), yet they do not come to Israel even when they can.

Nationality is a psychological issue (Mack 1983; Loewenberg 1994). It may be that the Jews are no longer, and have not been for centuries, one people or one nation. Lacking a common territory, language, and other essentials of nationhood, they ceased to be one nation when they were exiled from their land in 586 B.C.E. By this view, the Jews of the United States are Americans by nationality and Jewish by religion, and the Jews of France are French by nationality and Jewish by religion. This view seems to be borne out by modern passports, which give the nationality of each Jew as that of the country in which he or she resides and holds citizenship. The latter view regards Israel as the land of the Israelis rather than as the state of the Jews. It holds that Theodor Herzl's "dream" of "the Jewish State" in which all Jews would reside was just that—a dream, a wish, a fantasy.

A PSYCHOANALYTIC VIEW OF JEWISH HISTORY

Jewish and Zionist history are fraught with contradiction and paradox. The Israeli writer A. B. Yehoshua (whose first name is that of the biblical Abraham, whose last name is that of the biblical Joshua, and whose wife is a psychoanalyst) saw an inherent conflict between Jewish nationalism and religion, beginning with the strife between kings and prophets at the time of David and Solomon three thousand years ago and ending with the struggle between religion and state in modern Israel (Yehoshua 1981). Attempts to paper over these conflicts, Yehoshua felt, have ended in tragedy. Yehoshua, sharing the common (if erroneous) Israeli view that all the world's Jews would be better off in Israel, was puzzled by the Jews' avoidance of "the Land of Israel." His psychological explanation was that Jewish life in "exile" moderated the explosive conflict between Jewish nationalism and Jewish religion, externalizing the conflict to that between Jews and non-Jews. Life in the "diaspora" also makes it possible for the Jews to be the Chosen People, different from other nations by virtue of living outside their own land.

Yehoshua (1981) nonetheless felt that his own explanations were insufficient and that there were deeper reasons for all these inherent conflicts and contradictions. He put forward a classical "oedipal" psychoanalytic interpretation: with God in the unconscious role of the father and the land of Israel in the unconscious role of the mother, and with God the Father as the creator of the people and as the owner of the motherland, the Jews can only avoid "incest" by staying out of their own country. This is why they have stayed away from Israel: the fear of incest and of its punishment.

Yehoshua's arguments, though interesting, suffer from the Zionist distortion of Jewish history. The Arab-Israeli conflict and Israel's ensuing problems have been enough to deter millions of Jews from migrating to Israel. The terms "diaspora" and "exile" are anachronistic. If some Jews have regarded their life in the "diaspora" as

temporary and undesirable, and long to return to "Zion," most Jews have nonetheless remained in "exile." When Political Zionism came into being, most Jews either opposed or ignored it. The supposedly natural desire of people to be free in their own land has not produced mass Jewish immigration to Israel and may never do so. On the contrary, human history is replete with mass migrations of peoples who never returned to their native lands despite deep longings, such as the millions of Europeans who migrated to North America in the nineteenth century.

Even though Yehoshua (1981) called his own explanations "speculations and working hypotheses," he brought a psychoanalytic viewpoint to bear upon Jewish history. The unconscious role of one's country and nation as one's "early mother," that is, the Great Mother of our early infancy, who remains in our unconscious mind, has been studied by several scholars (Volkan 1979, 1988; Mack 1983; Stein 1987; Falk 1974, 1983, 1987a). It is no accident that one of the most prominent scholars of early Jewish history keeps referring to Israel as a woman, speaking of "her" ancestors and prehistory (Bright 1981:23, 343).

HISTORY AND PSYCHOANALYSIS

Scholars have noted links and similarities between psychoanalysis and history. Rosenstock-Huessy (1964:696) called the historian "the physician of memory," a fair description of the psychoanalyst, yet Jewish historical memory may be too ill to cure. Yerushalmi (1982:93-95) felt that "those who would demand of the historian that he be the restorer of Jewish memory attribute to him powers that he may not possess" and that "nothing has replaced the coherence and meaning with which a powerful messianic faith once imbued both Jewish past and future." Yet Jewish messianic faith has been defensive illusion, delusion, and fantasy. History is determined not by rational, logical, dispassionate considerations but by violent, unconscious, passionate, and irrational feelings.

In the United States, psychohistory has become an established and respected discipline (Mazlish 1971; Wolman 1971; Lifton and Olson 1974; Kren and Rappoport 1976; Friedländer 1978; Brugger 1981; Loewenberg 1985a; Strozier and Offer 1985; Cocks 1986; Cocks and Crosby 1987). It has its own scholarly journals, the best of which is the *Psychohistory Review*. Other journals include the *Journal of Psychohistory* and *Clio's Psyche*. In applying psychoanalysis to history, the emphasis is on feelings, both conscious and unconscious. Psychoanalysis has learned that feelings are the most important motives in human affairs. A true understanding of history is impossible without close attention to the feelings that brought about historical events. It is by now evident that our understanding of history cannot be complete without the insights offered by psychoanalysis. The value of psychohistory is no longer in question. It has its detractors, but so had Copernican astronomy, Darwinian evolution, and Freudian psychoanalysis.

Can there be a Jewish psychohistory? It is fascinating that the "Jewish" science

of psychoanalysis has been applied to Jewish history much less than to "general" history. Among the early scholars to apply psychoanalysis to Judaism were Reik (1923) and Cronbach (1931–32). Both dwelt very heavily on sexual symbolism and on the Oedipus complex, Sigmund Freud's key preoccupations. The psychoanalytic study of the Jewish religion was not matched by a similar study of Jewish history (Ostow 1982). From the well-known and controversial study of Moses (Freud 1939) to an equally speculative study of the same figure (Zeligs 1986) little psychoanalytic research has been done on Jewish history.

Psychoanalytic studies of Jewish history are riddled with methodological pitfalls. The most innovative, yet speculative, psychoanalytic studies of early Jewish history were made by Reik (1923, 1931, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1964). They are full of factual errors. There are fascinating studies by Peto (1958, 1960), Lustig (1976) and Schlesinger (1976) on the pagan origins of the Jewish religion in child sacrifice, "demonic" mother goddesses and omnipotent father gods, and speculative psychobiographies of biblical figures (Zeligs 1974, 1986); there is a collection of essays on Judaism and psychoanalysis (Ostow 1982); there is an ambitious study of Christians, Jews, and anti-Semitism (Loewenstein 1951); and there is a speculative study of Zionism (Gonen 1975).

These studies remain controversial. There is a striking gap between the flourishing general psychohistory and the underdeveloped Jewish psychohistory. Israeli historians are hostile to psychoanalysis. Are all attempts to "psychoanalyze" Jewish history doomed to remain speculative, controversial, or misguided? I shall attempt to show that, beginning with the myths of the patriarchs and ending with modern Israel, Jewish history has an inner psychological coherence, the inability to mourn being the dominant theme. When cautiously and discriminately applied, psychoanalysis can yield rich insights into Jewish history.

I am aware that psychoanalytic explanations, involving as they do unconscious feelings and processes, often provoke great emotional resistance and rejection among historians as well as among nonpsychoanalytic readers in general. This resistance takes the form of intellectual objections to psychoanalysis as a science, as a discipline, and as an explanatory theory; it is called "reductionistic" and "unscientific." I shall attempt to anticipate my reader's objections and to use nontechnical terms to explain the emotional forces and processes at play. Still, psychoanalytic theory may be threatening for some, especially those with closed minds (Rokeach 1960). Such people are likely to deny the very role of unconscious emotion in human history. Those who are afraid to know their own deepest feelings may well be afraid to know the unconscious forces operating in others.

JEWISH HISTORY AND "GENERAL HISTORY"

Non-Jewish historians often ignore Jewish history. LaMonte (1949) devoted to the Jews less than twenty-five *lines* out of an 849-page book on medieval history. Simi-

larly, Jewish historians often ignore non-Jewish history, even though the two are inextricably entwined. My Israeli Jewish history teachers and textbooks have always treated Jewish history as separate and distinct from “general history.” Jewish history is often taught as if it occurred in isolation from other peoples’ histories. Israeli universities have separate departments, centers, and institutes for “the history of the People of Israel” and for “general history.” More often than not, “general history” is omitted or ignored in the study of Jewish history. This is a denial of reality. Throughout the Middle Ages the Jews lived in a kind of ahistorical bubble, in fantasy more than in reality, in the past more than in the present. The separation of Jewish history from “general history” perpetuates this denial. Jewish history is entwined with and inseparable from that of the ancient Canaanites, Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians, the Christian peoples of Europe, and the Muslim peoples of the Middle East and North Africa. It cannot be understood without a thorough knowledge and understanding of world history. This book covers “general history” no less than Jewish history.

This book, of course, is very imperfect. Setting itself an almost impossible task, it seeks to integrate insights from many disciplines: psychoanalysis, history, anthropology, biblical archaeology, Jewish studies, sociology, biblical studies, Assyriology, and Egyptology. I am aware that this is a very ambitious undertaking. No scholar can master all of these disciplines. Given its scope, this book inevitably contains numerous factual and other errors, all of which are my responsibility. May you forgive my errors and enjoy the insights you discover in this work.



Acknowledgments

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Last but not least, I am grateful to Dr. Harry Keyishian of Fairleigh Dickinson University Press and to Mr. Thomas Yoseloff of Associated University Presses for their openness and courage in publishing this book, which they well knew would draw fire from conservative Jewish historians and other closed minds. Special thanks are due to Mr. Julien Yoseloff, director of Associated University Presses; Mr. Michael Koy, the managing editor at Associated University Presses; Mrs. Christine Retz, production editor; and all those at AUP who helped prepare this book for publication.



Editorial Notes

BIBLICAL TEXTS

There is no satisfactory English translation of the Hebrew-Aramaic Bible. Most English-language versions of the Bible, both Jewish and Christian, are inaccurate. From the poetic seventeenth-century King James "Authorized Version," best known to English speakers, to the Revised English Bible (Coggan 1989), the English translators of the Bible have distorted, misrepresented, and mistranslated the Hebrew and Aramaic texts. Yahweh, the name of a particular Hebrew deity, is erroneously rendered as "the Lord" or "God." His consort Asherah (Olyan 1988) is mistakenly rendered as "the grove" or "the sacred pole." Where unpleasant realities lurk in the text, "daughter" is rendered as "granddaughter," "mother" as "grandmother," and "Israel" as "Judah" (see chapters 8–10).

The Anchor Bible, a multivolume, annotated, scholarly version translated and edited by some of the finest biblical scholars, is still being published, and several volumes are as yet unavailable. Consistency may be a virtue, but too much consistency can become rigidity, which impedes scholarly freedom. I have therefore used the Anchor Bible in some quotations, and the Authorized Version and the Revised English Bible in others, pointing out the distortions, inaccuracies, and mistranslations where they occur.

REFERENCES AND ADDITIONAL READINGS

The Chicago Manual of Style recognizes two systems of documentation for scholarly works. Historical works and other works in the humanities often use the system of footnotes or endnotes with a bibliography. Psychological works and other works in the social sciences use the author-date system of in-text parenthetical references with a reference list. This book uses the latter system. The references have been combined with an extensive list of additional readings into a bibliography. I have included items from other bibliographies in the interest of comprehensiveness.

NAME SPELLING AND TRANSLITERATION

Our forebears were not nearly as obsessed with consistent spelling as we are. Personal and place-names were given in many different ways and languages. The name of the Babylonian god of wisdom, Nabu, was also spelled Nebu, Nabo, and Nebo. The name of the ancient Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar was also spelled Nabukudurri-usur, Nabokadresar, Nebuchadrezzar, Nabucodonosor, Nabucco, and so on. The Hebrew name Khayim, meaning "life," is also transliterated as Khaym, Khaim, Chayim, Chaym, Chaim, Hayim, Hyam, Haym, and Haim. The name of the early medieval Gothic king Theuderich was also given as Theoderich, Theodorich, Theodoric, Thiric, and Thierry. Similarly, the Gothic name Theudebald became Theodebald, Theobald, Thibault, Thibaut, and Thibaud. This is confusing to a history student who wishes to identify his *dramatis personae*. The lack of consistency was part of an ethnocentric attitude to language. People spoke the language of their own tribe, people, or nation. Ancient historians translated "foreign" names into their own languages, corrupting them in the process. In this book I have frequently given the person's original name along with some of the alternative names. This may defy conventional English historical usage, where every Johannes, Juan, Joān, Jean, Giovanni, Jan, and Johan is called "John," and every Stephanus, Stephan, István, Etienne, and Esteban is called "Steven," but it better fits historical reality.

The Hebrew word *ben* means "son" or "son of." It is commonly used in Hebrew names, e.g., Yaakov ben Yisrael (Jacob son of Israel). The Aramaic word *bar* and the Arabic words *bin* and *ibn* have the same meaning and usage; thus we have Shimeon bar Koziba (Simon son of Koziba) or Muhammad ibn Ziyad (Muhammad son of Ziyad). Since the words *ben*, *bar*, *bin*, and *ibn* are an integral part of such names, rather than translate them they have been transliterated.

Note: An earlier version of chapter 9 has been published previously (Falk 1989).

A Psychoanalytic History of the Jews



1

Hebrew Origins

HUMAN SCIENCE AND THE HUMAN CONDITION

Did the evolution of our family-based human civilization take a wrong turn at some point? No other species on the face of this earth has our kind of family structure, and no other species has the kind of problems that ours has developed: organized warfare, murder, suicide, madness, population explosion, and environmental catastrophe. A nuclear holocaust is still a real danger. We humans think that we seek happiness, yet our brief lives are often full of grief.

Human knowledge is a double-edged sword. It can enrich us, but it can also hurt us. Knowledge can also be an unconscious defense against painful feelings of helplessness. We painfully know that we shall die. Ancient kings believed that they were immortal gods and the center of the universe. They proclaimed themselves divine and gave themselves theophorous sentence-names such as “Ra-mesusu mari-Amon” (Ra gave birth to him, beloved of Amon) or “Tukulti-apal-esharra” (My help is the son of the temple of Ashur). Such fantasies defended them against their fear of death and against feelings of insignificance.

We moderns know better—or worse. We know that there are no gods, that we are mortal, and that, as the “immortal” Shakespeare put it,

Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more; it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing.

(*Macbeth* 5.5.17)

Shakespeare may have read the biblical Ecclesiastes, whose author felt that everything was futile and that the pursuit of knowledge led nowhere: “For in much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow” (Eccles. 1:18). The Latin word *scientia* means “knowledge.” Science helps us overcome our feelings of helplessness and insignificance by ordering our chaotic world. Most scientists are obsessional classifiers. By defining, dividing, and categorizing their knowledge of the world, they overcome their feelings of helplessness in the face of its vast complexities

and gain a feeling of mastery over them. The author of this book is no exception. This book, after all, is an attempt to master the complexities and paradoxes of Jewish history, a small part and special case of human history, which itself is but a very recent development in the history of our planet.

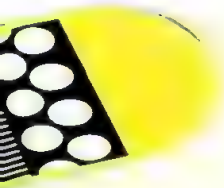
The Latin word *universum* means "single turn." We call the totality of existing things our universe. The vastness of our universe cannot be grasped by our imagination: if the universe is finite, what are we to call what lies beyond it? The universe is supposed to have begun with the Big Bang, with infinite mass exploding into space, yet our scientists tell us that this same universe may eventually collapse upon itself in a Big Crunch. Man is but a minuscule, brief, and flawed entity in his universe, yet he takes himself for the greatest wonder of Creation. Our imperfect planet is but an iota in an infinite universe, yet we take it for God's own handiwork. Shakespeare's verses about man and his earth (*Hamlet* 2.2.317) illustrate this point beautifully:

This godly frame, the Earth, seems to me a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why, it appears no other thing to me but a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. What a piece of work is Man! How noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form, how moving, how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god!

The size of our universe is staggering. Seen from afar, our great Mother Earth, with its moon and artificial satellites, is but a tiny planet revolving around our sun. Several planets in our solar system have moons of their own. Our solar system is some 27 to 36 billion kilometers in diameter, and our sun is but one of millions of stars in the Milky Way galaxy, which is but one of innumerable galaxies in our universe. Radio astronomers have discovered planets (and hence possible life) around dead stars (pulsars) fifteen hundred light-years away from us. The vastness of the universe and the insignificance of human life have given rise to man's grandiose illusion of mastering his world. This was described by the ancient biblical Hebrew poets (Ps. 8:3–6):

When I look up at your heavens, the work of your fingers
at the moon and the stars you have set in place,
what is a frail mortal, that you should be mindful of him,
a human being, that you should take notice of him?
Yet you have made him little less than a god,
crowning his head with glory and honour.
You make him master over all that you have made,
putting everything in subjection under his feet.

To the ancient Greeks the earth, Gaia, was a great goddess. She gave her name to the sciences of geography and geology. Geologists think that our planet Earth came into being as a fiery offshoot of our sun some 4 to 5 billion years ago. Its crust was formed some 4.5 billion years ago, and life on Earth has existed for over 3 billion years.



HUMAN EVOLUTION

We call our species *homo sapiens* (knowing man), but do we really know who we are and how we came to be what we are? In geochronological terms, the life of our species is very brief. Geologists divide the 4.5-billion-year history of our planet into aeons, eras, periods, and epochs. The Quaternary period, our own, which began some 2.5 million years ago, comprises the Pleistocene and Holocene epochs. We are living in the last of these, which only began some ten thousand years ago, a brief moment in geochronological terms. Our vertebrate, mammal, human species was preceded by nonvertebrate species that evolved from single-cell amoebas to highly complex insects, and by vertebrate species that evolved from fish to amphibians to reptiles to birds to mammals. Our evolution from the "lower" mammal species took many millions of years.

The human species has only been around for some 250,000 years; human civilization is only some 10,000 to 12,000 years old. Our human species evolved over millions of years from an apelike animal to what we call *homo sapiens*. Both our species and the great apes are thought to be descended from the apelike *Dryopithecus* (poplar monkey), which lived some 15 to 20 million years ago, during the Miocene and Pliocene epochs. The geological aeons and eras include several glacial periods (ice ages) during which thick ice sheets covered most of the Earth's land surface. The first glacial period took place some 570 million years ago, at the end of the Precambrian aeon. The most recent glacial period occurred during the Pleistocene epoch, which began some 2.5 million years ago and ended some 10,000 years ago. The Pleistocene epoch in geology roughly corresponds to the Paleolithic period (Old Stone Age) in archaeology, the first stage in the evolution of human culture. With the melting of the ice came the Mesolithic period (Middle Stone Age), the archaeological name for the second phase of human civilization.

NATIONS, POWER, AND CIVILIZATION

Compared with the 4.5 billion years of our planet's life, with the millions of years it took us to evolve from apelike animals into *homo sapiens*, and even with the 200,000 to 300,000 years of our species' existence, our human civilization is a very recent development. Human culture as we know it, including farming, domesticated animals, architecture, writing, ethnic groups, the struggle for power, and organized warfare, is only 10,000 to 12,000 years old. Human cultural history is reconstructed from archaeological finds, the most important of which are written documents. The period for which we lack documents is called prehistory.

As its civilization developed, the human species evolved into families, clans, tribes, peoples, and nations (in Greek, *ethnos*). The latter may have come into existence along with the differentiation of human languages, which in turn defined tribes and nations (cf. Gen. 11:1–9). Each ethnic group has its own cultural history. Language is

a fundamental element of ethnicity. Linguists believe that the languages of a language "family" developed out of one "proto-language" by a gradual process of differentiation. The evolution of ethnic groups (nations) and ethnocentrism (nationalism) is a fascinating phenomenon. It was not only the ancient Jews who thought of themselves as their god's chosen people; every tribe and nation felt that way. The ancient Celts called themselves *teutsch* (the people) and had a god named Teutates (the god of the people). Boyer (1986:113) noted that the Apache and other Athabascan American "Indian" tribes call themselves *indéh* (the people) and all other tribes *indáh* (the enemy). Erikson (1966:61) called clans, tribes, and nations pseudospecies "which behave as if they were separate species created at the beginning of time by supernatural intent." Erikson (1968:41) felt that nations, ethnocentrism, and war evolved out of the human struggle for survival:

Man as a species has survived by being divided into what I have called *pseudospecies*. First each horde or tribe, class and nation, but then also every religious association has become the human species, considering all the others a freakish and gratuitous invention of some irrelevant deity. To reinforce the illusion of being chosen, every tribe recognizes a creation of its own, a mythology and later a history: thus was loyalty to a particular ecology and morality secured. One never quite knew how all the other tribes came to be, but since they did exist, they were at least useful as a screen of projection for the negative identities which were the necessary, if most uncomfortable, counterpart of the positive ones. This projection, in conjunction with their territoriality, gave men a reason to slaughter one another *in maiorem gloriam*.

The evolution of languages, nations, nationalism, and organized warfare, which in our own century led to the Holocaust and to the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, has troubled modern scholars. Nations are psychological entities. Anderson (1991) called modern nations "imagined communities" that forge their national consciousness by inventing a mythical common past and repressing the ethnic, religious, sectarian, tribal, and linguistic differences between their component people. Loewenberg (1994:9) countered that "affectual context and environment (family socialization) and historical events and traumas ('community of fate'), make familiarity, comfort, and common political allegiance 'natural' for people sharing the same historically constructed experience. Anderson's 'imagined community' is certainly artificial; but it is also a psychological reality."

The story of human civilization is marked by incessant wars and power struggles between nations. Schmookler (1984:17-21) thought that the struggle for power was crucial to the social evolution of civilized mankind. So long as man was a hunter and gatherer, the natural pursuit of survival was confined to "biologically evolved limits . . . [in] a tightly ordered harmonious system." The domestication of plants and animals removed these limits and led to a revolutionary change in the human condition. In Schmookler's own words,

In the 5,000 years following the first steps out of the hunter-gatherer way of life, full-scale civilization arose and showed a frightening face. The social equality of primi-

tives gave way to rigid stratification, with the many compelled to serve the few. Warfare became far more important, more chronic, more bloody and more destructive. And the new dominion of man over nature had already begun to turn the green mantle that covered the birthplace of civilization into a rough and rocky desert. (Schmookler 1984:18)

Culture is a broad concept. Cultural anthropologists use the term in the sense of the material culture of tool-making, animal domestication, weapons, building, farming, arts, crafts—everything that distinguishes human beings from the apes. Others use “culture” in the sense of the shared ideas, attitudes, customs, myths, and language of a human group. Faber (1981:20) thought that human culture, and human consciousness itself, were defensive psychological structures whose function was to provide us with a “psychological avenue back to the mothering figure.” Faber thought that we human beings cannot overcome our longing for the archaic symbiotic fusion with our mothers in our infancy, and that we spend our entire lives searching for ways to restore that early merger. Róheim (1943) had expressed similar views.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeologists divide the development of human civilization into the Paleolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, and Chalcolithic periods, followed by the Bronze Age and Iron Age. The Paleolithic period roughly coincides with the Pleistocene epoch, which began some 2.5 million years ago and ended between 40,000 and 10,000 years ago, depending on location. In warmer regions the glacial period naturally ended sooner. Some scholars think the Mesolithic period was a worldwide sequence of human cultural evolution that began when the ice melted, ending between 9000 and 6000 B.C.E. (before the common era) in the warmer Middle East, and as late as 3000 B.C.E. in colder northern Europe. Other scholars think the Mesolithic period was specific to northwestern Europe, beginning about 8000 B.C.E., when the last glacial period ended there and human beings began to domesticate plants and animals and to form settled agricultural communities. During the Mesolithic period most human beings were still nomads, and their settled communities were temporary.

The New Stone Age was characterized by permanently settled villages, dependence on domesticated plants and animals, the use of stone tools, and the emergence of crafts like pottery and weaving. Neolithic culture first developed in southwest Asia during the eighth millennium B.C.E. The domestication of plants and animals was begun by the Mesolithic Natufian hunters of Palestine and southern Syria around 9000 B.C.E., leading to permanently settled agricultural communities. Neolithic culture began much later in Europe, where the last glacial period lasted longer than it did in the warm Near East. By 3300 B.C.E. there were urban cultures in Mesopotamia (the Land between the Rivers, now Iraq) that had written languages and the wheel, while Europe was still in the rural Neolithic culture.

In contrast to the Native American “Indian” cultures, most of which did not have

stone buildings or written languages, the Neolithic civilizations of Asia and Europe were characterized by "permanent" stone architecture and writing on stone tablets. The best known of these cultures were those of Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, and China. Between 6000 and 2000 B.C.E. Neolithic culture spread to southern Europe, Egypt, India, and China. Casting metals was common in the Middle East by 3500 B.C.E.

The rural, agrarian Neolithic culture gradually evolved into the increasingly urban Chalcolithic (copper stone) one when Stone Age human beings began using metals to make tools and weapons in the sixth, fifth, or fourth millennium B.C.E., depending on location. By 3300 B.C.E. the Chalcolithic culture of southern Mesopotamia was creating city-states like Uruk (Erech), Ur, Eridu, and Larsa. Their social, economic, and religious center was the ziggurat (temple-warehouse). The peaceful Chalcolithic people of Canaan (later Palestine, now Israel) produced stone houses, streets, and cities, practiced surgery, cultivated high-yield crops, and used arsenic-laced copper to make beautiful copper jewelry, ceremonial objects, and vessels.

The picture of the world in the minds of ancient peoples was far removed from our modern reality. Like the ancient Greeks, the early Hebrews knew three continents: Asia, Africa, and Europe. But the Hebrews did not call them by those Greek names. Hebrew myth had Father Noah "beget" three sons: Shem, Ham, and Japheth (Gen. 6:10). Shem and Ham respectively "begat" families of nations known as the "Semitic" (Asian) and "Hamitic" (African); Japheth "begat" the European nations. The terms "Semitic" and "Hamitic" are still used by scholars, though not in the same sense as in the Bible. Many of the peoples of the ancient Near East were Semitic, but some of its great cultures were non-Semitic, such as the Sumerian, the Elamite, the Hittite, the Persian, and the Egyptian.

European Neolithic culture began in the seventh millennium B.C.E. Because human culture began earlier in the Near East than elsewhere, some scholars called it "the cradle of civilizations" (Frankfort 1956; Albright 1957); Gilbert (1990:8) called it their grave as well. He believed that while all the ancient Near Eastern civilizations perished, the Jews alone "remained a self-defined ethnic group, in direct descent from the ancient Hebrews who came to be called the Children of Israel." We shall examine this statement critically.

The earliest Near Eastern Neolithic civilization was the well-developed, non-Semitic, proto-Euphratean "Ubaidian" rural culture of southern Mesopotamia in the fifth millennium B.C.E. It is named after Ubaid in southern Iraq. It did not have any written language. The Ubaidian culture later absorbed the Indo-Aryan and Semitic cultures. Mesolithic culture was based on extended families and clans. Tribes and nations began to emerge during the Neolithic period. When the nomadic Habiru appeared on the ancient world scene in the nineteenth century B.C.E., that world had been "civilized" for thousands of years. The question of whether the Habiru (Apiru) were or were not the ancient Hebrews is still being debated among scholars. Let us examine some the ancient civilizations that preceded the Hebrew one.

EARLY NON-SEMITIC CIVILIZATIONS

The most important non-Semitic cultures of the ancient world were the Egyptian, Sumerian, Elamite, Hittite, Indian, Iranian, and Chinese. I shall very briefly sketch the nature of these early civilizations.

The Sumerians, whose civilization was the oldest written one in the world, were a non-Semitic Indo-Aryan people who probably came to the Middle East during the fourth millennium B.C.E. from India or Iran. They inhabited southern Mesopotamia around 3300 B.C.E. The Sumerian religion was polytheistic, their chief god being Enlil, the Lord of the Storm. Other gods were Utu (the sun), Nanna (the moon), and Inanna (the planet Venus). The Sumerians invented the cuneiform script, had the world's first written language, and built the city-states of Kish, Uruk (Erech), Ur (later Ur of the Chaldees), Sippar, Akshak, Larak, Nippur, Adab, Umma, Lagash, Bad-Tibira, Eridu, and Larsa. These city-states had sacred kings known as *ensi*.

A Sumerian document lists eight Sumerian kings before the Great Flood (around 2800 B.C.E.), similar to the biblical flood. After the flood the *ensi* Etana of Kish united the various Sumerian city-states. Internal strife between Kish, Uruk, Ur, and Lagash weakened the Sumerians. The Elamites invaded Sumer in the twenty-sixth and twenty-fifth centuries B.C.E., the Akkadians in the twenty-fourth and twenty-third centuries B.C.E. During the early twenty-fourth century B.C.E. the *ensi* Uruk-agina of Lagash introduced religious and legal reforms. Lugalzaggisi, the *ensi* of Umma (r. 2375–2350 B.C.E.), conquered Lagash, Kish, Ur, and Uruk (Erech), uniting all of Sumer. Lugalzaggisi grandly claimed to have conquered all the lands “from the Lower Sea [Persian Gulf] along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers all the way to the Upper Sea [Mediterranean].” In reality he was defeated by the Akkadians under Sharru-kin, who gradually supplanted and assimilated the Sumerians.

The name “Egypt” derives from the Greek “Aigyp̄tos.” The Egyptians were a Hamitic people with an abundant, aesthetic civilization, including the colorful pictorial hieroglyphic script and a highly developed polytheistic religion. The Egyptians deified their kings. The biblical word *pharaoh* is a misvocalization of the Egyptian *per aa*, meaning “great house” or “great estate.” The Egyptian pharaoh was considered brother to the gods of the sun, sky, sea, netherworld, and a host of others. Min was the Egyptian god of fertility and the harvest. The Egyptian falcon god Hor (Horus), whose eyes were the sun and the moon, came to represent the pharaoh. As early as the thirty-second century B.C.E. the Egyptians were united into one kingdom by Narmer (Menes), the first pharaoh for whom we have historical records. As early as the twenty-sixth century B.C.E. the great pyramid of Khufu (Cheops), the second pharaoh of the Fourth Dynasty, was erected at Giza, near what is now Cairo. Many Egyptian deities had both animal and human form. Among the Egyptian gods were Ah, Amon-Ra (Amun-Re), Aton (Atum or Aten), Ptah, Thut (Taath), Aset or Eset (Isis), and Usire (Osiris).

The Chinese like to think of themselves as the world's most ancient civilization, but their written pictorial ideographic (logographic) language only began in the second

millennium B.C.E., during the Shang (Yin) dynasty, much later than the Sumerian cuneiform. Matrilineal Neolithic culture flourished in China by the sixth and fifth millennia B.C.E. Ancestor worship was very strong, as were kinship ties. During the fourth and third millennia B.C.E. Chinese society shifted from matriarchy to patriarchy. The Bronze Age began in the second millennium B.C.E. Chinese myth has the first emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, and Shen Yen Huang Ti, reign between the twenty-ninth and twenty-seventh centuries B.C.E.

Shen Yen Huang Ti is the first of the mythical Five Emperors, who lived sometime between the twenty-seventh and twenty-second centuries B.C.E. The other four were Chuan Hsü, Ti Ku, Yao, and Shun. The philosopher Kong Futse (Confucius, 551–479 B.C.E.) praised Yao and Shun. Shun's minister Yü, "the Chinese Noah," is said to have drained away the flood waters and to have founded the Hsia dynasty. The earliest written documents are from the Shang (Yin) dynasty, which reigned between the eighteenth and twelfth (or sixteenth and eleventh) centuries B.C.E. Chinese society was patriarchal, with the king's "paternal" authority embedded in kinship ties. Its culture was marked by elaborate royal burials, chariots, art, pottery, silk, and ideographic writing.

The earliest known Indian civilization was that of the Indus Valley, discovered at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, now in Pakistan's Punjab and Sindh provinces. This civilization dates from 2300 to 1750 B.C.E. The Indus Valley people may have been related to the darker-skinned Dravidians of South India, who may have come from Africa, and had contacts with the Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia (Childe 1943:112). The Indus Valley people migrated from the Punjab to the Ganges Valley in central India, where the earliest Indian literature, the Vedas, was written. Nehru (1946:58–63) thought that between 1500 and 1200 B.C.E. the Indus Valley people were conquered by the lighter-skinned "Aryans" from Iran in the northwest. This may have occurred earlier: Sanskrit, the Aryan language, was spoken in northwestern India as early as 1,800 B.C.E.

Like all other major ancient religions, the Hindu religion is polytheistic. Brahma (the creator), Shiva (the destroyer), and Rama (Ram) are major Hindu gods. Indian myth ascribes the birth of the Indian nation to Bharata, the rejected son of King Dushyanta and the nymph Sakuntala. Bharata's dynasty won the battle for control of India, and Bharat became India's Sanskrit name. The legendary Indian sage Vyasa (The Compiler), also known as Krishna Dvaipayana or Vedavyasa, is said to have written the great epic poems of India, the *Mahabharata* (Great Bharata) and *Ramayana* (Concerning Rama) by dictating them to the elephant god Ganesha. Vyasa, if he existed, lived around 1500 B.C.E. and probably compiled Indian myths that were later elaborated by others.

In Avesta, the old Persian language, Iran means "Land of the Arya (Nobles)." *Avesta* is also the collective name of the sacred books of the Persian religion of Zarathushtra (Zoroaster, 628–551 B.C.E.). Some scholars think that the Aryans were the authors of the *Avesta*. Historians of religion debate the effect of Zarathushtra's

tribal religion on his personal visions and teachings, the extent to which the later Mazdaism (Mazdakism) of the Sasanid Persian empire from the third to the seventh centuries of the Christian era reflected the original Zarathushtra religion, and whether the *Avesta*, the *gathas* (hymns) of the Middle Persian Pahlavi books, and the reports of Greek authors accurately reflect Zarathushtra's ideas. Be that as it may, the Avesta language was written in a script derived from the late Pahlavi (Persian) alphabet. Pahlavi was an Indo-Aryan language written in the Semitic Aramaic script. Avesta resembles the Vedic Sanskrit. The Aryans considered themselves and their language special: *arya* (Aryan) means "noble" and *sanskrita* (Sanskrit) means "cultivated," "purified," or "refined." The Aryans urbanized the Ganga (Ganges) Valley, developing their Vedic religion into Hindu Brahmanism. Sanskrit became the classical language of India. The cultures of Iran and India were so intertwined that they are often referred to by the single term "Indo-Iranian."

The words "Aryan" and "Dravidian" are derived from the Sanskrit: *arya* means "high-ranking, noble, aristocratic" and *dravida* means "common folk name." The proud "Aryans" looked down upon the "common" Dravidians. The Shah (king) of Iran was called "Shahenshah" (King of Kings) and "Aryamehr" (Protector of the Nobles). The seventh-century Chinese traveler I Tsing called India "Aryadesha" (Land of the Nobles). Because of many similarities between Sanskrit, Avesta, Greek, and Latin, some linguists think the Indian, Iranian, and European tongues all developed from a common language that they call "Indo-Aryan" or "Indo-European."

The terms "Indo-European," "Indo-Aryan," and "Indo-Iranian" are often used synonymously. Although the Jews were never a race, in the nineteenth century the racist French scholar Joseph-Arthur comte de Gobineau (1816–82) and his British disciple Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927) developed fantastic racial theories in which the "Western Aryans" became the Nordic and Germanic peoples of northern Europe and the Jews were the inferior race (Gobineau 1853–55; Chamberlain 1906). These totally unfounded theories, the product of sick minds, were adopted in our own century by the German Nazis, who corrupted the word "Aryan" to mean white, Nordic, non-Semitic, racially pure European. They corrupted the swastika, an ancient Hindu religious symbol, into their own anti-Semitic symbol of racial supremacy.

The Indo-Iranian Elamites occupied Susiana (now Arab Khuzistan in southwestern Iran). The Elamites called their land Haltami. Their capital was Susa (Shushan). The Elamites had a system of matrilineal succession. An Elamite king had to be the son of the sister of the previous sovereign. This system may have harked back to a matriarchal, matrifocal, and matrilineal culture that preceded ancient Near Eastern patriarchy (Gimbutas 1982). The Elamite language was first written in pictographic script but later adopted the Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform script. The Elamites invaded Sumer in the twenty-sixth and twenty-fifth centuries B.C.E. and were in turn conquered by the Akkadians in the twenty-fourth and twenty-third. For centuries Elam alternated between vassalage to Ur and self-rule. Kings Shutruk-Nahhunte and Kutir-Nahhunte of Elam invaded Mesopotamia in the thirteenth century B.C.E., but in the

twelfth King Nebuchadnezzar I of Babylonia (Nabu-kudurri-usur, r. 1124–1103 B.C.E.) captured Susa.

The Hittites of Asia Minor were another non-Semitic, Indo-Aryan civilization. They appeared in Anatolia (now Turkey) in the second millennium B.C.E. and by the fourteenth century B.C.E. had become a great Middle Eastern kingdom. The Hittites were preceded by the Hattu, a non-Indo-Aryan people. Because the Hittites conquered and assimilated the Hattu, many scholars confuse the Hattu with the Hittites. Their language was written in cuneiform script, but later, under Egyptian influence, the Syrian Hittites used hieroglyphic writing. The Hittite capital was Hattusa (now Bogazköy, Turkey). Hittite society was feudal and agrarian. The Hittite religion was a tolerant polytheism that merged Syrian and Hurrian gods with indigenous Anatolian ones.

The cuneiform tablets from Hattusa show that the Hittite king was chief ruler, military leader, supreme judge, and the earthly deputy of the Hittite storm god. When the king died he was deified. The Hittites are mentioned in the Bible as one of the peoples inhabiting Canaan (Gen. 15:20, Exod. 23:28, Josh. 3:10). By the thirteenth century B.C.E. the Hittite kings came into conflict with Egypt. In 1275 B.C.E. the Hittites and Egyptians fought the battle of Kadesh on the Orontes River, which the pharaoh Ra-mes-su-ma-ri-Amon (Ramses II) of Egypt claimed to have won. But its outcome was inconclusive, and it led to a Hittite-Egyptian peace treaty. In 1193 B.C.E. the Hittite heartland fell to waves of migration from Phrygia, while the Cilician and Syrian areas remained Hittite for several centuries more (MacQueen 1986).

EARLY SEMITIC CIVILIZATIONS

Between the twenty-sixth and twentieth centuries B.C.E. the Indo-Iranian Sumerians were gradually conquered and assimilated, first by the non-Semitic Elamites and then by the Semitic Akkadians and Amorites. The twenty-fourth century B.C.E. is a watershed of ancient history, marking the great waves of migration into the Near East and the emergence of patriarchal cultures dominated by male-god religions. Around 2340 B.C.E. the Semitic kings of Akkad (Agade) defeated and displaced the Sumerians. The Assyrian and Babylonian cultures developed from the Akkadian and later fused with each other to such an extent that the term "Akkadian" is now interchangeable with "Assyro-Babylonian." Ancient rulers were called "great" because they built great empires, waged great wars, built great monuments, and created great codes of law. Greatness, however, is in the eye of the beholder. Those who were called great by their own peoples are often called cruel murderers by those they have vanquished.

Names were vital to the ancient Semites. A man's name was his identity, his character, and his destiny. Names were believed to have magical and supernatural powers. Kings were invariably named after powerful deities. The first five kings of Mesopotamia in the Old Akkadian Period (2350–2000 B.C.E.) were Sargon (Sharrukin), Rimush, Manishtusu, Naram-Sin, and Shar-kali-sharri. They reigned for a total

of 142 years. Sargon of Akkad (Sharru-kin, r. 2334–2279 B.C.E.) was a bloody conqueror. His name means “the king is legitimate.” Sargon’s life is shrouded in mystery. His given name is unknown and the dates of his reign are uncertain. Rank (1909) thought that Sargon lived around 2800 B.C.E. (Rank et al. 1990:13). Ceram (1951:303–4) thought that Sargon ruled in 2360–2306 B.C.E. Sargon left a cuneiform inscription giving the myth of his life, which reads as follows (Rank et al. 1990:13):

Sargon, the mighty king, King of Agade, am I. My mother was a vestal, my father I knew not, while my father’s brother dwelt in the mountains. In my city Azuripani, which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates, my mother, the vestal, bore me. In a hidden place she brought me forth. She laid me in a vessel made of reeds, closed my door with pitch, and dropped me down into the river, which did not drown me. The river carried me to Akki, the water carrier. Akki the water carrier lifted me up in the kindness of his heart, Akki the water carrier raised me as his own son, Akki the water carrier made of me his gardener. In my work as a gardener I was beloved by Ishtar, I became the king, and forty-five years I held kingly sway.

Actually, Sargon reigned for fifty-four to fifty-six years, not forty-five, and was not a gardener but the cupbearer of King Ur-Zababa of Kish in northern Sumer, whom he displaced. Rank (1909) thought that the river in the myth of Sargon, as in those of other mythical heroes, unconsciously symbolized the amniotic water in the process of birth. The elements in the myth of Sargon echo those of other heroes: humble birth, unknown father, virgin birth, secret birth, and the exposure of the infant, which Rank also interpreted as symbolizing birth. Rank believed that the other elements represented oedipal wishes and fears.

Sargon became king of Sumer and Akkad by defeating the Sumerian king Lugal-zaggisi of Uruk (Lugalzaggisi of Erech, reigned c. 2375–2350 B.C.E.), the *ensi* (sacred king) of Umma. Sargon became the first Akkadian-speaking Semitic king of Sumer. Having defeated Lugal-zaggisi, Sargon usurped the throne from his former master, Ur-Zababa of Kish. If he felt guilty for this symbolic parricide, he needed to proclaim that he was the legitimate king (Sharru-kin). With Sargon’s conquests the Akkadians became the cultural heirs of the Sumerians. Sargon ruled Sumer (southern Mesopotamia) and Akkad (northern Mesopotamia) and expanded his kingdom west of the Euphrates and east of the Tigris to comprise much of the world known to him at that time.

Ancient Akkad was rivaled by Ebla (now Tell Mardikh, fifty-five kilometers southwest of Aleppo in Syria), another ancient Near Eastern power, where tens of thousands of cuneiform documents dating from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-second centuries B.C.E. were found. These tablets have provoked violent scholarly controversies, especially on the question of how they relate to the biblical texts, and the Syrian-Israeli conflict tainted these academic disputes with political elements (Wilson 1978; Bermant and Weitzman 1979; Matthiae 1980; Pettinato 1980).

Sargon of Akkad founded a dynasty of Assyro-Babylonian rulers. Two kings of

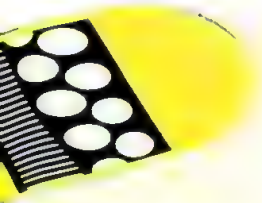
Assyria were also named Sharru-kin: Sargon I (reigned c. 1850 B.C.E.), whose seal was found in Kappadokia (Cappadocia, an ancient kingdom in the Anti-Taurus Mountains, now in east central Turkey), and Sargon II (d. 705 B.C.E.), who destroyed the kingdom of Israel in 722–721 B.C.E. Life in ancient Mesopotamia involved ceaseless warfare. Sargon's sons, Rimush (r. 2315–2306 B.C.E.) and Manishtusu (r. 2306–2292 B.C.E.), had to deal with many revolts among the peoples subject to Akkadian rule. In the early twenty-third century B.C.E. Sargon's grandson Naram-Sin "could boast of exploits fully as spectacular as Sargon's own" (Bright 1981:36). He reigned over "the four corners of the earth" and put an end to the Ebla civilization. His son Shar-kali-shari (King of all Kings) had to fight the Lulubi, the Hurrians, the Amorites, and the Gutu of the Zagros Mountains in southwestern Iran. During the twenty-second century B.C.E. the Gutu invaded and defeated the Akkadians.

The Elamites, a non-Semitic people living east of the Tigris River in what is now Iran, had developed a civilization there as early as the thirty-first century B.C.E. Its capital was at Susa, the biblical Shushan (Neh. 1:1; Esther 1:2; Dan. 8:2). During the third millennium B.C.E. the Elamites pushed west across the Tigris River into Mesopotamia (now Iraq). They fought the Akkadians for centuries, defeating them by the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E. The Elamites carried the stele of Naram-Sin, the code of Hammurabi (Hammurapi, died c. 1750 B.C.E.) and major Babylonian art treasures off to their capital of Susa. It was not till the end of the twelfth century B.C.E. that the Babylonians defeated the Elamites and restored their gods to Susa and Esagila (Essagil). Later the Elamites became Persianized. During the Hellenistic period that began with Alexander the Great's conquests in the fourth century B.C.E., Elam became known as Elymais.

BRONZE AGE NEAR EASTERN CULTURES

When human beings began alloying copper with tin, the Bronze Age began and urban civilization developed further. Like the Mesolithic period, the Bronze Age did not begin at the same time in all places. It started before the third millennium B.C.E. in the Middle East and the Mediterranean basin, but not before the second millennium B.C.E. in China. The Bronze Age saw the flowering of urban civilization. The most important Near Eastern cultures during the third millennium B.C.E. were the Sumerian, Egyptian, Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian), Hittite, and Canaanite.

Canaanite culture, which profoundly influenced the Jews, dominated what are now Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. It flourished in city-states such as Byblos, Ebla, Hatsor (Hazor), Jericho, Megiddo, Shechem, and Ugarit. The Canaanite language was an early form of Hebrew. The Canaanites were heavily influenced by their neighboring Sumerians, Akkadians, and Egyptians. Mesopotamia and Egypt were the major countries in which these civilizations developed. Both names are Greek: Mesopotamia means "The Land Between the Rivers," the Tigris and the Euphrates, in what is now Iraq; Aigyplos was the mythical Greek ancestor of the Land of the



Two Kingdoms—Lower Egypt in the north, on the Nile delta, and Upper Egypt in the south (Rose 1959:220 n. 9, 272).

EBLA AND UGARIT

During the middle of the third millennium B.C.E., many Semites migrated from the Arabian and Syrian deserts to Mesopotamia. Linguists think they spoke a “Proto-Semitic” tongue from which Canaanite Hebrew, Ugaritic, Syriac, Akkadian, Eblaic, Arabic, and the other ancient Semitic languages all derived. These first written languages used the Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform script, developed between 3300 and 2800 B.C.E. The Ebla tablets were written around 2500 B.C.E. They were the administrative records of a royal Eblaic dynasty founded by King Igrish Khalam in the twenty-sixth century B.C.E. and lasting about sixty years. Ebla prospered in the twenty-fifth century B.C.E., but in the middle of the twenty-fourth it was captured and destroyed by King Sargon of Akkad. Sargon founded his own dynasty and reigned for fifty-six years. In the twenty-third century B.C.E. Ebla was once again destroyed by Sargon’s great-grandson Naram-Sin, who called himself “King of the Four Quarters of the Earth.”

The Ebla tablets employed the non-Semitic Sumerian cuneiform alphabet to write a Canaanite Semitic language akin to Canaanite Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Phoenician. The texts include commercial treaties, bilingual vocabularies, lists of birds, fish and stones, ritual and mythological religious texts, diplomatic letters, military dispatches, and lists of personal names and place-names. Ebla is described as the hub of a commercial empire extending from Anatolia (now Turkey) to Persia (now Iran) and Egypt. Many biblical personal names and place-names occur in the Ebla tablets. Scholars have argued furiously over whether the Yahweh religion was practiced at Ebla and whether the biblical flood (Gen. 7–8), the wars of the Canaanite kings (Gen. 14), and the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 19) are mentioned in the Ebla texts.

The Ebla texts recall those of Ugarit (now Ras Shamra, on the Mediterranean coast, near Latakia, Syria), which existed at the same time as Ebla but flourished a millennium later. During the second millennium B.C.E., in Ugarit, the script became an alphabetical cuneiform, which developed into the Canaanite Hebrew (Phoenician) alphabet and later gave rise to the Greek and Latin alphabets. Like other Semitic alphabets, the Canaanite Hebrew alphabet had no vowels, only consonants; words were pronounced in several different ways. In contrast to the Canaanites, the Akkadians used the nonalphabetical cuneiform script. The Akkadians were Semites who migrated from the Arabian desert into south-central Mesopotamia at the time that the non-Semitic, Indo-Aryan Sumerians occupied the south of that country. Akkad (Agade) was Sargon’s capital city in what later became northern Babylonia. The name Akkad was later extended to the entire region and people. The Akkadian culture heavily influenced the Canaanite. In the first millennium B.C.E. the Assyrians and Babylonians destroyed Israel and Judah, the Jewish kingdoms of Canaan, and exiled their people, who largely assimilated the Babylonian culture.

MIGRATION AND MOURNING

Migration inevitably involves loss, guilt, and mourning (Zwingmann and Pfister-Ammende 1973:27; Grinberg and Grinberg 1989; Volkan 1993). This was no less true four thousand years ago that it is now. Migration has always been a deeply traumatic experience. Entire peoples migrated because of famine, war, exile, or other disasters. They lost their motherlands, and then fought bloody wars with other peoples to win new ones, eventually assimilating the host societies. Persecutory guilt and anxiety interfere with the mourning process, and pathological projective processes convert it into bloody warfare (Fornari 1975). To understand the waves of migration throughout human history, we need to grasp how the migrants dealt with their loss of homeland, how they were treated by and how they dealt with their host societies, why they engaged in bloody warfare, and how they dealt with their guilt feelings. The great catastrophes of Jewish history often made Jews refugees, migrants, and exiles. The problem of mourning is the crucial psychological issue in Jewish history (Falk 1993b).

MATRIARCHY, PATRIARCHY, AND RELIGION

We human beings go through an anxious, prolonged infancy and childhood. We unconsciously internalize the images of our parents and harbor throughout our lives these powerful, emotionally charged images, which we unconsciously project upon external reality. Religion, the belief in superhuman deities, is a projective psychological defense system basic to all cultures (Freud 1927; La Barre 1972, 1994). Its function is to ward off the fears of castration, parricide, and death (Stein 1987:158). Bronze Age Canaanite culture included the Sidonian, Tyrian, Hebrew, Edomite, Moabite, and Ammonite cultures and those of other groups speaking the various Canaanite Hebrew dialects. These ancient cultures were polytheistic, their religions dominated by many goddesses and gods, the projective product of the human imagination. The ancient Hebrews thought that God (Elohim) created man (Adam) out of the earth (Adamah) in his own image (Gen. 1:27). In fact, man created God in his.

Although males dominated these ancient cultures, power had not always been a male preserve. Briffault (1931) and Gimbutas (1982) believed that the Neolithic Old European culture (6500–3500 B.C.E.) was matriarchal, matrifocal, and matrilineal, “characterized by a dominance of woman in society and worship of a [Mother] Goddess incarnating the creative principle as Source and Giver of All” (Gimbutas 1982:9). Gimbutas thought that before the advent of patriarchy, the Old European culture was agricultural, sedentary, egalitarian, and peaceful. The same was true of the early Neolithic Middle East. As the mother ruled the family, the mother goddess dominated the cultures of the early Semites, Hittites, and Egyptians. Graves and Patai (1983:80) thought that “all gardens of delight are originally ruled by goddesses; at the change from matriarchy to patriarchy, male gods usurp them.”

This change occurred gradually between 4500 B.C.E. and 2500 B.C.E. Three great waves of migration of Indo-Aryan peoples from India and Iran through the Russian steppe into Europe slowly turned the peaceful matrifocal Old European culture into the warlike patriarchal Indo-European one. Similar waves of migration occurred in the Near East. The most important of these was the Sumerian invasion of southern Mesopotamia (now Iraq). The Sumerians came from Iran or India and arrived in southern Mesopotamia around 3400 B.C.E. By 3000 B.C.E. there was a flourishing Sumerian urban culture there. The cultures of the Near East after 3500 B.C.E., and that of Europe after 2500 B.C.E., became increasingly patriarchal, hierarchical, stratified, pastoral, mobile, and war-oriented. War against "enemies" was made possible through the unconscious processes of externalization, projection, splitting, and dehumanization (Fornari 1975; Volkan 1988; Volkan et al. 1990). Male deities supplanted female ones. Father gods and son gods replaced mother gods. Our ancestors personified the sun, the moon, and the planets to reduce their fear of these heavenly bodies and to be able to negotiate with and pacify them through sacrifice, as one did one's father. New male deities of fertility, war, sun, sky, and fire gradually replaced the old female ones as chief deities. The major Canaanite gods, El (the father god), Baal (the lord of war), Ner (the sun), Shamayim (the heavens), and Moloch (Melech, the king of fire) were such male deities.

The Sumerians and Akkadians of Mesopotamia had a trinity of gods that influenced the Canaanites: Utu (Shamash), the god of the sun; Nanna (Sin), the god of the moon; and Inanna (Ishtar), the goddess of Venus. Shamash (the sun) was the son of Sin (the moon). Shamash, the Akkadian sun god, was assimilated by the Canaanites and fused with their own sun god, Ner. Both Shamash and Ner survive in the Jewish *hanukiah* (Hanukkah candelabra), whose candles are named after them. In modern Hebrew the word *shamash* means "servant," "sexton" or "custodian." This is because, during the early Middle Ages, the ancient solar Feast of Lights during the winter solstice fused with the Feast of the Dedication (Hanukkah) of the Temple by the Maccabees in the second century B.C.E., the pagan Canaanite origins of the solar deity were suppressed, and the *shamash* of the Hanukkah lamp was said to be there as a servant to light the other candles rather than to represent the god of the sun.

The tendentiousness of the biblical chroniclers, who sought to promote Yahwism and to conceal widespread Jewish "idol worship" during the First Temple period (Freedman 1961), was compounded in the Middle Ages by Hebrew grammarians in Tiberias seeking to disguise the pagan origin of Hebrew names. Shamash (the sun) is known in modern Hebrew as Shemesh because the pious medieval Hebrew scholars vocalized the Bible with that aim in mind, following the Arabic Koran, ignoring Greek and Latin transliterations of biblical names and distorting the pronunciation of his name. The Jewish father god Yahweh was either fused with the Canaanite father god El or had been one of El's epithets.

The tetragrammaton, YHWH, is spelled Yahweh by scholars and Jehovah by laymen; we cannot be sure how it was pronounced. But we have an idea of the number of Canaanite male deities from the biblical account of the resettlement of Shomron

(Samaria) after the Assyrian destruction of Israel in 721 B.C.E., which makes the coexistence of the Yahweh cult with other gods' cults very clear:

Thus one of the priests exiled from Samaria came and settled in Bethel; he taught them how to revere Yahweh. But each nation made its own gods and set them up in the shrines of the high places which the Samaritans had made, each nation in the city where it was living. The people of Babylon made Succoth-Benoth; the people of Cutha made Nergal; the people of Hamath made Ashima; the Avvites made Nibhaz and Tartak; and the Sepharvites were burning their sons in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, gods of Sepharvaim. And they revered Yahweh; they appointed some of their number priests at the high places and they offered for them at the shrines of the high places. They revered Yahweh and they officiated for them at the shrines of the high places. They revered Yahweh and at the same time they served their own gods, after the rites of the nations from among whom they had been exiled. (2 Kings 17:28–33)

Polytheism and Yahwist monotheism seemed to have no trouble coexisting. They complemented each other in filling the psychic needs of the believers.

HEBREWS, CANAANITES, AND ISRAELITES

Hebrew was the language of Canaan, the small, semiarid land between Babylonia and Egypt, on the southeastern coast of the Mediterranean sea (Albright 1957:236). At that time Mesopotamia was being invaded by various Semitic tribes from the great Arabian desert to the south. By the eighteenth century B.C.E., when the Amorite (West Semitic) king Hammurabi of Babylonia pushed back the Elamites, some Aramaic-speaking "Hebrew" tribes out of the Mesopotamian desert had settled in Canaan.

Scholars think that the ancient Hebrews were donkey-caravaneering seminomads from the Arabian and Mesopotamian deserts (Albright 1957:236; Bright 1981:80). They formed tribes or clans similar to the desert Arabs (Beduin), whose mainstay are camels and cattle. The seminomadic "Hebrews" used the donkey rather than the camel, which was not domesticated until the fifteenth century B.C.E., and spoke Aramaic rather than Hebrew, the language of Canaan. Their families may have been matriarchal at first, but later became patriarchal and polygynous. Wives were the property of their husbands, who were considered the lords and masters of their wives. The ancient Canaanite Hebrew word *baal* meant "lord" or "master"; in modern Israeli Hebrew it means "owner" and "husband."

This family structure gave rise to religious myths, beliefs, deities, and rituals reflecting and projecting the inner emotional conflicts of the preliterate tribal Canaanites and Hebrews. These religious myths were not essentially different from those of the surrounding peoples. The Hebrews of the Old Testament worshipped many gods before (and sometimes after) they accepted the monotheistic, or rather henotheistic, religion of Yahweh. As the Hebrews merged with the Canaanites, the Hebrew father god Yahweh was fused with the Canaanite father god El. The Deuteronomist historians of the Old Testament vociferously denounced the Canaanite cults of El, Asherah,

Baal, Anath, Astarte, and other deities, which were actively practiced by the Israelites along with the cult of Yahweh (Olyan 1988).

The ancient Semitic deities had many names, attributes, and epithets. Inanna, the Sumerian goddess of war and sexual love, eventually became the Assyro-Babylonian mother goddess Ishtar. Her fierce and loving attributes were indeed those experienced by the infant with its mother. In Canaanite Hebrew myth, El's wife, the mother goddess Asherah (Athirathu), was also known as Qudshu (Holiness). She was later fused with Astarte and Anath (Cross 1973:33–34; Olyan 1988:1–2 n. 2). Asherah remained El's consort "from the Ugaritic mythological texts down to the lore of Sanchuniathon" (Olyan 1988:39), i.e., from the fifteenth century B.C.E. to as late as the sixth century B.C.E. Scholars believe Asherah became Yahweh's consort during the First Temple period in the northern kingdom of Israel, and probably in Judah as well (Gilula 1978–79; Meshel 1979; Dever 1984; Lemaire 1984; Merkur 1988). Olyan (1988) thought that Asherah was an integral part of the Yahweh cult from its outset. The authors of the Hebrew Bible suppressed this fact, writing as if there were but one god, Yahweh, worshipped by the Jews, except for those who "did that which was evil in the eyes of Yahweh." Qudshu-Asherah was fused with Anath and Astarte into Atargatis, the great mother goddess of northern Syria, consort of the Akkadian storm god Adad or Hadad (Olyan 1988:39–40).

TOTEMISM AND POLYTHEISM

In Greek, *daiesthai* means "to bestow" or "to distribute," and *daimon* originally meant "a giving deity," "god," "fate," or "fortune," as did its Latin transliteration, *daemon*. The Jewish and Christian scholars who fought Greco-Roman "paganism" in the first centuries of the Christian era turned this word on its head, making it mean an evil spirit or devil, hence the English "demon." Because the ancients massively externalized their inner objects, ancient religions were polytheistic and polydemonic, that is, they had many gods and many devils. The word *totem* comes from the Ojibwa Indian word *ototeman* meaning "his brother-sister kin" or "his sibling." Totemism preceded polytheism and polydemonism in that it was the preliterate religion of separate, individual tribes rather than that of larger ethnic groups.

Inspired (and awed) by Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), early psychoanalysts were preoccupied with totemism, especially after Freud published his *Totem and Taboo* (Freud 1913). Some scholars believe that the polytheism of the ancient Hebrews was preceded by totemism (Frazer 1910; Freud 1913; Reik 1951, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1964). In totemism a preliterate tribe or clan identifies a plant or animal as its most sacred object, its group self (Kohut 1978b). This plant or animal is called the tribal totem. Clan members are given names incorporating that of their totem. The totem must never be harmed, on pain of death. The clan erects a great pole with its totem on it. This totem pole is sacred; yet on special occasions such as the totem meal it is precisely this totem that is killed and eaten by the entire clan. Totemism seems to

have been the religion of all preliterate tribes during the early and middle Stone Age. Only in Neolithic times was it gradually replaced by polytheism.

If the ancient Hebrew tribes were totemistic, what were their totems? Some may have been trees or bushes. The seven-branched menorah in the coat of arms of the state of Israel, which was a Jewish symbol throughout the ages, looks like a tree. The menorah with its seven burning lights in the Temple of Solomon may have derived from the seven planetary deities of the Canaanites. The number seven was an important and sacred number to the Hebrews. Most scholars think there was a Canaanite fire god whose name was Moloch, Melech, Molech, Molek, or Melk (king). His statue's face had seven orifices—his eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth—through which the fires burning inside him could be seen. The burning bush at which Moses was initiated to Yahweh may have been a fusion of a tree totem with a fire god.

Most scholars agree that Moloch was the Canaanite Hebrew fire god. Eissfeldt (1935) believed that Molk (Moloch) was not a god at all but a Hebrew term of sacrifice, and that children were sacrificed to Yahweh, not Moloch. Eissfeldt grandly proclaimed "the end of the god Moloch." Unfortunately for him, the idea that there was no Hebrew god named Moloch (Melech) is contradicted by several theophorous biblical Hebrew names derived from his, such as Avimelech (Moloch is my father) (Gen. 20:2), Ahimelech (Moloch is my brother) (1 Sam. 21:2) and Elimelech (Moloch is my god) (Ruth 1:2).

Reik (1962) thought that the totem of the ancient Hebrew tribes was the ram or bull. The bull was a symbol of power, sexuality, and fertility to the ancient Semites. The father god of the Canaanites was called Thoru-El (Bull-El) in the Ugaritic texts. Reik (1957) believed that the tree totem was Yahweh's predecessor and that Adam's outrageous crime against that tree had brought about his expulsion from Paradise. The hero of the Sumerian epic of Gilgamesh goes to a jeweled paradise owned by Siduri, goddess of wisdom, and guarded by the sun god Shamash. Tree worship was apparently widespread among the preliterate Hebrews. The myth of Adam and Eve, of the Tree of Knowledge, and of the expulsion from the Garden of Eden may symbolize the developmental phase of sexual differentiation and the loss of innocence in early childhood; the expulsion from Paradise may also symbolize the trauma of physical or psychological birth (Rank 1957; Mahler et al. 1975).

If Reik was right, the totems of the early Hebrew tribes seem to appear in Jacob's blessings to his children. The totem of Judah was the lion, that of Issachar the ass, that of Dan the serpent, that of Naphtali the hind, and that of Joseph the fruitful bough (Gen. 49:9–22). The tribes wore their totems on their banners. Meek (1960:91) was convinced that each tribe had its tribal god and that "the early Hebrew religion was . . . polydaemonic and polytheistic" (Meek 1960:91). He did not refer to totemism as such. Dan, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, and Issachar were names of ancient deities. Freud (1913) thought that the totem animal or plant unconsciously represents the patriarch or chief of the clan. The taboos placed on the totem, on the one hand, and the totem meal, on the other, express the highly ambivalent attitude of clan members toward this figure: they love him, but they also fear and hate him and wish to kill him. Freud

believed that the totem meal was an unconscious substitute for parricide. The word *parricide* (killing of one's kin) became a defensive euphemism for patricide.

CHILD SACRIFICE

The father-son conflict lies at the root of primitive religion. Reik (1962) thought that the golden calf story in Exod. 32 harkened back to a totem meal in which the Hebrew clans ate their bull god (El), symbolizing their father (Reik 1959:112). The golden calf was the Canaanite bull god Thoru-El (Bull-El). As the son fears his father and wishes to devour him, so does the father fear his son and wishes to destroy him. Lustig (1976) observed that child sacrifice and infanticide were widely practiced by Stone Age people and were the true origin of totemism. Unconsciously projecting their feelings upon their gods, preliterate people believed that their gods wanted them to sacrifice their firstborn sons. The totem meal and animal sacrifice served to allay guilt feelings related to infanticide, not to parricide, Lustig believed.

SEMITIC POLYTHEISM

Late in human evolution, as the Stone Age gave way to the Bronze Age, totemism gradually gave way to polytheism. The nomadic Hebrew clans roaming the deserts of Arabia and Mesopotamia moved from the totemistic worship of the ram or bull to the "pagan" cults of the peoples they came in contact with, primarily the Sumerians, Akkadians, Phoenicians, Canaanites, and Egyptians. They worshipped various gods and goddesses of Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hittite origin (Graves and Patai 1983). During the nineteenth century B.C.E. the Hebrews began settling in Canaan, where they adopted Canaanite deities of Sumero-Akkadian origin.

Ancient cities excavated in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt have yielded many cuneiform documents invaluable for the study of ancient Canaanite Hebrew civilization. The best known of these cities are Mari, Nuzi, Nimrud, Akhetaten, Ugarit, and Ebla. Perhaps the oldest, yet most recently discovered, civilization is that of Ebla, dating back to the twenty-fourth and twenty-third centuries B.C.E. (Wilson 1978; Bermant and Weitzman 1979; Matthiae 1980; Pettinato 1991). Ugarit had a highly developed civilization during the fourth and third millennia B.C.E., reaching its greatest prosperity in the second millennium B.C.E. (Gray 1962, 1964, 1965; Gordon 1966; Heltzer 1976; Segert 1985). Gordon (1965a) believed Ugarit to have been the common origin of both Hebrew and Greek cultures. The alphabetical cuneiform tablets of Ugarit, dating from the fourteenth century B.C.E., contain poetic myths involving the Canaanite deities so often referred to in the Old Testament.

The ancient Canaanite deities had multiple names and epithets. The great father god was El (Il), creator of the earth and gods (Cross 1973:13–15). One of his common epithets in the Ugaritic texts is Thoru-El (Bull-El) (Gordon 1961:192; Graves

and Patai 1983; Cross 1973:15). The Hebrew words *el* and *eyal* mean "power," and the related word *ayil* means "ram." Because of the ancients' reverence for the bull and ram as symbols of power and sexual prowess, El may have begun as a bull god (Graves and Patai 1983:27). In the Canaanite religious imagination, El's chief consort was Asherah, also known as Athirath, Qudshu, and Elath. Asherah was the great mother goddess, queen of the earth and seas and mother of the gods. El had other consorts, including his own sisters and daughters, such as the fertility goddesses Anath and Astarte. El and Asherah had many children, ancient Semitic deities that were gradually fused with one another and syncretized with Akkadian gods, so that each had several names and epithets.

The character, epithets, attributes, and roles of the Canaanite deities were fluid, changing with time and place and merging with Akkadian deities. The multiple names of the gods reflected these mergers. The mythical children of El and Asherah were Baal, the storm god, god of fertility and god of life, later fused with the Akkadian storm god Adad (Hadad); Anath, virgin goddess of war and of love, later fused with Ashtart (Astarte); Mot (Maut), god of sterility and of death, lord of the underworld, later fused with Ghazir; Ner, god of the sun, later fused with the Sumero-Akkadian sun god Shamash; Yamm, god of the sea, later fused with Nahar, lord of the rivers; and Moloch (Melech), god-king of the fire (Albright 1957; Gordon 1961; Patai 1967; Smith 1972; Cross 1973; Bright 1981; Graves and Patai 1983). The Canaanites believed that, just as every son wishes to do to his domineering father, so Baal overthrew his father El and took over as their chief god. The Greeks had the same myths about Zeus and Kronos.

PROJECTION AND SPLITTING

The drinking of human blood was part of many ancient "pagan" religions. There are several biblical references to this practice (Num. 23:24; Ezek. 39:17–19; 1 Chron. 1:19), which was not unknown among the ancient Canaanites. As with the Jewish custom of *niddah*, the segregation of menstruating women, this ritual may have had to do with the child's horror of its mother's menstrual blood (Ebel 1987). The preoccupation with blood was expressed in the divine images. Bright (1981:118–119) thought that the ancient Canaanite religion "presents us with no pretty picture. . . . These goddesses, though fluid in personality and function, represented the female principle in the fertility cult. They are portrayed as sacred courtesans or pregnant mothers or, with a surprising polarity, as bloodthirsty goddesses of war." From the psychoanalytic viewpoint this polarity is not surprising. The unconscious process that gave rise to such fantasies of bloodthirsty goddesses who were at the same time goddesses of love, sexuality, and fertility, such as Anath, is the externalization of the terrible and wonderful aspects of the early mother. The goddess assumed all those qualities that the infant experiences and internalizes in its relation to its mother during its very early life.

Infantile externalization is accompanied by the unconscious splitting of the early mother into an all-good mother (goddess of love) and an all-bad mother (goddess of war). This splitting precedes differentiation, when the growing child can tell itself from its mother. The infant, unable to tolerate a mother who is alternately good and bad, giving and frustrating, splits its internal image of her into two: a fairy and a witch. Bright's "surprising polarity" came from an archaic, undifferentiated projection of the internal image of the mother. Classical Greek religion had separate goddesses of love (Aphrodite) and of war (Athena), showing the process of splitting. The early Canaanite religion had still fused the two. Later on, Asherah, Anath, and Ashtart were merged into one goddess, Atargatis, who, like a real mother, had all their attributes. The belief in gods and goddesses was thus the unconscious externalization of the internal *imagos* of the archaic parental images.

2

From Child Sacrifice to Circumcision

If totemism existed among the ancient Canaanite Hebrew tribes, it may have persisted among the polytheistic Hebrews, just as our own infantile sensations, feelings, and fantasies persist into our adulthood. Reik (1959:112) believed that

not even the Egyptians, who looked down upon the Hebrew tribes as barbarians, had entirely emancipated themselves from a late form of totemism. Their religion was, in spite of the evolution into higher polytheism, full of traces of totemistic worship and totemistic animals. The reader need not be reminded of the cult of the Golden Calf—or rather bull, because the word “calf” is used mockingly as a form of derision—and of the bronze serpent worshipped in the south, to remember how much totem-cult continued to live in early Israel.

The ethnic roots of the ancient Hebrew clans were studied by Albright (1957), Meek (1960), and Bright (1981). The Hebrews were Amorites, a Babylonian word meaning “westerners” (Albright 1957:151, 202). They were among the many north-west Semitic tribes roaming the Fertile Crescent. Kasdu (in Assyrian *kaldu*; in English, Chaldea) was a land in southern Babylonia. Its inhabitants were known as Chaldees or Chaldeans (in Hebrew, *kasdim*). Its main city was Ur of the Chaldees (in Hebrew, Ur Kasdim). The biblical account that traces their origin to Ur of the Chaldees agrees with this view (Albright 1957:236). At some point in their nomadic wanderings, possibly during the eighteenth century B.C.E., the Hebrews entered Canaan and settled there alongside several other Semitic tribes. They soon adopted the Canaanite language of Hebrew, from which they took their name, as well as the Canaanite religion and culture.

The Hebrews were not a single ethnic group but a group of tribes or clans. The Book of Genesis enumerates twelve Israelite tribes: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Zebulun, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, Joseph, and Benjamin (Gen. 49). Later the tribe of Levi assumed special religious functions and was scattered among the other tribes, while the tribe of Joseph was replaced by Ephraim and Menasheh (Manasseh), which itself later split up into two. The Israelites being successors of the

Hebrews (Albright 1957:236), it is clear that the Hebrews themselves were made up of many clans (Meek 1960; Peto 1960; Reik 1964).

Goldberg and Rayner (1989:3) thought that "the book of Genesis . . . depicts its heroes moving through their world almost as though they were alone in it. . . . The great empires of the day are barely mentioned; if the pharaohs of Egypt are introduced, it is not by name. In all the Genesis narrative no single figure is named whose identity has, as yet, been established by historical sources." The Book of Genesis narrative is a collection of tribal myths rather than an account of historical fact.

THE EXODUS CONTROVERSY

Numerous scholarly controversies persist about basic issues of Jewish history such as Hebrew origins and the exodus from Egypt. Biblical myth ascribes the origins of the Hebrews to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the creation of both the Israelite nation and Jewish religion to Moses (Graves and Patai 1983). Was Abraham an actual historical figure? La Barre (1972:593) thought that Abraham was the name of many Hebrew patriarchs from the twenty-first to the fourteenth centuries B.C.E. Goldberg and Rayner (1989:3) placed Abraham "some time between the 20th and early 16th centuries B.C.E."

While most scholars agree that the age of the patriarchs in Genesis corresponds to the wandering of the nomadic Hebrew tribes in the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries B.C.E., considerable controversy surrounds the date of the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, which scholars date anywhere from 1550 to 1100 B.C.E. (Hoschander 1925; Steindorf and Seels 1947:256; Baron 1952–69, 1:308; Albright 1957:209; Meyer 1967:222; Goldberg and Rayner 1989:3; Rendsburg 1992). This tenacious controversy led Reik (1959:23–28) to speculate that two different groups of Hebrews existed at that time: Canaanite Hebrews and Egyptian Hebrews. Reik believed that some Hebrew tribes had settled in Canaan several centuries before the exodus from Egypt, assimilated the local culture, married Canaanite women, and worshipped Canaanite deities, while other Hebrew tribes had settled in Egypt in the seventeenth century B.C.E.

These latter Hebrews may have settled in Egypt during the invasion of the *hiq shasu* (nomad leader), translated into Greek as Hyksos. The *hiq shasu* (*shosu*) were Semitic nomads who ruled Lower Egypt during the Fifteenth Dynasty, from about 1674 to 1567 B.C.E. (Meek 1960:17–18; Givon 1971). The name "Hyksos" was given them thirteen hundred years later by Manetho, a Greco-Egyptian historian during the reign of Ptolemaios Soter (Ptolemy I), the first Greek king of Egypt, around 300 B.C.E. Manetho's original work is lost, but parts of it survive in that of several Greco-Roman historians: the Jewish writer Flavius Josephus (c. 37–93/100) and the Christian ones Sextus Julius Africanus (c. 180–250), Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea (c. 263–339), and by the Byzantine historian George the Syncellus (fl. c. 800).

Josephus reported that Manetho had translated "Hyksos" as "shepherd kings" or

"captive shepherds." Josephus erroneously identified the Hyksos with the ancient Hebrews. Joseph, the Hebrew viceroy of Egypt, may have ruled under a Hyksos pharaoh: Albright (1957:242) believed that the pharaoh "who knew not Joseph" (Exod. 1:8) was Ahmose (Amasis I, Aмосis I), who expelled the Hyksos around 1550 B.C.E. In any event, it seems certain that the Egyptian Hebrews in the Land of Goshen around Tsoan (Zoan, Tanis, or Avaris) in the Nile delta also practiced a Semitic, Egyptian, or Hittite polytheism.

HURRIANS AND HEBREWS

The Hurrians (Hurrites) were a non-Semitic, non-Indo-Aryan people inhabiting an area east of the Tigris River and the Zagros mountain region in the late third millennium B.C.E. They later migrated to northern Mesopotamia (now Iraq) and Anatolia (now Turkey). The Hurrians strongly influenced the Hittites, who in turn had considerable influence upon the Canaanite Hebrews, whose "pagan" rites were later assimilated into a monotheistic religion (Reik 1964). The Hurrian goddess Hebat (Heba, Hepa, or Hepatu) was adopted by the Hittites as their sun goddess, Arinnitti (Arinna).

Hebat was the wife of the Hurrian storm god Teshub, who was adopted by the Hittites as their weather god Tarhun (Taru, Tarhu, Tarhunt, Tarhunna, or Tarhuis). In Hittite myth Tarhun defeated the gods Alalu, Anu, and Kumarbi and became supreme in the pantheon (Kramer 1961:143). Like the Canaanite El, Tarhun was represented by a bull. Some scholars believe that Hebat was the Greek goddess Hebe and the Eve of Genesis (Graves and Patai 1983:12), while the Hebrew goddess Asherah-Anath-Astarte became the female cherub in the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Solomon (Patai 1967:26). Freud believed that deities and other mythical figures such as demons, dragons, witches, and fairies were projections onto external reality of our unconscious "introjects." To understand the tribal, familial, and psychic forces that drove the ancient Hebrews, let us examine their myths and deities.

The ancient Hebrews had adopted the Canaanite gods such as the father god El, the mother goddess Asherah-Elath, the son god Baal-Hadad and the daughter goddess Anath-Astarte. They had the fire god Moloch-Melech and fertility deities like Baal and Anath. Infants often perceive their parents as bisexual. Many ancient deities were bisexual. Scholars have had some difficulty identifying the god El Shaddai. Albright (1957:244) believed him to have been the god of the mountains. Biale (1981) believed that El Shaddai (the god with breasts) was a male relic of a female Canaanite deity.

A variety of goddesses were known to the ancient Hebrews and throughout the First Temple period in Judaea, which ended in 586 B.C.E. The polytheistic Hebrews worshipped the Canaanite mother goddess Asherah even as they practiced the "monotheistic" cult of their father god Yahweh (Judg. 3:7, 6:25-26, 30; 1 Kings 16:33, 18:19). Archaeological evidence indicates that as Yahweh displaced El in the Jewish people's cult, El's consort Asherah became Yahweh's consort (Gilula 1978-79, Meshel

1979; Lemaire 1984; Dever 1984; Olyan 1988). Solomon's Temple may have contained altars to both Yahweh and Asherah, until King Asa removed the mother goddess in a violent revolution (see chapter 9). The Hebrews worshipped images of Asherah or Elath and were harangued by their prophets for it (2 Kings 21:7; 2 Chron. 17).

The Hebrews practiced the fertility rites of Ashtoreth, a Canaanite, Phoenician, and Philistine goddess (Judg. 2:13, 10:6; 1 Sam. 31:10; 1 Kings 11:5, 33; 2 Kings 23:13). These rites included sexual intercourse with sacred priestesses in public. They worshipped the virgin goddess Anath, the queen of heaven (Judg. 3:31, 5:6; Jer. 7:18). The various goddesses were later syncretized. There is no doubt that polytheism persisted among the Hebrews along with Yahweh's monotheism. King Josiah (Josiah) fought these "pagan" practices by demolishing the *bamoth* (high places) where the fertility rites were practiced and by burning down the chariots of the sun (Shamash). Other kings such as Manasseh openly built altars and temples to Baal.

Gordon (1961:120) and Graves and Patai (1983:21) believed that the ancient Hebrews assimilated the Sumero-Akkadian myths of creation, such as the *Enuma-Elish* (When on high), an epic poem written during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (Nabu-kudurri-usur of Babylonia, r. 1124–1103 B.C.E.), who defeated the Elamites and restored his god Marduk to Esagila (Essagil). The *Enuma-Elish* was written to glorify Belu-Marduk (Lord Marduk), the chief god of Babylonia, and to tell the story of the creation. The ancient Akkadians noted the "waters" produced in the sexual act:

When on high the heaven had not been named
Firm ground below had not been called by name
Naught but primordial Apsu, their begetter
[and] Mummu-Tiamat, the two bore them all,
Their waters commingling as a single body.

As in the sexual act the "waters" of the male and female commingle, so do the waters of the oceans. In this myth, before the heavens and the earth were created and named there existed two primordial oceans, Mother Tiamat, The Deep, which recalls the biblical *tehom* (Gen. 1:2), and Father Apsu (Abzu), Lord of the Waters, the biblical Ephes (Isa. 40:17) and Apsayim (Ezek. 47:3). The universe was created from their union, as were several generations of gods and dragonlike monsters. Ea (Enki), the god of wisdom, fought Father Apsu and killed him, set up his own empire, and by his wife had a son, whom he named Marduk. The widowed Mother Tiamat sought revenge. She married her own son, Kingu, had incestuous sexual relations with him, gave birth to vicious monsters, and led a bloody revolt against Ea. Marduk, however, showed his bravery by fighting Mother Tiamat and killing her savagely. He cut her corpse in two, thus creating the heaven and the earth (Gordon 1961:120–121; Graves and Patai 1983:23). Marduk became "Lord of the gods of heaven and earth," the god of fifty names, the greatest of them all. This myth expresses infantile fantasies of cutting up the mother's body, which persist in the unconscious into adulthood.

The Akkadian Tiamat may have become the *tehom* (deep) of Gen. 1:2 (Graves and Patai 1983:26–27). The biblical flood occurs in the myths of other cultures as

well. Marduk's victory over Tiamat may symbolize the triumph of patriarchy over matriarchy. But these myths can also be interpreted symbolically as expressing the deepest fears and most powerful experiences of humankind. What are the psychological forces that give rise to such myths, beliefs, and rituals? Birth and death are the chief emotional concerns of humankind. Birth involves the amniotic fluid in which the fetus lives. The oceans unconsciously symbolize the mother's womb (Stein and Niederland 1989:105). The flood symbolizes the breaking of the waters before birth. The Akkadian myths are rife with sexuality, parricide, incest, and matricide. These were the emotional concerns of the ancient Semites who lived in patriarchal, polygynous families. Their myths of creation reflected their concerns with sexuality, birth, and death in the family. The killing of Apsu by Ea reflected the projection of the patricidal feelings of every son growing up under the yoke of a patriarch.

The myth of Tiamat's incest with her son Kingu expressed the incestuous temptations so powerful in these ancient polygynous families. The killing of Tiamat by Marduk reflected the most archaic matricidal feelings of the infant, who wishes to kill its frustrating mother and cut her in pieces (Freud 1927; Klein 1932). Such feelings, being terrifying and unacceptable, must be driven out of one's awareness and later projected upon the gods.

THE MUTILATION OF THE PENIS

The mother being the first object of the infant's feelings, mother goddesses play a crucial role in every ancient mythology and religion (Kramer 1961). Several psychoanalysts have studied the role of the mother in the development of the Hebrew myths and of the Jewish religion. One of the oldest texts in the Hebrew Bible (Exod. 4:24-26) concerns circumcision, a mutilation of the boy's penis, by the Stone Age mother rather than by the father, as was customary in later Hebrew practice:

And it came to pass by the way in the inn, that the Lord [Yahweh] met him and sought to kill him. Then [Moses' wife] Zipporah took a sharp stone, and cut off the foreskin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and said, Surely a bloody husband art thou to me. So he let him go: and she said, A bloody husband thou art, because of the circumcision. (Exod. 4:24-26)

The classical psychoanalytic view of circumcision is as both an expression of, and defense against, the father's wish to castrate and kill his newborn rival. But in the above verses it is the mother who does the mutilating. Peto (1958:283) speculated that the absence of a female deity in Hebrew monotheism reflects the failure of the revolts of the Hebrews against the "demonic" god Yahweh and his prophet Moses and against the "savage" practice of circumcision.

Psychoanalysts use the Latin word *imago* (likeness) to signify our distorted (idealized or demonized) internalized image of our early paternal or maternal objects, which we carry uncorrected within us. Peto pointed out that the above text is archaic—

circumcision was performed with a stone knife during the Bronze Age. The Lord was Yahweh and the man he sought to kill was Moses. Peto saw this text as proof of a "demonic castrating mother imago" among the ancient Hebrews. To him the meaning of this myth was oedipal: the mother had to castrate her son before she could unite sexually with the father.

Peto (1958:285) believed that this archaic myth or fantasy "represents the psychical structure and dynamics of the tribes which formed the Southern State or Judah where the Jewish religion gradually developed." Through the processes of identification and projection, he believed, the Hebrew people assumed the role of a bride in their relationship to their father god Yahweh. The projection of the ruthless mother imago added to Yahweh's demonic qualities (Peto 1958:286). Peto (1960) thought that the ethical monotheism of the Hebrews grew out of the failure of their revolts against the father figures of Yahweh and Moses and out of the repression of the ruthless, castrating, and demonic mother imago.

Reik (1959:89, 115, 147) thought that the striking verses in Exod. 4:24-26 and others in the Old Testament were relics of Stone Age puberty rituals among the Midianites and Hebrews. It was no accident that the circumcision of the Children of Israel before entering Canaan was performed with stone knives (Josh. 5:2-8). The practice dated back to the Stone Age, and the story of the exodus from Egypt and of the revelation at Mount Sinai was probably that of an ancient puberty or initiation ritual, complete with blood, circumcision, and subincision, displaced upon the entire Israelite people.

Lansky and Kilborne (1991) pointed out that circumcision has persisted to our own day and that the various explanations and justifications given for "the mutilative attack on the penis" were rationalizations. They believed that circumcision was both a ritual and a defensive "compromise formation" expressing the father's ambivalence toward the newborn male. Analyzing the biblical narratives on circumcision (Gen. 17, 34; Exod. 4; Lev. 12; Josh. 5; 1 Sam. 18), they found that the texts deal with the family's emotional struggles around the newborn male: fertility and continuity, the power or weakness of the clan, the power and value of women as childbearers, licentiousness, incest and sexual iniquity, fear of sexuality in the presence of male rivals, lines of succession, filicide, and progeny as continuation.

Zeligs (1954, 1960b) believed she could explain the role of the mother in the development of Hebraic monotheism by studying Abraham's inner conflicts concerning his mother. She believed that whether or not Abraham was a historical character, analyzing his unconscious emotional dynamics as the Great Father of the Hebrews, their mythical construct, could help us understand the psychic determinants that led the Hebrews to their monotheism. Abraham's original name may have been Aviram, meaning "My father is Ram [the High God]." Ram (Rama) is also the name of a great Hindu god. Perhaps his origin was Sumero-Akkadian.

Zeligs focused her study on the oedipal conflict. She pointed out that Abraham's mother is not even mentioned in Genesis: he may have lost her prior to his departure from Ur to Harran. Each time God or Yahweh appears to Abraham in Genesis is a

time of separation, loss, and crisis in the Abraham's life. Yahweh was a projection of Abraham's father, whereas the land of Canaan was a symbolic mother figure to him. He did not take his mother from his father: God the Father gave him the land. Zelig felt that this was a beautiful and unique solution to oedipal and pre-oedipal conflicts.

Peto (1960) believed that Yahweh was the bloodthirsty demon god of the nomadic desert Hebrews. He pointed out that when the ancient Hebrews or Israelites settled in Canaan they accepted the local cults of El, Asherah, Baal, and Anath. El was the creator and chief god, but Baal was the most important deity. Baal had displaced his father El and become lord and ruler of the world. Many goddesses were worshipped as well, especially those of fertility (Ashtaroht). Child sacrifice and sacred prostitution were common.

Ancient kings were often considered divine. The Canaanite Hebrews believed that their fire god Moloch, whose name means "king" in Hebrew and other Semitic languages, exacted the sacrifice of their firstborn sons. Again the inner dynamics of the family that involved infanticidal and incestuous wishes were projected or externalized in religion. Peto (1960) interpreted the evolution of ethical monotheism as a series of unconscious defenses against oedipal conflicts and as a result of the suppression of the various mother goddess cults.

PAGAN RITES IN JUDAISM

Reik (1964) believed that many preliterate polytheistic rituals survived in the monotheistic Jewish religion, and he explained their psychological origins. Reik traced the Jewish festival of Succoth (huts, booths, or tabernacles) back to ancient initiation rites marked by the seclusion of pubescent boys in a remote hut for prolonged periods and by their ritual circumcision. The hut (booth) unconsciously symbolized the mother's womb. The *kaddish* (prayer for the dead) may be traced back to the ambivalent love-fear attitude toward our dear departed and to "pagan" ancestor worship. Reik thought that the practice of erecting tombstones on graves and placing little pebbles upon them can be traced back to the profound fear of the dead in preliterate people. By rolling large boulders to seal their burial caves they attempted to prevent their dead from coming back to haunt them. The Jewish ritual of *keriah* (rending one's outer garment) as a sign of mourning is a relic of rituals of self-mutilation as expressions of deep mourning, similarly motivated by the fear of the dead. The mourning ritual of covering one's head with ashes is a relic of the preliterate tribal practice of smearing one's whole body with the ashes of the dead person's body mixed with animal fat to signify that one is not guilty of the death of one's loved ones and is as dead as they. Reik believed that the practice of covering the mirrors in the house of a person who has just died was due to the ancients' fear of being persecuted by their dead.

Reik thought that the practice of unveiling the scroll of the holy Torah in the synagogue is a relic of the "pagan" practice of undressing the goddess or her priestess

in public. The ancients' feelings about women were deeply ambivalent. Graves and Patai (1983:87) believed that most primitive people regard menstruation ambivalently as both holy and impure, "holy, because marking a girl's readiness for motherhood; impure, because men must avoid contact with menstruating women." Reik thought that the practice of *niddah*, which holds menstruating women to be impure and bans them to special quarters, may be a defense against the incestuous sexual attraction to menstruating pubescent girls among their male clan members, which so frightened them they had to banish the menstruating girls to forbidden quarters. Ebel (1987) believed that the infantile horror of menstrual blood caused men's fear of women and the practice of bloody sacrifice, a defense against that fear.

Reik thought that the Jewish rituals of phylacteries, prayer shawls, and *totaphoth* (pendants) were relics of the totemic animal worship evident in the famous golden calf incident. Reik believed that the Hebrew tribes had clad themselves in the hides of their totemic animal, whether bull or ram. Freud (1913) had explained totemism in terms of dreaded parricidal and incestuous wishes within the clan and the defense against them. The parting of the fingers in the Priestly Blessing (*birkath cohanim*) can be traced back to the totemic worship of the bull or ram with its cloven hooves.

THE EARLY MOTHER AS GODDESS AND DEMON

The male Canaanite moon god Yerah eventually gave way to the female Hebrew deity Levanah (the White One). Reik believed that the Jewish ritual of Kiddush HaLevanah every Rosh Hodesh, the celebration of the new moon, was a relic of the ancient cult of a Semitic moon goddess: "The name of the moon goddess in ancient Babylonia was Sinne; she [*sic*] corresponds to the great goddess Manat in Arabia, and Aphrodite in other countries" (Reik 1964:69). Unfortunately, this statement is riddled with errors: like the Sumerian moon god Nanna and the Canaanite moon gods Yerah and Baal-Harran, the Akkadian moon god Sin was a male deity; the ancient Arabs worshipped El, Elah, Ilah or Allah, the father god, along with Allat (al-Lat or Elath), the mother goddess, al-Uzza, the goddess of war, and Manat, the goddess of fate, who was not a lunar deity; and the Greek Aphrodite was the goddess of love, not a moon goddess; the Greek moon goddess was Selene. The ancient Semitic moon goddess may have become a moon god with the prehistorical transition from matriarchy to patriarchy.

Reik (1964:98) believed that the name Sinai derived from that of the Babylonian moon god Sin; Albright (1957:263) disputed this view. Peto (1958, 1960) and Reik (1964:71) believed that the ancient mother goddess of the Hebrews was suppressed by the Yahweh religion of Moses. Reik (1964:66–79, 89–102) believed that the original Semitic "goddess" Nanna (Sin) became the Hebrew earth goddess Adamah and the Hebrew mother goddess Eve (Havah). As we have seen, this was not only highly speculative but also factually wrong: Nanna-Sin was a male deity. Reik thought that these "goddesses" were gradually merged with the Canaanite Asherah and Anath.

Reik pointed out that after the fall of the kingdom of Judah in 586 B.C.E. the Jews of Egypt were still worshipping Anath, the queen of heaven (Jer. 44:2). Later this Hebrew goddess became the second *sefirah* (numeral) of Khochmah (Wisdom) and the holy Shechinah (Presence of God) in the Kabbalah. She was fused with the Torah, which is undressed and kissed in the synagogue every Saturday. The Hebrew goddess also became the Queen Sabbath of classical Judaism. Reik overlooked the fact that the Khochmah of the Lurianic Kabbalah was called the father, while the mother was the third *sefirah* of Binah (Understanding) (Scholem 1961:270). Since Khochmah is a feminine word in Hebrew, this development is fascinating in and of itself.

Patai (1967), without giving due credit to Reik (1964), believed that the suppressed Hebrew mother goddess reappeared throughout Jewish religious history. The Canaanite goddesses Asherah and Anath, wrote Patai, later became the cherubim in the Temple of Solomon, the Shechinah (Presence of God) in early Jewish mysticism, the *sefirah* of Binah in the Kabbalah, the goddess of love and war Matronita, the queen of demons Lilith (night monster), their mother Naamah, and Queen Sabbath. Lilith actually derived from the Akkadian wind goddess Lilit/Lilu.

Some Hebrew clans, we may conclude, settled and lived in Canaan during the nineteenth century B.C.E. and in Egypt during the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries B.C.E. Through unconscious projection, splitting and anthropomorphism, they believed in and worshipped many deities: the sun god, the moon goddess, the fire god, the mountain god, the storm god, the goddess of fertility, the gods of war, and a variety of other deities and demons. They were steeped in superstition, ritual, sexual perversions, child sacrifice, and fertility rites. In all this they did not differ very much from the other preliterate tribes and clans around them. When they settled in Canaan they mingled with their Semitic neighbors and adopted their culture, religion, customs, and languages.

During the eighteenth century B.C.E. some Northwest-Semitic (Amorite) peoples began raiding Egypt, which they finally invaded and conquered around 1720–1710 B.C.E. They ruled the Middle Kingdom for about one-and-a-half centuries. These foreign rulers of Egypt were known to the Egyptians as the *hik shasu* or Hyksos. They seem to have had much to do with the history of the Hebrews. In order to understand the genesis of the Hebrew religion before the Hyksos rule of Egypt, we need to study the practice of child sacrifice among the early Hebrews. This practice and its relation to the Hebrew myths is the key to the psychoanalytic understanding of Hebrew origins. The early Hebrews were organized in endogamous clans: one married inside one's own tribe, clan, or extended family. As with the Beduin, it was common for a young man to marry his first cousin. This made sure that all able-bodied male offspring would remain in the clan and help defend it against hostile groups (Patai 1973:92). Tribal and national organization was a more sophisticated later development.

One of the most fascinating aspects of the Hebrews is their myths as put forth in Genesis (Graves and Patai 1983). These myths began among the ancient Hebrews to explain how their world, their people, and their religion came about. They were projections and externalizations of inner psychic realities. They include myths about the

creation of the world, about the origin of families and of tribes, about the origins of the Hebrews themselves and of their neighbors and enemies, about the filicidal, fratricidal, parricidal, and incestuous conflicts within the family, and, of course, about Yahweh, who was syncretized with El, Shaddai, Elyoun, and other deities. Scholars have shown that the Jewish Hebrew myths are closely related to Sumerian, Akkadian, and Canaanite ones (Meek 1960; Graves and Patai 1983).

BIRTH, CREATION, AND PARADISE

Our birth may indeed be our most traumatic experience, a paradigm for all later separations and losses. The myth of Adam and Eve, of the Garden of Eden, and of the expulsion from Paradise (Gen. 2:8–3:24) symbolizes the loss of sexual innocence in early childhood. It also symbolizes the bliss of the fetus during its life in the womb and of the infant in psychic fusion with its mother, and the trauma of being born, both physically (expelled from the womb) and psychologically (losing the symbiosis). Similar flood myths existed among the Sumerians and Akkadians (Kramer 1961:101–2). The flood myths symbolize the rupture of the amniotic membranes before birth. Even if there was an actual historical flood, it was fused in the ancient mind with the flood of birth, and the myths woven around it have come down to us. DeMause (1982:244) believed that the “fetal drama” was the origin of all human history. His theories have been criticized by prominent psychohistorians (Strozier and Offer 1985:63–64), which does not invalidate the symbolic interpretation of the myth of Paradise Lost.

ISRAEL VERSUS CANAAN

The myth of Canaan came to explain and justify the subjugation of the Canaanites by the Israelites. By this myth Canaan was Noah’s grandson. Noah became drunk from wine, which made him expose himself inside his tent. His son Ham “saw the nakedness of his father” and told his two brothers Shem and Japheth, who covered their father’s nakedness without looking at it. When Noah came to, he cursed not his son Ham, who had seen him naked, but Ham’s son Canaan: “And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said: Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren” (Gen. 9:24–25).

Graves and Patai (1983:121–22) pointed out the clear gap in the narrative, indicating that this version of the myth was heavily and carelessly edited. What exactly had Ham done unto his father Noah in this myth? Why did Noah curse Canaan, not Ham? Jewish legend has it that Ham not only saw his father’s nakedness but also attempted to castrate his father (Ginzberg 1967–69, 1:168). Noah’s curse indicates that it was Canaan rather than Ham who was guilty of the castration attempt. What are we to make of this Hebrew myth about Canaan?

The myth of Noah and his sons was the Hebrew conception of the origins of tribes and peoples. The Canaanites were related to the Amorites or West Semites, yet it was important for the Hebrews to distinguish themselves from the Canaanites. Thus Ham became the mythical father of Cush (Africa), Mizraim (Egypt), Phut (Libya), and Canaan (Gen. 10:6), while the Hebrews traced their own origins to Shem, the mythical father of all Semitic tribes (Gen. 10:21). Having subdued the Canaanites, they attributed the fall of Canaan to his father's sins. This myth was an unconscious excuse for having slaughtered and enslaved entire tribes, for which the Hebrews may have felt guilty as a group.

Myths may constitute an unconscious defense against painful guilt feelings. Reik (1957) interpreted the expulsion from Paradise as Adam's punishment for having "killed" his tree totem, hence the story of the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life. The early Hebrew tribes had killed their tree totem, which survives in the seven-branched Jewish menorah, and their guilt feelings led them to create the myth of Paradise Lost. One should take Reik's theory with a grain of salt because of its highly speculative nature.

FRATRICIDAL MYTHS

Fraternal rivalry was one of the most powerful emotions of ancient (and modern) people. Brothers love and hate one another. They fight each other for the love of their parents. The myth of Cain and Abel (Gen. 4) expresses both the intense rivalry between brothers in the ancient patriarchal family and the historical enmity between nomadic shepherds and sedentary farmers. Cain's name means "smith" in several Semitic languages. We have parallels to this myth not only in the myths of Abraham and Lot, of Isaac and Ishmael, and of Jacob and Esau, but also in the mythologies of many other ancient peoples (Kramer 1961). Like parricide and infanticide, fratricide greatly preoccupied primitive people, including the Hebrews, and still troubles our unconscious minds.

AMBIVALENT KINSHIP

Ambivalent feelings are part and parcel of the human condition. Growing up in families generates love and hate at the same time. The myths of Isaac and Ishmael and of Jacob and Esau expressed not only the old story of fratricidal rivalry within the patriarchal family, but also the ambivalent feeling of kinship and enmity that the Hebrews felt towards their closest neighbors and enemies, the Edomites and the Moabites.

While the ancient Sumerians were non-Semitic, the Akkadians and the Canaanites were very close both linguistically and culturally to the Hebrews. The monotheism and antipaganism of the Hebrew priests and prophets were not shared by the masses of the Hebrew tribes, who eagerly embraced the Canaanite deities and cults. How-

ever, their conquest of Canaan and their struggle for territory made them enemies of their own kin. The "narcissism of minor differences" referred to by Freud makes enemies precisely of those who are very much like us except in minor aspects (Volkan 1988).

THE TENDENTIOUSNESS OF BIBLICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

Biblical historiography began at a time when the political and military fortunes of Judah and Israel began to wane, after the destruction of Israel in 721 B.C.E. The Jewish people's faith in Yahweh as their mighty protector began to falter. The biblical texts became tendentious, having as their aim the bolstering of the Yahweh faith and the denigration of Canaanite religious practices. Vital information was suppressed if it did not accord with the religious aims of its writers. The biblical historian's "transference" to his subject distorted his understanding of it (Loewenberg 1985b). When we read the biblical texts, therefore, we must bear in mind their tendency to conceal and distort historical information due to their burning desire to make a religious point (Freedman 1961). Here are some examples of the biblical distortion of history.

The myth of Jacob's wrestling with El, commonly known as The Struggle with the Angel, was an apocryphal explanation for the Hebrew tribes' name change to the Children of Israel. Reik (1951:229-51) interpreted this famous myth as concealing a ritual of initiation and circumcision of the son by the father. Let us examine the biblical text (Gen. 32:24-30):

And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day. And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint, as he wrestled with him. And he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me. And he said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob. And he said, *Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed.* . . . And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel [El's face]: for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.

The etymology in this myth is unconvincing. The name Israel is an epithet of El in the Ugaritic texts and means "El shall reign" or "El shall rule" rather than "he has prevailed over El." The apocryphal explanation "as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed" hardly explains the name Israel. El was the father god of the Canaanites, from whom the ancient Hebrews had adopted their language and culture (Cross 1973:15-20; Patai 1977:42-44).

The usual psychoanalytic interpretation is that Jacob's struggle with El represents the unconscious conflict between parricidal rage and paternal love, as well as between fraternal love and fratricidal hate. El represents the early father, whom Jacob both loves and hates. Jacob wants to kill El but also wants to win his love. His feelings toward his brother Esau are themselves displaced from his parricidal fury. This

inner conflict was projected upon the god El, who was the symbol of Jacob's father Isaac. Our hero was able to make his peace with his brother Esau only by defeating his inner parricidal rage. El had been the totemistic bull god of the Semites and was clearly a father symbol (Freud 1913; Reik 1962). Fraternal rivalry and parricidal rage were a major problem for the ancient Hebrews with their patriarchal families. A struggle with the deity was never the meaning of theophorous names, in which the name of the deity was always the subject rather than the object of the name-phrase. The Ugaritic texts use Israel as an epithet for El (Dannel 1946:22; Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 3:940; Albright 1968; Cross 1973). Thoru-El, Israel, and El are interchangeable. The biblical account was yet another attempt to suppress the pagan Canaanite origin of the name Israel.

3

Canaan, Greece, and Egypt

Gordon (1965a) believed that Greek and Canaanite cultures both originated in the older Ugaritic civilization. The Ugaritic deity El appears as Elos in *Preparation for the Gospel*, a Greek work by Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea (c. 263–339), known by its Latin title *Praeparatio Evangelica* (Eusebius 1903). Albright (1968:194) believed that Eusebius's work was the last of four documents, each based on its predecessor. The first three of them were lost: (1) The Egyptian cosmogony of the god Thut (Taauth, Thoth, Djhuty, or Djhowety), dating from the nineteenth century B.C.E.; (2) the Phoenician cosmogony of Sanchuniathon of Tyre, who settled in Berytos (modern Beirut) in the seventh or sixth century B.C.E.; (3) the *Phoenicia* of Philo Byblius, written in Greek around the turn of the first century C.E., and giving a detailed account of the "Phoenician" (Canaanite) religion. Philo Byblius claimed to have translated Sanchuniathon's original text. Eusebius (1903, 1.10.44, 4.16.11) quoted Philo Byblius on Phoenician child sacrifice:

It was an ancient [Phoenician] custom in a crisis of great danger that the ruler of a city or nation should give his beloved son to die for the whole people, as a ransom offered to the avenging demons; and the children thus offered were slain with mystic rites. So Cronus, whom the Phoenicians call Elos, being king of the land and having an only-begotten son called Jeoud (for in the Phoenician tongue Jeoud signifies "only-begotten"), dressed him in royal robes and sacrificed him upon an altar in a time of war, when the country was in great danger from the enemy. (Frazer 1951:340–41)

"Elos" was the Greek form of the Canaanite Hebrew "El." The name appears as "Elos" in the earliest extant manuscript of Eusebius's work, the tenth-century "Parisinus graecus 451"; in subsequent manuscripts it appears as "Israel" (Frazer 1951:341). Was this the work of medieval Christian scholars who sought to discredit the hated Jews? Isaac and Jacob may have been *hypocoristica* (abbreviated names) for Yitzhakele (May El smile) and Yaakobele (May El protect) (Albright 1957:243–45). If indeed Jacob was an actual historical figure, his full name of Yaakobele may well have been changed to Israel, meaning "May El reign," both being epithets of El.

Israel was one of the names or epithets of El, the chief Canaanite god. El had numerous epithets, each describing his character or function (Cross 1973:15–20). Filicide was common in Canaanite myth. El circumcised his only son and sacrificed

him to his father Shamayim (Heaven). El also beheaded his daughter. El had also rebelled against his own father, had castrated him, and had taken his place (Eusebius 1903, 1:10:14–33). Eusebius reported that the Phoenicians identified El (Elos) with the Greek god Kronos (Cronus).

In old Hellenic myth Kronos was the son god who castrated his father Uranos (Heaven) as the latter approached his wife Gaia (Earth) with his erect penis. Kronos flung his father's severed phallus into the sea. From the drops of blood and semen that fell from the penis upon the earth were born the Erinyes (Furies), the giants, and the guardian nymphs of manna ashes. From the bloody phallus itself, as it floated in the sea and gathered foam (*aphros*), sprang the love goddess Aphrodite (Rose 1959:22). Kronos not only emasculated his father Uranos but also married and copulated with his sister Rhea and swallowed or killed his own children. This myth expresses the most primitive human fears and wishes.

Eusebius believed that Philo Byblius identified Kronos with El (Elos) and that El castrated himself as well as his own father (Albright 1957:234). In Canaanite (Phoenician) myth El was the father of the gods. El's father was Shamayim (Sky or Heaven); Shamayim's own father was a deity named Elioun (Elyon), meaning "the Most High" or "the Lofty One," who later appeared in the Hebrew religion as El Elyon (the Highest God). Elioun was identified by Philo Byblius with Hypsistos, the father of Uranos (Kramer 1961:160), but the latter does not appear in Rose (1959). Since Eusebius quoted faithfully and accurately from Philo (Albright 1968:194), Kronos was both Israel and El, and Israel was but one of El's names or attributes.

The Aramaic-speaking nomads who entered Canaan between the nineteenth and seventeenth centuries B.C.E. adopted not only the Hebrew language from the Canaanites but also many aspects of Phoenician religion and culture (Albright 1968:197–212). The Phoenician father god El (Israel), who castrated his father and sacrificed his son, became their father. This Father El was later fused with the patriarch Jacob or Yaaqob. The adoption of Israel, the god who castrated his father and sacrificed his son, and whose name means "El shall prevail," attests to the Hebrews' preoccupation with parricide and with filicide. They had to wrestle with their inner father El to stop themselves from castrating their own fathers and from killing their own children.

THE MYTH OF THE COVENANT

Incestuous feelings and the oedipal conflict were very intense in the close-knit, polygynous, and patriarchal families of the ancient Hebrews. There were many Hebrew myths of incest, such as that of Lot's daughters with their father (Gen. 19:30–38) and that of Jacob's firstborn son, Reuben, with his wife's concubine (Gen. 35:22). Royal incest, and incest in general, may have been more common than we are told in the Bible. The biblical chroniclers attempted to conceal it. Some time during the late First Temple or early Second Temple period it became punishable by death (Lev. 20:11). Royal incest persisted in Canaan. In Egypt it was basic to the culture.

In the family, father and son constantly vied for the mother's love. Genesis, composed by a Judean priest or scribe from various ancient oral and written sources after the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel, during the late eight and early seventh century B.C.E., postulated a High Father of the Hebrew nation who had come from outside the land of Israel:

Now these are the generations of Terah: Terah begat Abram, Nahor and Haran. . . . And Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai. . . . But Sarai was barren; she had no child. And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran his son's son, and Sarai his daughter in law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there. . . . Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee: and I will make thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing; and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee all the families of the earth shall be blessed. So Abram departed, as the Lord had spoken unto him: and Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran. (Gen. 11:27–12:4)

This myth may be viewed as historical reality (Albright 1957; Bright 1981), as psychological fantasy (Freud 1939; Reik 1957; Meek 1960; Graves and Patai 1983), or as a combination of both. Lewy (1934), E. Meyer (1967) and Graves and Patai (1983:165) thought that Ram, Ramu, or Rama was a West Semitic or Amorite deity, the High or Lofty God. The same name is borne by a most important Indian (Hindu) god. As mentioned, the name Abram, more accurately read Abiram (Aviram), is a theophorous Canaanite Hebrew name meaning "Ram is my father." Ur of the Chaldees was an old royal city of Sumer in southeastern Mesopotamia. Haran (now Harran in Urfa province, southeastern Turkey) was the great Amorite city in northwestern Mesopotamia that flourished in the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries B.C.E. It was on the main trade route from the Assyrian capital of Nineveh to Carchemish, on the Euphrates River, and was the seat of the cult of the Sumero-Akkadian moon god Nanna-Sin (Graves and Patai 1983:131).

This myth may have recalled an Aramaean patriarch of Sumer or southern Mesopotamia who led his clan northwestward along the Euphrates River and then southwestward to Canaan, abandoning his homeland and founding a new nation and a new religion after making a covenant with the High God Ram (Rama), who was later fused with Yahweh. Graves and Patai (1983:13–14) thought that Abraham was "the Aramaean patriarch who entered Palestine with the Hyksos hordes early in the second millennium B.C." The god Ram took the place of Abraham's father. Yehoshua (1981) thought it psychologically significant that the myth had God select a man from *outside* Canaan to give him the Land of Israel. If God was the symbolic father and the land was the symbolic mother, the father was thus asserting his supremacy over the mother. It was he, God, who had created the Hebrew nation, not she, the land of Israel. The myth, wrote Yehoshua, was repeated in the story of the exodus from Egypt. Again it was God who molded the people *outside* their land. The Hebrew people was

born of its father, not of its mother. Hence its relationship to its motherland was forever tortuous. Otherwise stated, the Hebrews or Israelites had retained the myth of a powerful father (God) dominating them as well as their motherland, creating them before bringing them into their land.

The Israelites may have created this patriarchal myth out of their collective historical memories as nomadic tribes with a strongly patriarchal family structure. They had migrated from outside the land of Canaan and had invaded it, violently, massacring its inhabitants. This conquest had been sanctioned by their God Yahweh, who had made a covenant with the father of their people, Abraham. Here is the biblical text:

And when Abram was ninety years old and nine, the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect. And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly. And Abram fell on his face: and God talked with him, saying, As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of many nations. Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham; for a father of many nations have I made thee. And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee. And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God. (Gen. 17:1-8)

The motherland plays a passive role in this covenant. She is given by Yahweh (the Lord) to Abram (his servant) in exchange for his loyalty. This is a pact between two fathers, God the Father and Abraham the High Father. The ancient Hebrews, like our present-day Beduin, were tribal, clannish, polygynous, and patriarchal. Goldberg and Rayner (1989:275) thought that "this Covenant, whose outward symbol is circumcision . . . is one of the key concepts of Judaism." Psychologically it symbolizes the resolution of the father-son conflict through the son's acceptance of symbolic castration in exchange for chosenness, heirship, and other filial privileges.

Women were considered the property of their husbands. We have seen that the modern Hebrew word for husband is the same as for owner, lord, and master: *baal*. The ancient Hebrews' relationship to their motherland and to their father god Yahweh was ambivalent, carrying as it did strongly oedipal elements. The strongly patriarchal family structure gave rise to equally strong oedipal conflicts. The story of the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob climaxes when Jacob's firstborn son, Reuben, commits incest with his father's concubine (Gen. 35:22), unconsciously displaced from incest with his own mother, and is cursed by his dying father (Gen. 49:3-4).

CIRCUMCISION AND INITIATION

The practice of male circumcision, common among Semites, northeast Africans, and the people of New Guinea, was woven into the myth of Abraham. The covenant

between Yahweh and Abraham required the latter to circumcise every male child on the eighth day of his life (Gen. 17:9–14). Circumcision is part of the “rites of passage” through which the pubescent boys of a tribe are initiated into its adult society, with its secrets and the responsibilities and prerogatives of adult tribe members (Van Gennep 1960). These initiation rites are known as puberty rites when we speak of early preliterate ethnic groups, clans, and tribes. They reflect the deeply ambivalent feelings of adult males towards their young rivals, whom they at once elevate to manhood and mutilate by performing circumcision and even the painful and cruel operation of penile subincision (Reik 1959, 1962).

Circumcision is the most important and dramatic aspect of initiation rituals (Reik 1959:87–92). Psychoanalysts concur that the act of circumcision is an unconscious substitute for filicide and castration. The inherent conflict between father and son that is an inseparable part of the patriarchal family had to be attenuated. As human beings became more civilized fathers stopped killing their sons and began to circumcise them. By feeling that this was the will of God, they could do so without feeling guilty—in fact, with full social approval by their fellows.

Freud (1939) believed that Moses was an Egyptian, that the Hebrews could only have adopted ritual circumcision from the ancient Egyptians, and that it was introduced to them by Moses. Reik (1962) and Lustig (1976) pointed out that circumcision, like child sacrifice, was widespread among the Hebrews long before Moses. It had been the principal aspect of the initiation ritual among Semitic and other Near Eastern tribes.

THE MYTH OF ELECTION

The ancient Hebrews viewed circumcision, which distinguished them from their Canaanite neighbors, as a mark of being chosen by their God (Freud 1939:60, 88, 91). This feeling of being unique, special, and different from all other nations characterized the ancient Israelites and has persisted throughout Jewish history. It has been the source of much tragedy. Albright (1957:6) believed that “nearly all peoples, both primitive and sophisticated, claim uniqueness.” Reik (1959:142) countered that “neither the Babylonians nor the Egyptians developed a faith comparable to the idea of being chosen.” Goldberg and Rayner (1989:275–76), both rabbis, took for granted the actual existence of God and tried to explain the Jewish notion of election:

The sense of chosen-ness, as applied to the Jewish people, permeates the classical sources of Judaism . . . it also raises difficulties, which have at times shocked, embarrassed or perplexed not only gentiles but also, especially in this modern, secular age, Jews . . . one contemporary Jewish religious movement—that of the Reconstructionists . . . has actually repudiated the “chosen people” idea and expunged it from its prayer books. . . . It would be wrong . . . to criticize the [election] doctrine on the ground that it implied a limited, national deity . . . a choosing God must, in the nature of the case, be a universal God. . . . A more serious objection to the concept of the election of Israel (nicely encapsulated in the William Norman Ewer rhyme, “How odd / Of God / To choose / The Jews!”) is that such a choice on God’s part would reflect, not on His

universality, but on His impartiality or [upon] His good judgement . . . the doctrine of election has always been a puzzlement, not only to non-Jews, but to Jews themselves. . . . [Their] Election . . . was not in doubt, only the reason for it.

Ironically, the myth of election is not unique to the Jews: it exists among most, if not all, ethnic groups. The ancient Greeks considered their culture the only true one and called those who could not speak their language *barbaroi* (barbarians). The Japanese consider themselves and their culture special, unique, and superior to all others. The Germans have similar feelings and have called themselves *das Herrenvolk* (the master people). The old German word *deutsch* (*deutsch*) meant "the people." Some Indian tribes have thought of themselves alone as human (Boyer 1986). In psychoanalytic terms the myth of election is an aspect of group narcissism. The ethnic group feels it is unique, chosen, and special and that its god loves it best. This is obvious in modern nationalism, patriotism, and chauvinism, which may be benign but may also be extreme and malignant (Mack 1983; Loewenberg 1994). Individual (and group) narcissism evolves as an inner defense against feelings of rejection, helplessness, and worthlessness.

Did the ancient Israelites have such inferiority feelings in Egypt, or during their lengthy sojourn in the desert, to have had to evolve the myth of being the chosen people? Did Moses make them his chosen people? Reik (1959:140-49) thought that the poor Hebrew clans developed the myth of their election because they were separated from both the Egyptian and Canaanite peoples and their ordinances. The key biblical verse is "ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation" (Exod. 19:6). Like Freud (1939), Reik believed that Moses, a Hebrew follower of the young Egyptian pharaoh Ikhnoton (Amenhotep IV) who had been elevated to prince, had separated his Hebrew clans from the Egyptian priests who, after the pharaoh's death, vengefully restored the polytheistic religion to Egypt. Moses was conferring the role and privileges of the priests of Amun-Re (Amon-Ra) on his own Hebrew followers.

Yehoshua (1981) believed that unless "the Jewish people" gave up their claim to being chosen, unique, special, and different from all other nations, another Holocaust might occur. The notion of being chosen, special, unique, and different as a people is a key aspect of Jewish consciousness. There may be different levels of the feeling of chosenness, specialness, and uniqueness. Group narcissism seems to be stronger among ethnic groups that have been subject to repeated blows to their self-esteem during their history. The early Hebrews, having suffered enslavement, persecution, and humiliation at the hands of their Egyptian enemies as early as the sixteenth century B.C.E., may have been especially prone to developing the myth of election to the point of feeling that they were "a light unto the nations." This myth has bedeviled Jewish history until our own day.

AKEDAH AND CHILD SACRIFICE

Abraham's son Isaac is the subject of one of the most famous myths in the Bible, that of the binding (*akedah*) of Isaac. The name Isaac is a Greco-Roman rendering of the

Hebrew word Yitzhak, meaning "he who will laugh," itself a *hypocoristicon* (abbreviation) of Yitzhakel, meaning "El will laugh" or "May El laugh" (Albright 1957:244). The name was purportedly given to Abraham's son because the one-hundred-year-old Abraham laughed when he was told that he was going to have a son by his ninety-year-old wife Sarah (Gen. 17:15–19). Actually, it was a Canaanite theophorous name derived from "El." Later, when Isaac was a boy of unspecified age, God "did tempt" Abraham by ordering him to offer "thy son, thine only son, Isaac, whom thou lovest" on a mountain in the land of Moriah "for a burnt offering" to God (Gen. 22:1–2). The Hebrew word for "did tempt" actually means "tried." This "trial" required Abraham to bind his son to an altar, to stab and kill him with a knife, and then to burn his body as an offering to Yahweh. The biblical account is very moving (Gen. 22:6–13):

And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took the fire in his hand, and a knife; and they went both of them together. And Isaac spake unto Abraham his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here I am, my son. And he said, Behold the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for the burnt offering? And Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering: so they went both of them together. And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built an altar there, and laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood. And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son. And the angel of the Lord called unto him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham! And he said, Here am I. And he said, Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son.

This myth symbolizes the historical transition among the ancient Hebrews from child sacrifice to animal sacrifice. The ancient Hebrews, like their Canaanite neighbors, used to sacrifice children to the Canaanite fire god Moloch. This infanticide was attributed by unconscious projection to the will of the gods, who demanded the sacrifice of all firstborn sons, and to the fear of the loss of the sun during the winter solstice. The psychological motive was the father's fear of his own son. Lustig (1976) and Schlesinger (1976) believed that child sacrifice was the origin of Passover and of Judaism itself.

The Yahweh religion of Moses forbade child sacrifice, which nevertheless persisted throughout the First Temple period. The practice of child sacrifice was an "acting out" of filicidal feelings due to the father's fear and envy of the son, which were especially strong in a patriarchal family. In the Greek myth of Oedipus it is Laios who tries to have his own son, Oedipus, killed, after being told by the oracle that his son is destined to kill him. The child's life is spared by the shepherd who is ordered by Laios to kill him, and Oedipus later unwittingly kills his own father. This is the basic father-son problem in the human family.

The Hebrew word *akedah* (binding) comes from the phrase *vayaakod eth Yitzhak*

beno (and he bound Isaac his son) in Gen. 22:9. Although Abraham never actually killed Isaac, the word *akedah* was used by Jewish scholars and writers throughout Jewish history to describe the massacres of the Jews. It is a striking psychohistorical fantasy. Stein (1984a:10) believed that the biblical *akedah* "is not only a key to the psychology of Jewish monotheism but also a key to the Jewish meaning of the Holocaust." It may also be the key to the psychology of Jewish life in fantasy and in the past.

Reik (1962) believed that filicide was an abundant theme in Jewish ritual, liturgy, folklore, and religion. Lustig (1976) believed that the archaic Stone Age practice of child sacrifice was in fact the origin of the Jewish religion, which arose as a psychological defense against infanticidal guilt feelings. Schlesinger (1976) similarly believed that the Passover ritual originated in ritual child sacrifice. Child sacrifice gave rise to animal sacrifice, to circumcision, to the Passover rituals, to the blowing of the shofar (ram's horn), and to many other Jewish religious practices.

EL SHADDAI—THE GOD WITH BREASTS?

Like the Canaanites, the ancient Hebrews were polytheistic but gradually switched from polytheism to monotheism, adopting the belief in a single god, Yahweh, who ruled heaven and earth. Their ancestors had worshipped "other gods" than Yahweh (Josh. 24:2). Who were these gods? Biblical scholars have long noted that the god of the Hebrews had several names and epithets. The earliest were Shaddai (the mountain god or the god with breasts) (Cross 1973:55), Elyon (the lofty god) and El (the mighty father god).

The name El Shaddai occurs repeatedly in Genesis (Gen. 17:1, 28:3, 35:11, 43:14, 48:3, 49:28). Albright (1957:243–44) thought that Shaddai was the chief god of the Hebrew patriarchs. Cross (1973:60) believed that El Shaddai was an Amorite or Canaanite storm god, an epithet of the Canaanite father god El or an epithet of the Amorite El in his role as divine warrior, identified early by the Hebrew patriarchs with the Canaanite god El. Cross (1973:55) admitted that the primitive meaning of Shaddai is obviously "breast." The Hebrew word *shad* (plural *shaddayim*) means "breast." As mentioned in the previous chapter, Biale (1982) believed that El Shaddai was a relic of an ancient Canaanite goddess who had been transformed into a male god. Other scholars have thought that Shaddai meant "mountain god."

THE CANAANITE PANTHEON

Elyon (Elyoun) was the highest god of the Canaanites. El was the father god of the Canaanites and the original bull god (Thoru-El) of the Semites (Smith 1972; Cross 1973). The ancient Canaanite gods had various manifestations when combined with place names: El-Gabal, Baal-Peor, and so forth. Alt (1929) believed that El Elyon, El

Olam, El Bethel, and El Roi were all pre-Israelite Canaanite deities. Elyon (Elyoun) was the chief deity of the Phoenicians (Sidonians). El, Olam, Bethel, Shaddai, and Roi were syncretized as epithets of Yahweh (Cross 1973:71–72). If it was Moses who gave the Israelites their god Yahweh, this god was later fused or syncretized with the gods El and Shaddai (Albright 1957:257–72). The name Elohim or Elahim, a plural form of Eloha or Elah (god), was used by the Israelites “to stress the unity and universality of [their] God” (Albright 1949:11). The name Elah recalls the Arabic Allah and was used in Emesa (Syria), whose god was Elah-Gabal, the Aramaean sun god.

YAHWEH AND EL

Biblical scholars believe that there were at least four different sources for the Pentateuch. These included the J text that referred to God as Jehovah (Yahweh), the E text that referred to him as Elohim, the D text that constitutes Deuteronomy through 2 Kings, and the P text that comprised the Priestly Code. J and E were combined into a single text by Judean scribes after the fall of the kingdom of Israel, around the middle of the seventh century B.C.E., despite many inconsistencies in the joint text; D was added during the Babylonian exile after 586 B.C.E., and P during the Second Temple period in the fifth century B.C.E., the time of Ezra the Scribe. To create the feeling of consistency, the names of the various deities were made to appear to refer to the same God.

Alt (1929) and Albright (1957:243) believed that each generation of patriarchs chose itself a new god, giving new names to the deity. The name Yahweh (Jehovah), which was commonly and freely pronounced, later became ineffable in Jewish tradition. Instead, the word Adonai (My Lord) had to be pronounced. This greatly intrigued Freud, who believed that the name Adonai was suspiciously close to that of the Syrian god Adonis and to that of the Egyptian sun god Aton (Aten). Freud believed that the Jews adopted the name Adonai from Aton, whom the pharaoh Amenhotep IV (r. 1353–1336 B.C.E.) made into the only god of ancient Egypt, changing his own name to Akhenaten (Ikhнатon). Moses, having been a follower of Ikhнатon, gave this new god to the Hebrews, who later fused him with the Midianite Yahweh (Freud 1939:25, 39–40). Reik (1959:149–159) believed that the ineffability of Yahweh's name derived from the ritual secrecy of tribal initiation. There are taboos on pronouncing gods' names in many preliterate tribes (Frazer 1951:302–5).

The Yahweh of the ancient Hebrews was clearly a Great Father figure, which is hardly surprising in a highly patriarchal culture. Over time, his nature changed from terrible and vindictive to merciful and charitable. Albright (1957:270–71) believed that the god of the ancient Hebrews incorporated several Egyptian influences. He was the sole creator of everything; the formula for his name, Yahweh, came from Amon-Ra (Amun-Re) in Egypt; he was the only God, as was Aten (Aton) under Ikhнатon; and he ruled the entire universe. On the other hand, Yahweh also had distinctly Hebrew features, such as the close association between God and his believers. They gave themselves theophorous names incorporating his, such as Jeremiah (Yahweh shall be

exalted) or Hezekiah (Yahweh is powerful). They sacrificed animals to him. There was a covenant between Yahweh and his people. Storms, mountains, and so forth were attributed to terrestrial manifestations of Yahweh. The stories of the patriarchs were adopted as Hebrew history. Yahweh was identified with the original patriarchal god, El Shaddai. They gave specific names to the deity (Meek 1960:105–18). Albright (1957:257–72) enumerated the chief characteristics of the ancient God of the Israelites:

1. His name was Yahweh, Yahu, Yah, Yeho etc.
2. He stood alone, without any wife, son, daughter, or other relative.
3. He had no specific dwelling place.
4. He was not a sun god, storm god, mountain god, volcanic god or moon god.
5. He was an anthropomorphic god, a god created in the image of man.

Meek (1960:111–18), citing this uncertainty about the exact name of the god of the ancient Hebrews, believed that Yahweh's name was of non-Hebrew origin, that Yahweh had been an Arabian or Midianite storm god who "for reasons beyond our ken" (116) was adopted by Judah as its tribal god, and that Yahweh was foisted upon the other Hebrew tribes by Judah. Judah (Yehudah) was the only Hebrew tribe whose name derived directly from Yahweh's—or his from theirs. Judah resided in the south, from whence Yahweh may have originated. In Judah theophorous personal names derived from Yahweh, such as Elijah (Yahweh is my god), Jeremiah (Yahweh shall be exalted), or Isaiah (Yahweh is my salvation). Judah grew to dominate the other Hebrew tribes and finally imposed its own god Yahweh upon the other tribes.

YAHWEH AN EPITHET OF EL?

While most biblical scholars believe that Yahweh was imported into Canaan and fused with El, Cross (1973:60–75) had another idea about Yahweh's origin. Since the name Yahweh was a causative imperfect form of the Canaanite–Proto-Hebrew verb *hwy* (to be), Cross thought, Yahweh was originally the shortened form of a cultic sentence-name or epithet of El. Cross believed that Yahweh had split off from El in the radical differentiation of his cult that occurred in the proto-Israelite league and that in the Israelite religion Yahweh ousted El from his place in the divine council and eventually condemned the ancient gods to death. Elohim (the gods) is a biblical byname for Yahweh, and Ps. 82 seems to support Cross's thesis: "God [Elohim] takes his place in the court of the mighty [El], to pronounce judgment among the gods [Elohim]: How much longer will you judge unjustly? . . . This is my sentence: Though you are gods, all sons of the Most High [Elyon], yet you shall die as mortals die, and fall as any prince does. Arise, O God [Elohim], and judge the Earth, for all the nations are yours." Cross (1973:71–72) thought that his hypothesis helped solve many historical problems:

If Yahweh is recognized as originally a cultic name of El, perhaps the epithet of El as patron deity of the Midianite League in the south, a number of problems in the history of the religion of Israel can be solved . . . El, Elyon, Shaddai and Olam continued throughout Israel's history to be suitable names for Yahweh despite fierce animosity to Baal, the chief god of Syria. . . . The popularity of the cult of El in the Semitic community in Sinai, the eastern delta of Egypt, and Seir gives some plausibility to the notion that Yahweh was [originally] an El figure. . . . Many of the traits and functions of El appear as traits and functions of Yahweh in the earliest traditions of Israel. . . . The early cultic establishment of Yahweh and its appurtenances—the Tabernacle, its structure of *qerasim*, its curtains embroidered with cherubim and its cherubim throne, and its proportions according to the pattern (*tabnit*) of the cosmic shrine—all reflect Canaanite models, and specifically the Tent of El and his cherubim throne. . . . If El and Yahweh were related as we have suggested, many of the puzzling features of the cult of Jeroboam would have immediate explanation.

Both "El" and "Elohim" are used in the bible as Yahweh's bynames. Was Yahweh fused with the Canaanite god El by the Israelites, or did they split him off from El and have Yahweh displace El as their deity? This seems to remain an open question.

Freud's and Albright's explanations for Yahweh's anthropomorphism seem to converge. Freud believed that God was a projection of the father image that each believer had internalized during his or her early childhood (Freud 1939:83–84, 88, 90–91, 133–34, 136). Albright believed that "the anthropomorphic conception of Yahweh was absolutely necessary if the God of Israel was to remain a God of the individual Israelite as well as of the people as a whole" (Albright 1957:265). Freud believed that Moses impressed a special character on the Jews (Israelites) with his new religion, which (1) allowed them to share the grandeur of a new idea of God, (2) made them feel they were special, unique, and chosen by this God, and (3) forced upon them an advance in intellectuality (Freud 1939:123). The archaeologist and the psychoanalyst had reached similar conclusions.

HYKSOS, HABIRU, AND HEBREWS

Some experts on Hebrew origins hold that the biblical stories of the Hebrew patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob fairly accurately reflect the historical origins of the Hebrews in the Balikh Valley of Mesopotamia (now Iraq), in the nineteenth and eighteenth century B.C.E. (Bright 1981:87–103). Other scholars think that these biblical stories are tribal myths reflecting the psychological realities of the Hebrews (Graves and Patai 1983:11–19). The truth may lie between the two views.

Some scholars think the Hebrews were an ethnic element of the Hyksos, the Greek form of the Egyptian words *hiq shasu* meaning "nomad leader" or the word *heqakhase* meaning "rulers of foreign lands" (Meek 1960:5, 17; Albright 1957:202). The Hyksos were an ethnically mixed group, mostly Semitic Asiatic people from Canaan or Syria, and partly Hittite and Hurrian. They began invading Egypt during the eighteenth century B.C.E., conquered it around 1720–1710 B.C.E., subdued the pharaohs of the

Middle Kingdom, and set up their own realm with its capital at Avaris (the Egyptian Tanis and the biblical Zoan), in the Land of Goshen, in the northeastern delta of the Nile River. The Hyksos ruled Egypt during the Fifteenth Dynasty (1674–1567 B.C.E.).

Other scholars relate the ancient Hebrews to the Habiru (Khapiru or Apiru), a nomadic group or tribe mentioned in the cuneiform Akkadian documents of Mari, dating from the nineteenth and eighteenth century B.C.E., in the Nuzi documents of the late sixteenth and early fifteenth century B.C.E., and in the Tell-al-Amarna (Akhetaon) tablets of the fourteenth century B.C.E. (Meek 1960:7, 18; Greenberg 1955; Albright 1957:239–41; Bright 1981:93–96; Ben-Sasson 1976:41). Some Hebrews were assimilated into the Egyptian people and culture, others into Canaanite culture, while still other Hebrews became Israelites after they left Egypt under Moses and became a new nation with a new religion at Mount Sinai (Albright 1957; Reik 1959). Were these earlier Hebrews related to the nomadic Habiru of the cuneiform tablets or were they an element of the Hyksos? Meek (1960:18) believed that the Hebrew element of the Hyksos was driven out of Egypt with the Hyksos rulers in the sixteenth century B.C.E., while the Habiru who invaded Syria and Palestine in the fifteenth were Hebrews again.

The Hyksos made up the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Dynasties of ancient Egypt, and during those 170 years or so captured Canaan and Babylonia. They maintained peace and prosperity in their empire, introduced the horse-drawn chariot and the composite bow into Egyptian civilization, and built rectangular fortresses of beaten earth. They introduced into Egypt Canaanite deities such as Baal, Horon, Resheph, Ashtoreth (Astarte), Anath, and Asherah, as well as Canaanite artifacts, thus ending the despotic and isolationist character of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The biblical Joseph was both the viceroy of Egypt and the first dream interpreter in Jewish history. After his envious brothers sold him into slavery, he was bought by Potiphar, an officer of the pharaoh's court, "a captain of the guard" (Gen. 39:1). Joseph had the integrity to resist the seductive gestures of his master Potiphar's wife, but he had no fury like a woman scorned, and he was thrown into prison by her guile. Only after interpreting the pharaoh's dreams successfully was Joseph released and appointed to his high office. Joseph's story has been the subject of many novels, like *Joseph und seine Brüder* by Thomas Mann. We are told that Joseph took good care of his Hebrew brethren in Egypt. Could Joseph have been a mythologized Hyksos chief? In any event the ancient Hebrews fused their Canaanite gods with local Egyptian deities.

In the sixteenth century B.C.E. the Egyptian princes united and rebelled against their Hyksos rulers. Egyptologists cannot date ancient rulers precisely. Completing his brothers' expulsion of the Hyksos, the Egyptian pharaoh Ahmose (Amasis I, Amosis I, r. 1539–1514 B.C.E.) defeated the Hyksos rulers at Avaris (Tanis), expelled them from the Nile delta, and chased them into Canaan and Syria. Ahmose founded the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt and the New Kingdom of Egypt. Among the Hyksos he expelled were some Hebrews, who probably migrated to Canaan. Other Hebrews remained in Egypt and were used as slave labor by the new Egyptian rulers. It took

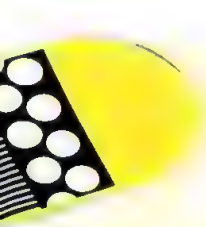
another three centuries for the Israelites (Hebrews) to leave Egypt. Estimates of the number of Hebrews (Israelites) who left Egypt in the exodus vary considerably, as does the dating of the exodus (Rendsburg 1992). Reik (1959:35) believed that no more than sixty thousand Hebrews left Egypt.

I have briefly sketched the historical, geographical, and psychological forces that gradually changed the polytheistic Hebrew tribes into the Israelites who left Egypt in the great exodus under Moses. Reik (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962) had attempted to interpret the ancient history of the Hebrew tribes using psychoanalytic insights. Many of Reik's critics have assailed his work as "speculative" and "unscientific." These terms are all too easy to use about psychohistorical work. Isaac Watts (1674–1748) wrote about such critics: "'Tis the voice of the sluggard; I heard him complain, You have waked me too soon, I must slumber again." Our resistance to opening our eyes, to changing our minds, and to experiencing our deeper feelings is powerful. For all of Reik's factual errors, his work makes it clear that the psychohistorical method can give us insights that conventional history cannot.



4

Moses and Monotheism



Amon-Ra (Amun-Re) was the Egyptian sun god. It is not clear whether the Egyptian Hebrews worshipped this god. The Israelite exodus from Egypt is a great watershed in Jewish history. Many scholars think it happened during the reign of the Nineteenth Dynasty Egyptian pharaoh Ramesses the Great (Ramses II, son of Seti I). His Egyptian name was Ra-mes-su-ma-Re (Ra gave birth to him, the beloved of Amon). Ramesses usurped the throne from his elder brother and reigned for sixty-seven years (1279–1213 B.C.E.), the second-longest reign in Egyptian history. (Some scholars believe that Ramesses II reigned from 1304 to 1237 B.C.E.) He became pharaoh at the age of twenty-five, already the father of at least five sons and two daughters: Ramesses married Nefertari and Istnofret in his teens. He later married his younger sister Henutmire, two Hittite princesses, one of whom was Maat-Hor-Neferune, and three of his own daughters—Sint-Anath, Meryetamun, and Nebettawy. Albright (1957:13) similarly thought that Ramesses was the pharaoh of the exodus, but other scholars believe that this pharaoh was rather Ramesses' successor, Merneptah (Marniptah, r. 1213/1212–1204/1200 B.C.E.). Rendsburg (1992) thought that the exodus occurred still later, in the twelfth century B.C.E., during the reign of the Twentieth Dynasty pharaoh Ra-mes-su (Ramses III, r. 1187–1156 B.C.E.), son of Setnakht (r. 1190–1187 B.C.E.). It took over three centuries from the expulsion of the *hyk shasu* (Hyksos) to the exodus of the Hebrews, if we date the exodus in the thirteenth century B.C.E., four centuries if we date it in the twelfth.

THE HABIRU

The other, well-known theory identifies the ancient Hebrews with the Habiru (Hapiru or Apiru) (Greenberg 1955). The Tell-al-Amarna (Akhetaton) letters were written in Akkadian cuneiform during the fourteenth century B.C.E. by the vassal Semitic rulers of Canaan to their Egyptian overlords, Amenhotep the Magnificent (Amenophis III, r. 1390–1353 B.C.E.) and Amenhotep IV (Akhenaton, or Amenophis IV, r. 1353–1336 B.C.E.). The young pharaoh Amenhotep IV abolished the cult of Amon in Egypt, made the cult of the sun god Aten or Aton the monotheistic state religion, changed his own name to Ikhnaton, and built a new capital, which he named Akhetaton. Albright

(1957:220–21) believed that Ikhнатon was only a child at the time and was used by his mother Teye and by his wife Nefertari (also called Nefretete and Nefertiti) for their own purposes.

Rendsburg (1992) marshaled persuasive evidence for the exodus occurring in the twelfth century B.C.E. For example, the Merneptah stele is evidence for slavery. The names of the Canaanite cities Lachish, Heshbon, and Ai are Egyptian. The spring of Me-Neptoah (Joshua 15:9, 18:15) is the spring of Merneptah. The exodus therefore occurred after Merneptah's death, during the reign of Ramesses III, the pharaoh who knew not Israel, when Merneptah's memory was still fresh.

In the Tell-al-Amarna letters, the Canaanite rulers bitterly complain of the Habiru, Hapiru, or Apiru plundering their lands. The kings of several cities in Canaan have Semitic names in these letters, and well-known biblical cities such as Acre, Ashkelon, Gezer, and Lachish are mentioned. This implies that the biblical Hebrews conquering Canaan under Joshua were the Habiru of the Tell-al-Amarna tablets, which contradicts the theory that the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt occurred in the reign of Merneptah, who died in 1215, 1204, or 1200 B.C.E., and on whose stele the first recorded mention of the name Israel has been found (Freud 1939:61). Albright (1957:240–241) seems to identify the Khapiru, Apiru, or Habiru with the ancient Hebrews. Other scholars have disputed his view. Ben-Sasson (1976:41) had this view:

The Habiru are an element of broad range in time and place, from Babylonia in the south to Anatolia and Palestine in the north and west, respectively; furthermore, their personal names derive from totally divergent languages. The inevitable conclusion is that this appellation does not denote any specific people or ethnic group but rather a social concept, though its precise nature is still the subject of scholarly dispute. At all events the term connotes an inferior social class that, owing to either the foreign elements it contained or other causes, was outside the normal social pale and legal framework.

We must reserve judgment on this complicated issue, despite the obvious temptation to equate the Habiru with the Hebrews. The Habiru may have been an element of the Hyksos, but they were not necessarily the ancient Hebrews.

THE CANAANITE HEBREW LANGUAGE

There is considerable evidence that the original language of the nomadic Hebrew tribes was Aramaic rather than Hebrew (Patai 1977:42–44). Hebrew was the language of Canaan. The language of Harran in the seventeenth century B.C.E., to which many scholars date the life of Abraham, was Aramaic. Abraham's relatives who remained in Upper Mesopotamia were Aramaeans (Gen. 25:20, 28:5, 31:20, 31:24). Abraham was called a wandering Aramaean (Deut. 26:5) and his son Isaac married the daughter of his cousin Bethuel the Aramaean (Gen. 24:15). Aram Naharayim (Aramaea of the Rivers) is the old biblical name for Mesopotamia, the Land Between

the Rivers. Jacob, who was the favorite son of Isaac and Rebecca, spoke Aramaic, and his two wives were daughters of Laban the Aramaean. Patai believed that these patriarchs learned the Hebrew language in Canaan. Hebrew was a Canaanite language, whereas Aramaic, another Semitic language, was a Mesopotamian tongue. Aramaic is still spoken by some Kurdish Jews originating in Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and Syria and is the official language of the Syrian Church based in Damascus.

Patai believed that the patriarchs must have spoken both Aramaic and Hebrew while they were being Canaanized. Jacob's twelve sons married Canaanite women and absorbed the Canaanite culture, religion, myths, and customs. In more general terms, the nomadic Hebrew tribes who settled in Canaan were gradually Canaanized, and their language, which had been Aramaic, gradually became Hebrew. A late return to the Aramaic language occurred during the Second Temple Period (536 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.). The genius of the Israelites who had come from Egypt, however, was in the way they mastered the Hebrew language and created great literature in their adopted tongue. There is no doubt that Hebrew was a Canaanite language, for the Canaanite myths and literature discovered at Ugarit were in a language akin to Hebrew, and Canaanite deities had Hebrew names like El, Baal, Dagon, Yamm, Nahar, Anath, Asherah, and Ashtoreth.

Four centuries elapsed between the invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos in the eighteenth century B.C.E. and that of Canaan by the Hebrews or Habiru in the fourteenth century B.C.E. In order to explain how the ancient Hebrews might have been an element of the Hyksos and yet identical with the Habiru, some scholars have offered the following chronology: 1. Some Israelite families migrated from Canaan to the eastern delta of the Nile or Goshen as early as the Hyksos rule in Egypt in the seventeenth century B.C.E. 2. After 1550 B.C.E., when the Egyptians had expelled the Hyksos from their land, their anti-Semitic feelings were vented on the Israelites or Hebrews in Goshen. The "Egyptian exile" of the Israelites may have begun during the reign of Thutmose (Thothmes or Tuthmosis III, d. 1426 B.C.E.) in the fifteenth century B.C.E. The persecution of the Hebrews in Egypt progressively worsened until it became unbearable during the reign of Ra-mes-su (Ramses II) in the thirteenth century B.C.E., who enslaved the Hebrews to build his grandiose projects. 3. This led to a Hebrew revolt against the pharaoh, led by Moses, during the reign of Merneptah, at the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E. This chronology was more or less accepted by Albright (1957:242-43):

It is impossible to separate the tradition quoted in Num. 13:22, according to which Hebron was founded seven years before Tanis, from the Hyksos invasion of Egypt, and difficult to separate the Hyksos era of Tanis, according to which 400 years had elapsed at a time shortly before the accession of Ramesses I (1310 B.C.), from the 430 years assigned in Ex[od]. 12:40 for the duration of the Israelite sojourn in the district of Tanis. In short, it must be considered as practically certain that part of Israel, at least, had lived for several centuries in Egypt before migrating to Palestine.

Ben-Sasson (1976:42) similarly concluded that the exodus took place during the thirteenth century B.C.E. He cited a letter from an Egyptian official under Ramses II

that said: "Distribute grain to the Apiru who transport stones to the great pylon of Rameses" and found it to echo the famous biblical verse: "Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh store-cities, Pithom and Rameses" (Exod. 1:11).

These chronologies would accord with the biblical 400 or 430 years that elapsed between the descent of the Children of Israel or Jacob into Egypt and their exodus from Egypt under Moses (Gen. 15:13–14; Exod. 12:40). There are difficulties with this neat schedule, however. For one thing, if the Habiru (Apiru) fought the Egyptian rulers of Canaan during the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.E. and if the Israelites were part of the Habiru, why was the name of Israel not mentioned before the reign of Marniptah in the late thirteenth century B.C.E.? And why was a false etymology given in Exodus for the name of Moses? Is there more to all this than meets the eye?

THE QUEST FOR THE HISTORICAL MOSES

The riddle of Moses is one of the most intriguing in all Jewish history. The great figure of Moses, who gave the Hebrew clans their new monotheistic religion and led them out of Egypt, has fascinated many scholars. The etymology of the Hebrew name Mosheh, "Because I drew him out of the water" (Exod. 2:10), is very unconvincing. If anything, Mosheh means "he who draws out of the water," not he who is drawn out of it. The biblical etymology for his name is apocryphal and tendentious. Egyptologists think that Mosheh is a truncated Egyptian theophorous name, Mase, Mose, or Moseh, meaning "born to," or "child of," as in Ahmose, Thutmose, and so on. The name of the Egyptian god that preceded Mose was deleted when the name was hebraized.

The glaring contrast between the activity of the word Mosheh and the passivity implied by the biblical etymology led Freud (1939) to claim that Moses was really an Egyptian prince, a follower of the young pharaoh Amenhotep IV, who espoused the belief in one god or monotheism. The one and only god of that pharaoh was the sun god Re (Ra) and his disk Aton; he therefore changed his own name to Ikhnaton (Akhenaten). The name Mosheh (Moseh) was the truncated form of a theophorous Egyptian name such as Atonmose, Ramose, or Ptahmose. Unfortunately, Freud was wrong. Having an Egyptian name did not in itself make a person an ethnic Egyptian. Ethnicity is very much in the eye of the beholder (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry 1987). Many Hebrews of the tribe of Levi in Egypt, to which Moses belonged, had Egyptian names (Reik 1959:15–16). Freud was unconsciously projecting his own wish not to be a Jew upon Moses and creating a paternal charismatic object for himself (Schiffer 1973:29; Bergmann 1976; Falk 1978).

The early historians embellished the life of Moses. We are told that he grew up in the house of the Egyptian pharaoh. Philo Judaeus of Alexandria, the first-century Greco-Jewish historian, believed that Moses received at the Egyptian court all the attention due to a king, was the heir to the throne of Egypt, and was called the Young

King (Philo Judaeus 1956:285–93). Another Greco-Roman Jewish historian of the same time, Flavius Josephus, believed that Moses was a great Egyptian general who commanded the pharaoh's armies in Ethiopia, took an Ethiopian wife, and was the crown prince of Egypt (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 2.10.6).

The etymology given by Josephus for the name Moses is as false as the biblical one. Drawing on the biblical story, he said that Princess Thermuthis, the pharaoh's daughter, called the Hebrew leader by the Greek name of Mouses, because "the Egyptians call water by the name of *Mou*, and such as are saved out of it by the name of *Eses*; so by putting these two words together, they imposed this name upon him." Eusebius Pamphili (c. 263–339), a church father, wrote that Moses was the commander of an Egyptian army that defeated the Ethiopians (Eusebius 1903:27). Freud (1939) believed that there were two historical Moses. The first was the Egyptian prince Moses, who led the Hebrews out of Egypt in the fourteenth century B.C.E. He was murdered by his own followers, his monotheistic sun god religion was suppressed, and pagan religion was restored. Monotheism was revived a century later under a Midianite priest of the same name, Moses, whose god was Yahweh.

Freud's theories on Moses were assailed by biblical scholars. Albright (1957:112) called Freud's study "a futile but widely-read example of psychological determinism . . . totally devoid of serious historical method." Albright conceded that Moses' name was Egyptian and that his monotheism contained certain Egyptian elements "which later disappeared before the impact of native Hebrew conceptions" (242, 254, 270). Albright believed that Moses was "a Hebrew who was born in Egypt and reared under strong Egyptian influence" (254). He believed that Moses was the true originator of monotheism in the fourteenth century B.C.E. (257–72). Albright's own theories came under attack by Meek (1960:204):

There was no great, onrushing movement toward monotheism in the Near East in the fourteenth century (B.C.E.), such as Albright affirms. There is no evidence that Syria and Asia Minor were more monotheistic then than at any other period. . . . El may have been a great High God to the people of Ugarit . . . but along with him were hosts of other deities, many of them little less important than he . . . The Babylonians and Assyrians never became real monotheists, and they were no more monotheistic in the fourteenth century than they were later. As a matter of fact they were less so, because the texts over the following centuries show an ever-growing tendency to emphasize one god to the exclusion of others (monolatry), or through the absorption of the others (henotheism). . . . The only real monotheist in the ancient Near East was Akhenaten of Egypt (and some scholars question this), and he had no great following.

Freud was attacked by psychoanalysts as well. Fodor (1951) called Freud's ideas speculative, and believed that Moses was a Hebrew who made himself the leader of his desperate people. The story of Moses' birth is far from unique. The "myth of the birth of the hero" (Rank 1909; Rank et al. 1990) is found in almost every civilized people's epic poems and legends and was attached to heroes from Sargon of Agade to Karna in the Indian *Mahabharata*. Freud (1939:10–11) listed its key elements: (1) The hero is born to royal or noble parents. (2) His conception and birth are com-

pounded with difficulties. (3) Because his father is afraid of being killed by him, the newborn hero is condemned to death by the father. (4) He is put in a basket or casket and delivered to a river or water. (5) The hero is saved and suckled by a woman of humble birth or by a female animal. (6) When he grows up the hero discovers his true origins, taking revenge on his father and becoming great and famous. In the case of Moses the myth was reversed, which Fodor ascribed to a secondary elaboration. Freud (1939:12) interpreted the myth along oedipal lines:

A hero is someone who has had the courage to rebel against his father and has in the end victoriously overcome him. Our myth traces this struggle back as far as the individual's prehistory, for it represents him as being born against his father's will and rescued despite his father's evil intentions. The exposure in a casket is an unmistakable symbolic representation of birth: the casket is the womb and the water is the amniotic fluid.

Unfortunately, the mythical hero is not only rejected by his father: he is also abandoned by his mother, who puts him in the casket and delivers him to the water rather than run away from the father and remain with the child. In the *Mahabharata* the hero Karna is furious with his mother Kunti for having done just that and refuses to believe that she is really his mother. In any event, Cohen (1939) called Freud's ideas about Moses "far-fetched and fantastic." Weiss-Rosmarin (1939:62) attacked Freud's ideas, calling upon the dying scholar to have the courage "to take the only possible, the only right and the only decent step and retract them." Zeligs (1954), surpassing Freud, Albright, and Meek, believed that Abraham had introduced monotheism to the Hebrews four centuries before Moses. She took Abraham literally rather than as a myth, as Graves and Patai (1983:130) did. Many years later Zeligs (1986) published a psychobiography of Moses in which she interpreted Moses as a Hebrew Oedipus struggling with his father Yahweh.

The psychoanalyst who seems to have come closest to understanding both Moses and Freud is Schiffer (1973). He pointed out that Moses had two of the chief "ingredients" of charisma: foreignness and imperfection. Due to our early infantile experiences with our mothers during the separation-individuation phase, we tend to attribute charisma to leaders with such qualities. We are unconsciously searching for the early feelings of foreignness and imperfection that we experienced with our mothers precisely at that time. This is the origin of the feeling of the "uncanny." As Schiffer (1973:28-30) put it:

One must wonder whether in his twilight years, in the agony and pain of a terminal illness, Freud did not, on the one hand, recognize all the more urgently the ingredients of charismatic creativity in the Bible and, on the other hand, succumb to replacing biblical charisma with his own personal romantic imaging. Freud might well have been showing in this effort some revived need to render as foreign that which was for him most familiar. . . . By "foreignizing" the biblical Moses, who in Freud's psyche probably represented a familiar Jewish patriarch, was Freud not in fact creating a charismatic object for himself? . . . Looking at Moses again, we note that in the Old Testament

he was a stammering Moses, a man with a speech defect of unknown cause and yet capable of incisive and profound oratory. Here again is a "straddling" characteristic (as in the foreign but familiar), giving a leader the best of two worlds. Here we have a stigmatized personality, but with just a slight stigma—just enough, perhaps to have helped sway Freud, in his narcissistically creative terminal state, to adopt the foreign theme of a Moses.

Each of us creates his Moses in his own image. Buber (1946), Roshwald (1969), and Zeligs (1986) wrote full-scale biographies of Moses. In all probability Moses was a Hebrew of the Levi tribe who attained a very high station in the Egyptian court, becoming the crown prince. He became a general of the pharaoh's army and won victories in Ethiopia. At some point in his stormy life he underwent a religious conversion that happened to coincide with the persecution of his people by the Egyptians. This was what Erikson has called an "ego identity crisis" and what Kohut would call a breakdown of the "self." Moses then led an exodus of some of the members of the Hebrew tribes out of Egypt and gave them a new religion (Reik 1959:14–18). Reik (1959:xii) felt that

Martin Buber's Moses belongs to a different genre from that of Freud. Staunch in his own faith, a sort of latter-day prophet in his own right, Buber is indifferent to and even critical of psychoanalysis. Steeped in history and tradition, Buber attempts a daringly fresh re-creation of the events of the Exodus as they are transformed in the crucible of men's faith and religious imagination. The hero of Buber's book is the monumental figure of Moses, the prophet, lawgiver, and statesman.

Michelangelo's statue of Moses was as special and personal a figure as Freud's, Buber's or anyone else's. The image of Moses a person has depends on his or her own internal "objects" or "introjects." Each of us unconsciously projects upon Moses some of the aspects of our father and mother we internalized during our early life, as well as some of the grandiose or hidden aspects of our own selves.

HENOtheISM AND MONOTHEISM

Many scholars hold that the Yahweh religion of Moses was not monotheistic but *henotheistic*. Henotheism is the absorption of other gods into a people's own and the people's belief in its one god. The term was coined by Max Müller, and is often confused with *monolatry* (Meek 1960:206 n. 60). The Yahweh religion did not hold that there was only one god in the whole world, but that Yahweh was the only god of Israel. It recognized Chemosh as the god of Moab, Baal as the god of Canaan, and Dagon as the god of the Philistines. It wished to exclude the other gods and goddesses worshipped by the primitive Hebrew tribes.

In order to accomplish his henotheistic revolution, Moses needed to stage a great and terrifying spectacle in which his Hebrew followers would be initiated into the old-new religion of their ancestors. This spectacle was the Mount Sinai revelation.

INITIATION RITUALS AT MT. SINAI?

The revolt of the Hebrews under Moses against their Egyptian oppressors led to their exodus from Egypt. All the Hebrews did not leave the land of Goshen, whose capital was Zoan (Tanis, the Avaris of the Hyksos). Some remained in Egypt and were assimilated into its culture and population. Those who left, however, retained the myth of the ten plagues of Egypt (Exod. 7:14–11:10). These were natural catastrophes that Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, had brought upon the Egyptians. They included the turning of the water of the rivers of Egypt into blood, the filling of their freshwater sources with dead frogs, an epidemic of lice, swarms of flies, a “very grievous murrain” that killed all the cattle, boils “breaking forth with blains” on their skin, a “very grievous hail” upon the land, swarms of locusts that ate up all their crops, a spell of utter darkness that lasted three days and nights, and finally the death of all their firstborn sons.

When the Hebrew tribes left Egypt, the Reed Sea or Red Sea was said to have split in half, leaving a patch of dry land in the middle through which the Hebrews went forth, and then “returned to his strength” in a mighty tide, drowning the pursuing Egyptian cohorts (Exod. 14). There were also miraculous phenomena such as the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire that accompanied the Israelites on their sojourn through the desert. There was the water that gushed forth from the rock. Magic had its heyday (Frazer 1951).

Are there any rational explanations for these miracles? Were the Hebrews identical with the Israelites mentioned in the famous stele of Marniptah? It is quite probable, as with the other myths of the Hebrews, that the miracles of Exodus were natural phenomena occasioned by the passing of a comet near the earth, by meteorites penetrating the earth’s atmosphere, by organisms in the waters of the rivers, or by lunar influences. What is psychologically important, however, is that the Hebrews who rose up against their Egyptian oppressors and left the land of Goshen needed to retain a glorified memory of this event, a memory of a great victory won by their god Yahweh.

We have seen that Israel was an epithet of the god El, a Canaanite counterpart of the Hellenic god Kronos, who castrated his own father and killed his own son. This information comes from Philo Byblius via Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea, the church father. We concluded that the Hebrews who settled in Canaan as early as the nineteenth century B.C.E. had been Aramaic-speaking nomads from the Mesopotamian desert, that their Hebrew language had been acquired from the Canaanites, and that they had adopted as their “father” the Canaanite god El (Israel), becoming known as the Children of Israel. Obsessed with initiation rituals, Reik (1959) thought that the Hebrews became Israelites at Mount Sinai. The well-known “Song of the Sea” in Exod. 15 celebrating the great victory of the Israelites over the Egyptians is written in ancient Canaanite Hebrew and had been composed long before Exodus. It is attributed to Mariyamm (Miriam)—an Egyptian-Canaanite name meaning “beloved of Yamm,” the Canaanite sea god. Whether or not the ten plagues of Egypt and the

exodus itself occurred as stated in Exodus is less important than the fact that in the collective memory of the Israelites they had won a resounding victory over the Egyptians (Exod. 15:3-6, 14-15):

Yahweh is a man of war:
 Yahweh is his name.
 Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea:
 His chosen captains also are drowned in the Red Sea.
 The depths have covered them:
 They sank into the bottom as a stone.
 Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power:
 Thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy. . . .
 The people shall hear, and be afraid:
 Sorrow shall take hold on the inhabitants of Palestina.
 Then the dukes of Edom shall be amazed;
 The mighty men of Moab, trembling shall take hold upon them;
 All the inhabitants of Canaan shall melt away.
 Fear and dread shall fall upon them.

This song of deliverance was designed to combat the dread of the Israelites themselves, to shore up their self-esteem, and to strengthen them against their enemies, whom they feared. For they had not only fled Egypt but also had to capture the land of their ancestors, Canaan, which was inhabited by many Semitic tribes and by the Philistines who had settled on the southwestern coast.

The historical fact or myth that the Hebrew tribes became the Israelite nation and received their new religion from Moses at Mount Sinai, *outside* of their own land of Canaan, is of great psychological significance. Yehoshua (1981) pointed out that the Hebrews believed that it was Yahweh, the father god, who created their people and who gave them both their religion, through Moses, and their land, through Joshua. The motherland was subordinate to the father god. Whereas most peoples were born in their own motherland, the Hebrew people was created outside it and by its father god. It was the son of the father, not of the mother. Moreover, it had to take its motherland by force from the tribes that occupied her.

Most interesting of all, the great leader of the Israelites, Moses, was not permitted to come into the promised land himself. Hebrew tradition ascribed this punishment to his irascible and impatient nature. The psychoanalytic view of this myth has to do with oedipal, incestuous fantasies. Zeligs (1960), Volkan (1979), Falk (1974, 1983), Stein and Niederland (1989), and others have pointed out the unconscious role of the land as the mother. Entering her was symbolic incest. Yahweh, the father, would not let Moses, his son, penetrate Canaan, the mother. Reik (1959, 1964) stressed the national and religious birth of the Israelites at Mount Sinai, attributing the biblical story to a fusion of primitive initiation rites with oral tribal history. We shall soon return to his fascinating theories.

Freud (1939:32-33) observed some psychological facts about Moses. First, Jewish legend says that Moses wished to replace the pharaoh of Egypt when he was still

a child, taking the crown of the pharaoh and placing it upon his own head. He had a fiery temper. When he saw an Egyptian smiting a Hebrew, he killed the Egyptian in a fit of murderous rage (Exod. 2:11–12). When he came down from Mt. Sinai or Horeb and saw the golden calf his people had made, his “anger waxed hot, and he cast the tablets out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount. And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strawed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it” (Exod. 32:19–20). When Moses was young he attempted to dominate the Hebrews until they said “Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? intendest thou to kill us, as thou killedst the Egyptian?” (Exod. 2:14). He was impatient. When the Israelites were dying of a severe drought in the desert, Yahweh told Moses to take his rod and to speak to the rock “and it shall give forth his water.” Moses, however, impatient with God, smote the rock twice with his rod “and the water came out abundantly, and the congregation drank, and their beasts also. And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, Because ye believed me not, to sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them” (Num. 20:8–12).

Curiously, Freud forgot which deed of Moses it was for which he was punished (Freud 1939:32 n. 3). Freud believed that Moses had projected his own qualities onto his god Yahweh: like Yahweh himself, Moses was jealous, severe, quick to anger, and ruthless. His being “slow of speech and of a slow tongue” (Exod. 4:10) may mean that he stuttered or stammered. Freud (1939:33) thought that it meant that Moses could not speak Hebrew, being an Egyptian; this was why his Hebrew “brother” Aaron had to be his interpreter.

THEOPHANY ON MT. SINAI

The most dramatic event in the story of the journey of the Israelites through the desert is that of Moses receiving the Ten Commandments from Yahweh upon Mount Sinai amid smoke, fire, and thunder. It is referred to by scholars as the theophany, a Greek term meaning the manifestation of God. Here is the biblical account of the theophany (Exod. 19:16–21):

And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceedingly loud; so that all the people that was in the camp trembled. And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount. And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord [Yahweh] descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice. And the Lord came down upon mount Sinai, on the top of the mount: and the Lord [Yahweh] called Moses up to the top of the mount; and Moses went up. And the Lord [Yahweh] said unto Moses, Go down, charge the people, lest they break through unto the Lord [Yahweh] to gaze, and many of them perish.

E. Meyer (1967) concluded from this account that Mount Sinai must have been a volcano and that the Israelite tribes took on the new religion of Yahweh at Meribah (Kadesh), the place where Moses's sister Miriam died and where the incident of the rock took place (Exod. 20). The Yahweh religion was probably adopted from the Midianites or Kenites (Cainites), and Yahweh was unquestionably a volcano god, wrote Freud (1939:34). Bright (1981:127–28) partly agreed with this hypothesis. Since Egypt and Sinai have no volcanoes, whereas western Arabia does, Freud concluded that Mount Sinai or Horeb was a volcano in western Arabia and that the Israelites adopted the volcano god Yahweh from the Midianites there. Albright (1957:262–63) disputed this view, insisting on the originality of the Yahweh religion:

Still another equally original characteristic of Yahweh is that He is not restricted to any special abode. . . . The frequently stated view that Sinai must have been a volcano, a view popularized by A. Musil and Ed. Meyer, is without any solid basis. J. Morgenstern has effectively shown that the biblical theophany of Yahweh in Ex[od]. 19 must be explained through the Hebrew imagery connected with the Glory of Yahweh. . . . There is no volcano, active or extinct, in all Sinai or Midian proper. However, in adjacent regions of Hauran and Arabia there are many volcanoes which must have been active within the past few thousands of years. It is, therefore, quite possible that the sublime picture of the theophany in Exodus 19 was ultimately influenced by folk memories of volcanic eruptions (preserved in myth or metaphor), combined with more recent recollections of terrific thunder-storms in the mountains of northwestern Arabia or Syria.

Skeuomorphism is a principle of Middle Eastern architectural history formulated by Andrae (1930) and by Clarke and Engelbach (1930). It states that architectural form preserved itself through material changes. Major changes of building materials were accompanied by minimal change of form. Albright (1957:262–63) believed that the same principle operated in the realm of religion: the idea of Yahweh persisted regardless of his place of residence, and the dramatic "features" of the theophany did not indicate the origin of Yahweh:

The sublime description of the theophany may owe certain features to the two most majestic spectacles vouchsafed to mankind: a sub-tropical thunder-storm and a volcanic eruption. We cannot emphasize too strongly that the principle of skeuomorphism . . . operates even more frequently in the world of ideas than it does in that of objects. . . . Just as there is nothing in the Mosaic tradition which demands a derivation of Yahweh from an original volcanic deity or storm-god, so there is nothing which requires us to explain Him as a modified moon-god.

The most ambitious and far-fetched attempt to explain the biblical story of the Mount Sinai theophany was made by Reik (1959, 1962). Reik believed that the Exodus account was an apocryphal fusion of two different events in tribal Hebrew history: initiation rites and the collective memory of migration. Reik began by pointing out that historians cannot seem to agree on the date of the exodus, dating it anywhere from the fifteenth century B.C.E. to the thirteenth (and even twelfth) century B.C.E.

This great controversy, said Reik, is related to still more serious ones. Hebrew groups such as the tribe of Judah were settled in Canaan as early as the eighteenth century B.C.E. and many Israelites had Canaanite wives. Did they practice polytheism or monotheism? How did they treat their Hebrew kith and kin from Egypt?

Reik (1959:23–28) believed that the Canaanite Hebrews were highly “Canaanized, worshipping the Canaanite gods, whereas the Hebrews of Egypt, while gradually assimilating the Egyptian civilization, cults, names and gods, had retained traces of their old cult, which was a primitive totemistic religion.” They enjoyed relative prosperity in Egypt under the reign of their Hyksos brethren (1710 to 1550 B.C.E.), during which their leader Joseph became viceroy of Egypt. After Ahmose I (Amasis I, Amosis I) expelled the hated Hyksos from Egypt, the Hebrews were increasingly persecuted there, until they left under Moses in the great exodus. Reik (1959:27–28) concluded:

The picture that now presents itself is very different from that painted by the biblical narrative. At least a century and a half before some Hebrew tribes left Egypt other Israelites had invaded Canaan. Schechem and the hill country were in the hands of Hebrew settlers. What was called Israel, the northern area, was taken by Hebrew groups that had never been in Egypt, while the southern part, later known as Judah, had been gradually subdued by Israelites who had come from Egypt and later on had infiltrated the country. We have to face the fact that the Hebrews of the ancient Near East were already composed of two parts. There was the one that had been in Canaan a long time and had never eaten the bitter bread of slavery in Egypt. Then there was the other that had gone through a long phase of oppression and misery and in whose tradition the liberation from Egypt was commemorated as Yahweh’s great deed of deliverance.

Reik examined the puberty rites of preliterate tribes in which circumcision plays a central role, compared them to the Jewish rituals of Sukkoth and of Passover associated with the exodus, studied the entire narrative of Exodus, and reached some startling conclusions (Reik 1959:52–53):

1. The biblical account of the revelation is a distorted and modified report of a prehistoric great initiation or puberty festival of some Hebrew tribes. This account is fused with a tale of the exodus from Egypt.

2. The biblical narrative is the central part of the national history whose quintessence is the description of a puberty ritual with the following features: seclusion of the young people, their introduction into the tribal customs and beliefs, the appearance of the tribal god who terrifies them, and their alleged death and resurrection, preceded by circumcision and followed by incursion into Canaan.

3. The great innovation that was introduced by Moses and the Hebrew leaders was in its essential character a regression to a primitive belief that had long been relinquished in favor of Egyptian and Canaanite religious cults and customs. The new cult of Yahweh was a return to the faith of the forefathers. It was at the same time an energetic rejection of the cults and religious concepts of the nations in whose midst the Hebrew tribes had lived—cults that, before the exodus, had been to a great extent accepted.

The Passover story of the Hebrews marking their doorposts with the blood of a male sacrificial lamb to let Yahweh know he must not strike the firstborn son in their houses harked back to an ancient desert ritual of sacrificing a lamb in lieu of a son. The father fought his impulse to kill his own firstborn son, as in the myth of Abraham and Isaac. This ritual lamb sacrifice was later fused with the spring festival celebrating the resurrection of the Egyptian god Osiris, the Babylonian god Tammuz, the Syrian god Adonis, or the Phrygian god Attis after his wintry death. The ritual dances celebrating the resurrection of the god were fused with the rituals of the sacrificial lamb (Reik 1959:37–41). This is most striking in the Easter rituals of Christianity, in which Jesus Christ is both the Lamb of God being sacrificed and the god who is resurrected.

5

Tribal Confederacy

Reik (1959) believed that the Hebrews who left Egypt, having reached a higher level of religious and cultural evolution than their ancestors, regressed to the primitive religious culture of their forebears by embracing the totemistic cult of Yahweh under Moses. As Reik (1959:55) put it: "The thesis of this book is that the religious reform introduced by Moses and reaching its climax in the Sinai revelation signifies a turning away from this [progressive] trend and presents a return to the primitive phase of religious evolution." Reik added that the nomadic Midianites, who were kith and kin to the Hebrews, were relatively unaffected by either Egyptian or Canaanite culture and had thus preserved the Yahweh religion of their ancestors in purer form than the Hebrews of either Egypt or Canaan. The many years Moses spent among them, and his marriage to a daughter of their high priest Jethro, gave him the last and strongest impulse to convert his people to the Yahweh religion.

Reik (1962) believed that the ancient Hebrews had practiced a totemistic religion in which the bull or ram was the totem animal. The key to the golden calf story was the psychological identity of Yahweh and the golden image of the bull. If the old Yahweh, like the Canaanite El, was a bull god, the golden calf episode represents the longing of the Israelites for their old totem god. By smashing the golden bull and grinding it to powder, which the people drank with their water, Moses was repeating the ancient custom of eating the totem animal. At the same time, unconsciously, he was making his people internalize his own rage by eating the golden calf. Christianity later absorbed such totemistic practices in the sacraments, the eating of the wafer and the drinking of the wine that represent the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ.

Obsessed like Freud with sexuality and the Oedipus complex, Reik believed that the two golden calves erected by King Jeroboam of Israel (2 Kings 12:28), the first king of Israel after its secession from Judah, represented Yahweh, the bull god, and Moses, the calf god. We have archaeological evidence, however, that these Israelite "calves" were a bull and a cow, Yahweh and Asherah, the father god and mother goddess (Gilula 1978-79; Meshel 1979; Dever 1984; Lemaire 1984; Olyan 1988). Meek (1960:160) viewed Jeroboam as the reviver of the Bull-El cult, the official religion of the northern kingdom of Israel. Reik thought that on Mount Sinai a father god, Yahweh, and a son god, Moses, were worshipped. The son overthrew the father

and took his place, but was later reduced to a prophet figure. In Christianity the son god Jesus Christ ruled together with God the Father.

Albright (1957:299) believed that Jeroboam's calves were Yahweh's mounts, not God himself. Cross (1973:74) thought it "inconceivable that the national cult of Jeroboam was other than Yahwistic. . . . Jeroboam, desperate to consolidate his kingdom . . . and desirous of wooing his own people away from the shrine of the ark in Jerusalem . . . would not have repudiated Yahweh and chosen a new god. Nor would he have flown in the face of tradition and chosen another god as the god who brought Israel up from Egypt." Yet if Yahweh had been fused with El by the Israelites, El would not have been a new god at all. Jeroboam's "golden calves" were probably El-Yahweh and Asherah (Meshel 1979; Lemaire 1984; Dever 1984).

The hallmark of totemistic religion is the absolute taboo on harming the totem animal. At the same time there is also the totemic feast or totem meal, a periodic ceremony during which the clan kills and eats the very totem animal it worships (Frazer 1910; Smith 1972). Freud (1913:141) thought that the totem animal was an unconscious representation of the father. The parricidal wishes of the clan members were denied through the taboo on eating the totem animal but were expressed in the totem meal. Lustig (1976) ascribed animal sacrifice to the fear of child sacrifice, which he saw as the origin of Judaism.

Tribal priests wore the mask of the totem animal to scare the people and to take on its power. Reik (1962) believed that Moses wore the mask of the bull god, which is why the skin of his face "shone" (Exod. 34:29-30). The Hebrew original is *karan*, which may also mean "hardened" or "grew horns," and was so translated into Latin and Italian, hence the famous statue of the horned Moses by Michelangelo. Freud (1914) believed that Michelangelo's Moses, rather than being about to leap to his feet and smash the Tables of the Law, had actually restrained his anger and was now calm after his inner storm. Reik (1959:78-82) speculated that Moses assumed the features of Yahweh in two stages: first he assumed the terrifying appearance of the fire god of the Midianites so that his face shone like fire, and then he put on the horned mask of the bull god of the Hebrews, which was the famous "veil" of Exod. 34:33-35.

Reik (1959:40) pointed out that the refusal of the Egyptian pharaoh to let the Hebrews go "three days' journey into the wilderness" to worship their god Yahweh (Exod. 8:27) was the *raison d'être* of the exodus. He believed that the only ritual that required such a three days' journey was one of puberty and initiation, including circumcision. The biblical story says that Moses and Aaron prevailed upon their people to leave Egypt, and the elders of the Hebrews prepared them for the ritual. The puberty rites centered around death and resurrection, as do all initiation rituals. The "forty years" that the Israelites spent in the wilderness is a biblical metaphor for one generation, for "many years," or for a long time. The number forty was often used by the Hebrews in lieu of "many" (Reik 1959:62). Yahweh's refusal to let the old generation who left Egypt enter the promised land and his decision to let their children do so (Num. 14:29-31) was interpreted by Reik as also a symbol of the death-and-resurrection rituals of puberty and initiation.

There were many other features of the revelation of Yahweh at Mount Sinai that reminded Reik of the initiation rituals of preliterate totemistic tribes. The fact that the Israelites went without food and water for a long time (Exod. 17:1–7) suggests the trials of the pubescent boys by fasting and food taboos. The Hebrew word in Exod. 17:7 means “tried”; “did tempt” is a mistranslation. The striking verses of Exod. 4:24–26 noted by Reik (1951) and by Peto (1958) obviously refer to circumcision as an attempt to appease an angry homicidal god. The sound and the fury at Mount Sinai are strongly reminiscent of the terrible sounds made by the men of preliterate tribes in an attempt to frighten their pubescent sons during their initiation ceremonies. The terrible blasts of the trumpet and the heavy cloud of smoke that ascended “as the smoke of a furnace” (Exod. 19:18) were due to the actions of human beings rather than to divine intervention, as was the taboo on touching the holy mountain. Similar taboos exist among many preliterate tribes (Frazer 1951).

If so, who were these Midianite stage managers who helped Moses create such a terrifying spectacle at Mount Sinai? Reik, following Eerdmans (1909, 1939), believed that these were the Cainites (Kenites), the Midianite worshippers of the fire god Yahweh. The Cainites considered themselves descendants of the mythical biblical Cain, whose name means “smith” in several Semitic languages (Albright 1957:257). One of Cain’s descendants was Tubal-Cain, “an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron” (Exod. 4:22). The Cainites were coppersmiths and ironsmiths; fire was the hub of their lives (Bright 1981:124). Moses, who had become a murderer (Exod. 2:12), may have sought refuge among the Cainites in Midian precisely because they were descendants of the murderer Cain and wore his sign. They were kinsmen to the Hebrews. Moses had married Zipporah, the daughter of Jethro (Reuel), the priest of the Midianites. The Cainites helped Moses throughout, giving him refuge, food, advice and assistance, and stage-managing the initiation of the Hebrews for him. Reik believed that during this initiation rite the Hebrews received their new name—the Children of Israel. This notion is gainsaid by the fact that Israel was an epithet of El, the father god of Canaan, who was fused with Yahweh in the Hebrews’ religion.

The Hebrew word for the “trumpet” of Exod. 19 is *shophar* (ram’s horn). This supports the thesis that the god of the Hebrews was in fact a bull god or ram god. It is quite possible that the Cainites blew their ram’s horns very loudly during the theophany on Mount Sinai, creating the terrifying effects described in Exod. 19. Australian aborigines similarly used to blow a bull-roarer to scare their pubescent boys during initiation rituals. Reik’s case for the Cainites being the producers of the Mount Sinai sound-and-light show seems persuasive (Reik 1959:75–77).

While some scholars hold that Yahweh was fused with Bull-El in Canaan, Reik believed that Moses merged the totemistic ram god or bull god of the Hebrews with the fire god Yahweh of the Cainites at Mount Sinai. There are indeed several striking incidents of Yahweh acting as a fire god. In Exod. 3:1–6 Yahweh appears to Moses at Mount Horeb as a burning bush. In Num. 16:35 a fire comes out from Yahweh and consumes 250 incense-burning men. The great theophany in Exod. 19 is characterized by fire and smoke. Eerdmans (1939) believed that Yahweh was originally the fire

god of the Cainites in Midian, and Reik considered this view more accurate than Freud's view of Yahweh as a volcano god. In fact, neither view was correct.

Reik attempted to explain all the other features of the Mount Sinai revelation as pertaining to initiation rituals. The Ten Commandments are quite similar to the injunctions and threats of the elders of preliterate tribes against their young initiates. The fact that the Hebrews assumed a new name—Israelites or descendants of Israel—is characteristic of the new names given to young initiates at puberty rites. The entire sequence of death and resurrection in the desert is typical of initiation rituals. The historical fact of the exodus from Egypt and the migration to Canaan was thus fused with the memory of an initiation ceremony. As Reik (1959:89) put it:

Some Biblical scholars, for instance U. Cassuto, assume that the name of the people is to be considered primary compared with that of the ancestor. But besides that replacement of young men of the same age group, or of individual initiation to a collective one, we find all essential features of the puberty ritual again: the long seclusion and segregation, the avoidance (or missing) of certain food and the eating of sacred food (manna), the appearance of the tribal god, the indoctrination of the novices with certain social and religious prohibitions and the commandments under threat of curses.

Moreover, the welding together of several tribes into one nation is characteristic of many preliterate tribal groups that unite on the occasion of initiation festivals (Reik 1959:93). Such union gives rise to secret societies or fraternities that mark the transition from clans to tribes, and from tribes to nations (Reik 1959:118). It may well be that both the election of the Israelites as God's chosen people and the prohibition on pronouncing the ineffable name of Yahweh were aspects of such a secret fraternity (Reik 1959:145–47, 155–59). There are taboos on mentioning the gods' names in many preliterate societies (Frazer 1951:302–5).

Alt (1929) and Meek (1960) believed that the Hebrew tribes that were expelled from Egypt (Exod. 12:30–33) each had their own god. Some of the tribes' very names were local gods' names: Dan, Gad, Asher. The religion of the Israelites who accepted Yahweh at Sinai was henotheistic rather than monotheistic: they believed in their own god, Yahweh, but at the same time accepted the fact that other clans, tribes, or nations also had their gods. Chemosh was the god of Moab, Kos (Kaus) the god of Edom, Dagon the god of the Philistines, and so on. Reik's main thesis was that "the Biblical narrative presents a distorted old tradition of an initiation festival of some Hebrew tribes, later on amalgamated into the League of the Twelve Tribes. This report was combined with a much-altered account of the Exodus or expulsion of those tribes from Egypt" (Reik 1959:177–78).

Reik's reconstruction of ancient Hebrew history has received support from later psychoanalytic scholars such as Peto (1960), Schlossman (1966), Lustig (1976), Schlesinger (1976), and Stein (1977). Even Baron (1952–83, 1:415), a nonpsychoanalytic Jewish historian, thought that Moses' name was Egyptian and theophorous, such as Amon-mose or Ptah-mose, and that he had dropped the god's name from his own in his revolt against the old Egyptian polytheism. Peto (1960) was convinced

that Moses forced the religion of Yahweh on his Hebrew clans and bloodily suppressed their revolts. Schlossman (1966) thought that offering the son's foreskin in circumcision was a substitute for the sacrifice of the son himself. Lustig (1976) made a persuasive case for the origin of many Jewish practices in child sacrifice.

Schlesinger (1976) believed that the Passover seder ritual derived from ritual child sacrifice. The pre-Mosaic ritual of Passover was in fact that of child sacrifice. Stein (1977) explained Jewish martyrdom throughout the ages as deriving from the myth of the *akedah* (binding of the son). Reik's explanation of the theophany at Mount Sinai as the scene of puberty rituals, initiation festivals, and secret societies, whose psychological function is to ward off the filicidal wishes of the fathers, and whose hallmark is the circumcision of the sons, seems persuasive.

After the highly dramatic scene at Mount Sinai, Moses' tribe of Levi assumed special priestly functions in the new Jewish tribal confederacy. Jacob's struggle with the angel of God at the river (Gen. 32:23-33) is psychologically similar to Moses' struggle with Yahweh in the desert (Exod. 4:24-26): both describe circumcision as a substitute for child sacrifice. This may just as well have been the case with Moses' struggle with Yahweh on Mount Sinai. If the Hebrew slaves who had fled Egypt, divided into clans, under Moses were united into a confederacy through a terrifying initiation ritual at the holy mountain, they were forced to give up their idolatry, their fertility cults, their child sacrifice, and many other religious practices that sprang from their deepest psychological needs and defenses. Naturally, they rebelled, imagining that they had been better off in Egypt. Moses vehemently forced his Hebrews to reject and suppress all traces of the old Egyptian paganism as well as their own. These pagan rites, however, were to persist throughout the period of the judges and of the kings and all the way into modern Judaism. The tabernacle of the congregation in Exod. 25-31 with its altar, incense, candelabra, cherubim, animal sacrifices, and priestly functions was pagan in every way, as were many other aspects of the Yahweh religion. Judaism has retained many of these pagan rites in disguised or censored form (Reik 1951, 1964).

Moses designated Joshua, of the tribe of Ephraim, as his successor. Joshua, whose name (like that of Jesus) means "Yahweh saves," was a competent leader and warrior. He helped Moses enforce the new Yahweh religion and circumcised all the Children of Israel with stone knives (Josh. 5:2-8) (the King James Version's "sharp knives" is inaccurate). The statement that the Children of Israel spent "forty years" in the wilderness and that all the male Israelites who left Egypt had died (Josh. 5:4) can be taken literally, but can also be viewed symbolically: the Israelites underwent a psychological rebirth experience at Mount Sinai. Indeed, initiation rituals always include the element of death and rebirth. By cutting the foreskins of his Israelite tribes, the new leader was preparing them for war with the Canaanites as a new national confederacy.

Some Jewish historians hold that the first two chapters of Judges are a more accurate description of the process of Israelite penetration of Canaan than the entire Book of Joshua (Sachar 1958a:23). That process was probably not one of orderly,

progressive conquest and settlement, as presented in Joshua, but one of back-and-forth advance and withdrawal over two centuries, the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C.E. During this time the great Mesopotamian kingdoms of Ashur (Assyria) in the north and Babel (Babylonia) in the south overshadowed the smaller Canaan and its emerging Jewish community. Ashur was the name of a country, a nation, a city, and a god. Esharra was the great temple of the god Ashur in the Assyrian capital of Ashur. King Tiglathpileser I (Tukulti-apal-esharra, c. 1115–1077 B.C.E.), whose name means “My help is the son of Esharra,” was one of the great kings of Assyria during its Middle Kingdom period (1200–1000 B.C.E.) and greatly expanded Assyria’s territory and power.

Nun was the Canaanite fish god. He was probably related to Nu, the Egyptian god of the primeval waters, an unconscious symbol of the amniotic fluid of the womb. Joshua ben Nun of the tribe or clan of Ephraim is described in the biblical narrative as Moses’ successor and as the great leader who accomplished the conquest of Canaan. Joshua (Yehoshua) was a great warrior (Exod. 17:9, 14), an aide to Moses (Exod. 24:13, 33:11), one of the spies Moses sent into Canaan (Num. 13, 14) and finally Moses’ handpicked heir (Deut. 31:1–8, 14–23; 32:44). The biblical compilers and scribes made Joshua into a great hero.

Alt (1934, 1967) considered these accounts to be later exaggerations, holding Joshua to have been a minor tribal leader. Albright (1957:276), while admiring Alt’s work, thought that Alt was “not justified in considering Joshua as only an insignificant local chieftain, nor in denying the historicity of Israelite traditions of the Conquest.” Who was right? Why did Joshua penetrate Canaan, when Moses did not? Why did Joshua circumcise all the Israelites with stone knives? When did Joshua live and how much did he accomplish?

WAR AS THE PARANOID ELABORATION OF MOURNING

Most scholars believe that the Hebrew “conquest” of Canaan was a gradual process of infiltration and acculturation in which Hebrews mixed with Canaanites. The Israelite tribes conquered Canaan through savage warfare. Sachar (1958a:24) believed that the Hebrew tribe of Asher had settled in northern Canaan as early as the thirteenth century B.C.E. Reik (1959) believed that Hebrew clans had been living in Canaan as early as the nineteenth or eighteenth century B.C.E. Each tribe fought separately for its own territory, except when they united to fight common enemies. The tribes of Judah and Simeon joined together to fight the Canaanites and the Perizzites and “slew of them in Bezek ten thousand men” (Judg. 1:4). Fighting was quite savage. The victors cut off the thumbs and toes of the vanquished king, massacring his entire people. They slaughtered the entire population of the captured city and set it on fire. What was the cause of all this savagery?

There was of course the basic struggle for land and survival. The Hebrew tribes needed “social space” and territory. These were occupied by the various Canaanite

clans and tribes both east and west of the Jordan river: the Philistines, who may have migrated from Crete or from northern Europe; the "Canaanites," the biblical name for the aboriginal inhabitants; the Sidonians, known to the Greeks as the Phoenicians; the Hivites from Mount Lebanon and Mount Hermon in the north; the Hittites from Asia Minor; the Amorites, or western Semites; the Perizzites, or dwellers in unwalled cities; the Jebusites, the original inhabitants of Jerusalem; the Moabites; the Edomites; the Aramaeans; the Hurrites; and so on.

Ardrey (1966) attributed the tribal quest for land to the "territorial imperative" of the human species that satisfies our basic needs for identity, stimulation, and security. Alland (1972) criticized this ethological concept, arguing that the "human imperative" is not necessarily territorial. It seems that all human groups are not equally territorial. The unconscious maternal symbolism of the land seems to have more explanatory validity than an inborn "territorial imperative." In any event, the ancient battles for land were conducted with murderous fury. No mercy was shown the vanquished enemies. None were spared. Entire cities were razed, their people massacred. Proud kings were mutilated and executed. The savagery of war was terrifying.

The murderous rage and genocidal fury of ancient wars cry out for an explanation. Why did the Hebrew tribes so savagely exterminate their enemies? Ardrey (1970:269) pointed out the paradox involved in human warfare. Organized intertribal warfare, he wrote, "although an exercise exclusively human in the vertebrate world, received in truth reinforcement from natural law, whereas social [intratribal] violence, the human expression of it, breaks every rule of social species." Organized warfare is only ten or twelve thousand years old, a very short time in human evolution.

Why were there such barbarity and savagery? Why do people make enemies and fight wars? What are the roots of this most terrible aspect of human life? Volkan (1985, 1988) and Boyer (1986) have explored the roots of our profound need for enemies. Their central point is that we need to externalize our bad feelings about ourselves and to project the unpleasant aspects of ourselves onto others. The enemy not only serves to unify the human group or tribe and to reduce the tensions between its members, but also to carry the burden of its bad self-image, of which it is not aware. War, in fact, involves externalization and projection on a large scale.

Fornari (1975:xiv-xv) called war "the paranoid elaboration of mourning." Following the death and loss of a loved object (person) we suffer a deep and painful sense of guilt. Our Internal Depressive Terrifier (a term coined by Melanie Klein), or severe conscience, torments us with guilt feelings. To escape these feelings, we project them unconsciously upon the enemy. We "imagine that the love object has died not because of our own fantasy sadistic attacks against it, but because of the evil magic of the enemy. The experience of mourning then becomes not sorrow for the death of the loved person, but the killing of the enemy who is falsely thought to be the destroyer of the loved object" (Fornari 1975:xviii).

Who might this lost love object have been for the Israelite tribes fighting their way into Canaan? Our first love object, of course, is our mother or mothering person, and our first loss is that of her womb. The story of the expulsion from Paradise may

well symbolize our expulsion from the womb at our birth. Our second loss is that of the symbiosis or fusion that characterizes our mental state and our relation with our mother or mothering person during the first year of our life (Mahler et al. 1975). During the phase of separation and individuation the toddler imagines that it is damaging or destroying its mothering person, and guilt feelings begin to plague it. These feelings are later displaced to other mother images and mothering objects.

The ancient cult of the Great Mother gave rise to the worship of mother goddesses (Briffault 1931; Weigert-Vowinckel 1938; Reik 1964:66–79; Graves 1966; Gimbutas 1982; Graves and Patai 1983). Patai (1967:56) believed that the name of the Canaanite goddess Ashtoreth (1 Kings 11:5) meant “that which issues from the womb.” Actually, like many other biblical names, her name was misvocalized by the medieval Hebrew grammarians of Tiberias, Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, in the tenth century. The correct name is Ashtart (Astarte), and Patai’s etymology is by no means certain (Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 6:406–12). The Egyptian Hebrews worshipped other female deities, such as Isis, and the Canaanite Hebrews were devoted to Asherah, Anath, and Ashtart.

The new Yahweh religion of Moses, however, suppressed the cults of the mother goddesses among the Hebrews (Peto 1958, 1960). The Israelites who invaded Canaan had violently been made to renounce their divine mothers and may well have felt an unconscious guilt for having “killed” these mother goddesses. Were they now unconsciously projecting this sense of guilt upon the Canaanite tribes they were fighting? The answer may lie in the Israelites’ own view of their wars with the Canaanite tribes. *Judg.* 2:11–15 relates that

the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord [Yahweh], and served Baalim: and they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods, of the gods of the people that were round about them, and bowed themselves unto them, and provoked the Lord to anger. And they forsook the Lord, and served Baal and Ashtarothe. And the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of the spoilers that spoiled them, and he sold them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies. Whithersoever they went, the hand of the Lord was against them for evil, as the Lord had said, and as the Lord had sworn unto them: and they were greatly distressed.

The Israelites’ defeats in their battles with the local tribes were ascribed by them to having “whored after” the Canaanite female deities. Father Yahweh was enraged with them for having gone back to the worship of Baal and Asherah, Anath and Ashtoreth. The Israelites longed for their old mother goddesses as well as for the great Baal, whom they often fused with their new god Yahweh.

Reik (1964:66–79) and Patai (1967) believed that the Hebrews never gave up their goddesses, who persisted under different guises throughout Jewish history, down to the present. If they are right, the Israelite tribes who invaded Canaan after crossing northern Sinai and reluctantly giving up their goddesses at Mount Sinai had never

mourned their losses properly (Mitscherlich 1975; Volkan 1981; Pollock 1989). Moses had forced them to accept Yahweh and to reject their mother goddesses, but their emotional need for these goddesses was too great to give them up.

The process of reaction formation was insufficient by itself to bolster the processes of splitting and repression alike. Unable to mourn their losses, the Israelites may have projected their sense of guilt for the murder of their goddesses upon the Canaanite tribes they were fighting. This would accord with Fornari's theory of war (Fornari 1975), and would explain the murderous fury, savagery, and brutality with which these wars were fought. The Canaanites, after all, were worshipping the same goddesses that the Israelites had forsworn. They were doing exactly what the Israelites had wished to do themselves. As Shakespeare put it, "Thou, rascal beadle, hold thy bloody hand: why dost thou lash that whore? Strip thine own back: thou hotly lust'st to use her in that kind for which thou whipp'st her" (*King Lear* 4.6).

There was one other love object, of course, whom the Israelites had lost and never mourned sufficiently. This was Moses. The Bible says that the children of Israel "wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days: so the days of weeping and mourning for Moses were ended" (Deut. 34:8). Freud (1939) believed that the Israelites had actually killed the original Moses. In any event, their mourning was brief even by the standards of their own time, which required a year of weeping and sorrow, sackcloth and ashes. Their loss was irreversible. Having rebelled against Moses many times and enraged him repeatedly, they felt guilty for his death, and could only relieve this sense of guilt by projecting it upon their enemies. The conquest of Canaan was partly a compensation for the loss of the great leader.

There were other causes for the savagery and brutality of the Israelite wars against the tribes of Canaan. One was the savagery and brutality within the patriarchal and polygynous Israelite family. Not only were children, and more especially sons, the object of physical violence from their fathers, on whom they were not permitted to retaliate, but they were subjected to highly traumatic puberty rites and initiation ceremonies in early adolescence. These involved not only seclusion in Succoth (booths or huts) and the terrifying sounds of the shofar, but also deprivation of food, mock executions by their elders, and finally the violent cutting off of the foreskin of their penis with a stone knife. Those who are traumatized in such fashion must act out their feelings of terror and of rage, and war is the best avenue for such acting out. The murderous fury with which enemies were slaughtered and mutilated may well hark back to their own mutilation through circumcision.

Yet another important cause of the murderous fighting for Canaan was the image of that country as the promised land. During their initiation into a tribal confederacy at Mount Sinai, the Hebrew tribes were told by Moses that Yahweh would give them the land of Canaan: the Father had promised them a bountiful Mother Land. Having been forced to give us one set of symbolic mothers, the goddesses, they embraced the prospect and promise of another symbolic mother, the land itself.

After crossing the entire northern Sinai and the deserts southeast of the Dead Sea, and after the death of their leader Moses, the Israelites under Joshua crossed the

Jordan River, where the miracle of the Reed Sea was repeated. The brilliant leader who was Moses' successor told his followers to erect a monument made up of twelve big rocks at the crossing, symbolizing the union of the Israelite tribes. This act "magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the days of his life" (Josh. 4:14). Then Joshua had all male Israelites circumcised with stone knives (Josh. 5:2-8). They were now ready to do take their promised motherland from its unlawful occupants. The Hebrew words for land, *eretz* and *adamah*, are both feminine.

In other words, the Israelites viewed their battles to occupy Canaan as a child might view its fight to recover its mother. Their father Yahweh had promised them a bountiful motherland, and they felt entitled to her. The first chapters of Judges indicate that the process of occupation was protracted, difficult, and bloody, with many reverses. As we have seen, the murderous fury of the Israelites in fighting their enemies was fueled no less by their loss of their goddesses and of Moses, and by the attendant sense of guilt, than by the need for territory and living space.

The twelve Hebrew tribes were united in an amphictyony, "that union of different people centered in a temple for the common performance of certain religious duties" (Reik 1959:93). They were confederated for the purpose of ritual worship but fought their wars pretty much on their own. The Levites carried out religious functions. It is interesting to observe that the original Delphic Amphictyony (Amphictyonic League) of the Greeks also numbered twelve tribes dwelling around Thermopylae. The intertribal battles were terrible. The tribe of Judah had to settle for the arid desert and hilly areas, as it "could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron" (Judg. 1:19). This was a time of transition between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, and the Philistines had a monopoly over the production of iron. It was not till the eleventh century B.C.E. that iron came into general use in Canaan, and even then the Philistines controlled its production and supplies (Albright 1957:290).

The Cainites (Kenites) who had stage-managed the Mount Sinai initiation for Moses had to settle in the wilderness of Judah (Judg. 1:16). One of the Cainites was named Heber, and he was Moses' brother-in-law (4:11). It was his wife Jael who, by driving a tent-nail through his temple, slew the Canaanite leader Sisera, who had sought refuge in her tent after his entire army was slaughtered (4:17-22). The Philistines, a highly developed non-Semitic people originating either in Crete and other Greek islands or in northern Europe, had settled in southwestern Canaan, on the south-eastern shore of the Mediterranean sea. They had defeated and dominated the local Canaanite population and constructed great cities, magnificent temples, and scythed war chariots.

The Philistine god Dagon (Dagan) was Semitic in origin. By the middle of the third millennium B.C.E., all over Mesopotamia he was known as Dagan (Daguna), the Akkadian god of fertility and power. Dagon was the Canaanite version of his name. He was at first identified with El, the father of Baal, as in Text 137 of the Ugarit tablets (Gordon 1965b). Later Dagon became El's brother, as in the Phoenician cosmogony of Philo Byblius (Eusebius 1903). In the eleventh century B.C.E. the Philis-

tines dealt terrible blows to the Israelite tribes and broke up their amphictyonic league (Sachar 1958a:3-31; Albright 1957:250; Bright 1981:185-86). The judges who led the Israelites during the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C.E. were of many hues. Albright (1957:283) believed that

there had to be leaders whose direction would be accepted by Israel in times of crisis or danger, and there had to be magistrates whose decision in civil cases would provide a court of appeal for tribesmen who felt themselves oppressed. And leaders arose, heads of clans like Ehud, Barak, and Gideon, men of wealth like Jair, Ibzan, and Abdon, bastard adventurers like Jephthah, priests like Eli, prophets like Samuel, and even Canaanite chieftains like Shamgar of Beth-anath.

The last reference is to Judg. 3:31, which tells of "Shamgar ben Anath, which slew of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox goad: and he also delivered Israel." Shamgar is also mentioned in the "Song of Deborah" as the son of Anath (5:6). Bright (1981:179 n. 82) thought that Shamgar ben Anath was actually a Canaanite king of Beth Anath (House of Anath), a northern city in the territory of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh. 19:38, Judg. 1:33). Anath was the Canaanite goddess of war and of love; Beth Anath was the site of her temple.

A famous battle in ancient Canaan was fought around 1125 B.C.E. between the Israelites and the Canaanites during the reign of King Yavin (Jabin) at Hazor. There are two different biblical accounts of this great battle. The first has Joshua command the united Israelite armies against the joint Canaanite hosts, "much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea shore in multitude, and with horses and chariots very many" (Josh. 11:4). Joshua not only massacred the Canaanites but also houghed (castrated) their horses, burnt their chariots, and destroyed Hazor, the "head of all those kingdoms" (11:9-10). The second version of the Battle of Hazor seems more modest and more authentic. It has Barak ben Abinoam lead two Israelite tribes, Naphtali and Zebulun, against Sisera, "captain" of the army of King Jabin (Judg. 4:1-24). It is not quite clear which tribe Barak hailed from. We are told that he came from Kedesh in Naphtali (4:6), yet other verses seem to indicate that he came from Issachar (5:15) and that Kedesh was in Issachar (1 Chron. 6:57).

It was a great victory for the Israelites, a terrible rout for the Canaanites. The "Song of Deborah" was probably written soon after the great battle but was inserted into Judges centuries later. The song includes earth-shaking scenes of Yahweh's military might. Albright (1957:288) felt that Yahweh, the "Man of War" in Exod. 15, seemed "particularly at home" in places like Seir and Edom (Deut. 33:2 and Judg. 5:4) "which were definitely outside of Israelite control and far beyond the immediate purview of the northern tribes." The descriptions of rocking mountains and quaking earth led Meek (1960:99-100) to conclude that Yahweh had begun as a storm god, sometimes connected with earthquakes and volcanic eruptions.

The Israelite occupation of Canaan, which took some two centuries to accomplish, occurred during the transition between the late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age. The Israelite tribes, being desert nomads, had used mostly bronze and even

stone implements and weapons, whereas the more advanced Canaanite peoples were switching to iron swords, chariots, and utensils. Although the Canaanites were ironsmiths as well as coppersmiths, the Philistines controlled the supply of iron (Albright 1957:290). This may well have handicapped the Israelites in their battles with the Canaanites and with the Philistines, who not only had iron chariots but scythed ones as well.

Another famous battle was fought at Gibeon, after the Israelites had taken the territories east of the Jordan River and destroyed Jericho and the Ai. Five local tribes joined together against the Israelites in this battle. The "five kings of the Amorites [western Semitic tribes] . . . gathered themselves together, and went up, they and all their hosts and encamped before Gibeon, and made war against it" (Josh. 10:5). If we are to believe the biblical account, Joshua and Yahweh coordinated their efforts brilliantly, while Yahweh "cast down great stones from heaven upon them" (10:9–11). The rout of the Amorites was total. To make sure the ghosts of the Amorite kings he had executed did not come back to haunt him, Joshua had great stones laid "in the cave's mouth" wherein he cast them. It was a common practice among preliterate people (Reik 1964:40–52).

There were also battles against the Midianites, who had also settled in Canaan (Judg. 6–8), against the Ammonites from across the River Jordan (10–12) and against the Philistines (13–16). The latter were more advanced militarily, and scholars think it was they who unintentionally brought about the union of the Israelite tribes. The story of Samson, whose name derives from that of the sun god Shamash, is probably exaggerated, yet it is clear that the Philistine blows were very painful for the Israelite tribes trying to consolidate their foothold in Canaan. The tribe of Dan, at first a neighbor of the Philistines, was driven out of its southern lands and forced to settle in the northernmost Canaanite city of Layish or Leshem, whose people they massacred and which they renamed Dan (18:27–31).

By the time of Samuel (the eleventh century B.C.E.) a religious center had been set up in Shiloh, where the Ark of the Covenant was placed in the Tabernacle of the Congregation. Shiloh was just north of Bethel, northeast of Jerusalem, in the territory of the tribe of Ephraim. It was an extraterritorial "federal district" where the Levites had their sanctuary and where they directed the worship of Yahweh. Eli, who was the High Priest at Shiloh, was also the judge of Israel. His sons Hophni and Phinehas (1 Sam. 1:3) both had Egyptian names, as did many other Levites, including Moses. Samuel became Eli's apprentice or novice at the beginning of the eleventh century B.C.E. In the following chapter we shall examine the career of Samuel, who was the first prophet in Israel, and the rise of the monarchy in his old age.

6

Judges, Prophets, and Kings

The books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings are collectively called “Deuteronomist History.” They were written after the destruction of Judah by the Babylonians, perhaps around 560 B.C.E. The biblical story of the birth of Samuel recalls that of Jacob and his two wives, Leah and Rachel. The father, Elkanah (El has created, redeemed or acquired), has two wives, Peninah and Hannah. The first has many children but is not loved, whereas the second has none for a long time but is much favored. It is the child of the long-barren and beloved woman who becomes great. Hannah is “in bitterness of soul” (1 Sam. 1:10) and “a woman of sorrowful spirit” (1 Sam. 1:15) before she conceives and gives birth to a male child. She names him Shemuel (Samuel) “because I have asked him of the Lord [Yahweh]” (1 Sam. 1:20).

As in the case of the names Israel and Moses, this etymology is unconvincing. The Hebrew name Shemuel (Shemoel) means “his name is El” and has nothing to do with either asking or Yahweh. Elkanah, who lived in Ramah in Mount Ephraim, near Shiloh, north of Jerusalem, worshipped Yahweh Sabaoth, rendered inaccurately as “the Lord of Hosts,” at Shiloh (1 Sam. 1:3). It is likely that he had intended to apprentice his son to Eli, the High Priest of Yahweh at Shiloh, and named him Shmuel because the Canaanite god El had been fused with Yahweh by the Hebrews.

Hannah’s song of joy (1 Sam. 2:1–10) was copied many centuries later by the New Testament authors of the Gospel of Luke in Mary’s “Magnificat” (Luke 2:46–55), set to beautiful music by Johann Sebastian Bach and by many of the other great European composers. In both the main theme is a glorification of the Lord (Yahweh) for having pity on the lowly, barren woman and for blessing her with a child who is destined for greatness. Samuel is portrayed as a spotless, virtuous child serving Eli and Yahweh, whereas Eli’s two sons Hophni and Phinehas are pictured as corrupt, evil, and greedy. They extort bribes, “abhor the offering of the Lord,” and have sexual intercourse with the women who assemble at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation (1 Sam. 2:12–22). A “man of God” comes to the old and blind Eli to upbraid him for the sins of his recreant sons and to predict that the two will die in one day. Samuel becomes Eli’s favorite apprentice and hand-picked successor. As he grows up his fame spreads, until all the tribes of Israel “from Dan even to Beersheba” learn that he has been “established” to be a prophet of Yahweh (1 Sam. 3:20). Surely there was

a historical Samuel but, as with all national and religious heroes, the myth embellished his image into larger-than-life proportions.

DEFEAT AT APHEK

Like most of the ancient world, and not unlike much of our modern one, Canaan was a place of chronic warfare. Around 1050 B.C.E. a great battle took place between Israelites and Philistines near Aphek in the coastal Plain of Sharon in central Canaan. After losing thousands of men, the Israelites brought the ark of Yahweh's covenant from Shiloh to the battlefield to scare their enemies stiff. When the holy ark arrived "all Israel shouted with a great shout, so that the earth rang again . . . and the Philistines were afraid" (1 Sam. 4:1-7). Nevertheless, the Philistines overwhelmed the Israelites again, slaughtering some thirty thousand Israelite fighting men and capturing the holy ark. Eli's two sons were killed. The ninety-eight-year-old Eli himself fell off his chair, broke his neck, and died when he heard the news (1 Sam. 4:12-18). The Philistines went on to destroy Shiloh with its tabernacle of the congregation.

This battle was a disaster for the Israelites. The Philistines had broken their amphictyonic league, taken away their holiest object, and destroyed their religious center. They "neglected no effort to assure their domination, if we may judge by their ruthless control of the manufacture of iron tools and weapons" (Albright 1957:290). This statement is based on the verses in 1 Sam. 13:19-21, "Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel: for the Philistines said, Lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears: but all the Israelites went down to the Philistines, to sharpen every man his share, and his coulter, and his axe, and his mattock." This was probably an exaggeration, because the Cainites who had migrated from Midian to Canaan with the Israelites were clearly smiths (Albright 1957:257). The problem was the supply of iron, which was well controlled by the Philistines.

The Israelites suffered many blows during the eleventh century B.C.E. At the end of the twelfth century B.C.E. the nomadic northwest Semitic tribes (Amorites) had switched from the donkey to the camel (Albright 1957:164). At the beginning of the eleventh century B.C.E. great hordes of camel-riding Midianites began to raid Canaan (Albright 1957:165, 287). These Midianites attacked the Israelite settlements in Canaan with terrible effectiveness. Israelite historians later compared them to grasshoppers or locusts "for both they and their camels were without number: and they entered into the land to destroy it" (Judg. 6:5). War was constantly on the minds of the harassed Israelite tribes. They fought the raiding Midianites, the local Canaanites, the Moabites and Ammonites east of the River Jordan, the Aramaeans from the Syrian desert, and even their own brethren. In one infamous and tragic battle all the other Israelite tribes made war on the tribe of Benjamin; "myriads" (tens of thousands) were slaughtered (19-20). No wonder, wrote Albright (1957:287), Yahweh became a man of war (Exod. 15:3) and the lord of hosts, whose chief function was the military protection of Israel against its foes (Judg. 5).

The judge Gideon (Judg. 6:11–8:35) fought many a valiant battle with the Midianites and delivered Israel from them. Gideon came from the tribe of Manasseh. His original name was Jerubbaal (1 Sam. 12:11), and Gideon may well be a later appellation. The authors of Judges would have us believe that Jerubbaal meant “Let Baal plead against him.” In fact, Jerubbaal meant “may Baal become great” or “founded by Baal,” and the name indicated Manasseh’s devotion to the Canaanite god Baal. Gideon joined forces with other Israelite tribes to rout the Midianites. Torches and ram’s horns had played a major role in that battle, as they had during the initiation at Mount Sinai (Judg. 7–8). The camel-riding Midianite raiders nonetheless went on harassing the Israelites, as did the Philistines. The heroic warriors of the Israelite tribes such as Gideon, Samson, and Jephthah became the judges or political leaders of their people. Jerubbaal and other theophorous Israelite names ending in *baal*, such as Hannibaal (Hannibal), suggest that by the eleventh century B.C.E. the cult of Baal was widespread among the Israelites. The Levites fought the battle of Yahweh against the Canaanite Baal (Albright 1957:286). It was Samuel, the prophet of Yahweh and the judge of Israel, who had dispatched the Israelites to fight the Philistines at Aphek. He knew that there was nothing like the Philistine enemy to unify his feuding tribes.

We are told that when the Israelites recovered their holy ark of the covenant of Yahweh from their Philistine enemies, Samuel used the opportunity to exhort them to quit their pagan practices (1 Sam. 7:2–4). It is doubtful that the Israelites actually abandoned the cults of Baal, Asherah, and Ashtaroah for any length of time. They enjoyed a minor victory over the Philistines (7:5–14) that helped restore their group self-esteem for a while, but they had lost their religious center at Shiloh and their amphictyonic league. While the other peoples in Canaan such as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, and Amorites were organized in monarchies, the Israelites remained a loose tribal confederacy.

THE PROPHETIC MOVEMENT

Around 1020 B.C.E. the aging Samuel came under great pressure to unify the Israelite tribes and to weld them into a monarchy with a king to lead them politically and militarily. Samuel was a *nabhi* or *navi* (prophet). Albright (1957:303) believed that the original meaning of the Hebrew word *nabhi* was “one who is called . . . one who has a vocation.” It had nothing to do with foretelling the future or with speaking or announcing the word of God to the people. The prophet felt himself called by Yahweh for a special mission. Samuel’s mission was to unify the Israelite tribes and to rescue the religion of Yahweh from the Canaanite deities, which threatened to overwhelm him (Albright 1968).

Egypt and Canaan were in constant contact. Egyptian clerics were aware of the Canaanite prophets. The ancient city of Nowe (now Karnak) in Upper Egypt was a great center of Amon worship. Nowe was known at different times as Wase, Wose,

Nuwe, No, Noph, No-Amon, and Thebes (Jer. 46:25; Ezek. 30:14–16; Nah. 3:8). Gebal (Byblos) in Phoenicia (now Lebanon) was a great center of El and Baal worship. Wen-amun (Wen-Amon) was an Amun temple official at Nowe in the eleventh century B.C.E. The report of Wen-Amun tells of a young noble of Gebal who was “seized by his god” and went into a prophetic frenzy. Other evidence makes it clear that the prophetic movement began in the early eleventh century B.C.E. in Phoenicia, north of Canaan (Albright 1957:304). The prophet typically went into an ecstatic trance with visual and auditory hallucinations. The story of the bands of prophets in Samuel’s old age is characteristic:

And when they came thither to the hill, behold, a company of prophets met him; and the Spirit of God came upon him, and he prophesied among them. And it came to pass, when all that knew him beforetime saw that, behold, he prophesied among the prophets, then the people said one to another, What is this that is come unto the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets? (1 Sam. 10:10–11)

While some scholars have attempted to find the source of this ecstatic prophetic movement in the Greek Dionysian orgies, others believed that there was nothing sexual or orgiastic about the ecstatic trances of the Israelite prophets (Albright 1957:305). Caird (1951) believed that the bands of prophets worked themselves into a convulsive and ecstatic frenzy by means of music and dance, which allowed them to deliver solemn utterances. Some Jewish historians sought to draw a sharp line between the “quacks, seers and soothsayers” of the eleventh century B.C.E. and the “moral giants” of the eighth century B.C.E. (Sachar 1958a:61). Were the two groups all that different psychologically? Were the ecstatic trances of the prophets hysterical, psychotic, or group phenomena?

Sanday (1892) thought that the prophetic calling always came in the form of an overpowering force from without against which the prophet struggled in vain. The prophet passed through a series of personal crises during which he felt some strong and irresistible impulse seize him, determining his attitudes to the political events of his time, constraining his utterances, and making his words the vehicle of Yahweh’s meaning. This scholar pointed out that prophecy was a profession and was a group activity. The first-century Jewish historian-philosopher Philo Judaeus of Alexandria became full with ideas showered upon him from on high and greatly excited through the influence of divine inspiration (James 1958:363–64).

Albright (1957:305–6) enumerated the psychological characteristics of the *nabhi* (true prophet). He “was primarily a man who felt himself specially called by God for a religious mission . . . felt himself to be under a strong compulsion . . . or was conscious of an experience which transformed his life . . . i.e. a true conversion.” His mission involved moral and political reformation as well as purely religious revival. After the consolidation of the monarchy “the flow of charismatic energy in Israel was diverted from military and political heroes and leaders to religious leaders.” In the person of Samuel we can see the beginning of this transition from judge to prophet.

From a psychoanalytic viewpoint it seems that those who underwent personal crises and conversion experiences and felt the prophetic calling were men who suffered great inner torment due to their early life experiences in their family. Their inner conflicts were unconsciously displaced onto the religious and political world of their time. Yahweh replaced their father in their unconscious minds; the Israelite nation or land of Israel symbolized their early mother. They longed for psychic rebirth because their physical or psychological birth (Mahler et al. 1975) had not been satisfactory. By attempting to repair their external world they were unconsciously seeking to repair an internal bad early mother (Klein 1960). Their unconscious rage against mother and father was displaced to their people, whom they scolded and upbraided for their transgressions. Some prophets even cursed their very birth, thus indirectly cursing their parents (Jer. 20:14). The prophetic movement provided a socially acceptable avenue for the acting out of unconscious personal conflicts. It was a sublimation for unacceptable wishes and feelings and an avenue for the resolution of acute personal crises.

THE RISE OF THE MONARCHY IN ISRAEL

The Philistine and Midianite scourge during the eleventh century B.C.E. brought about a partial unification of the warring Israelite tribes. While in some Semitic nations the tribal chieftains elected their king, in early Israel it was the prophet. The aging Samuel's attempt to establish a political leadership for the southern tribes by appointing his sons judges in the southern town of Beersheba failed when his sons took bribes and became corrupt (1 Sam. 8:1–6). Around 1020 B.C.E. the elders of the Israelite tribes called upon Samuel at Ramah. Shiloh had been destroyed and there was no religious or political center around which the tribes could rally. The elders demanded a king to unify their tribes and to fight their wars for them. Samuel's attempts to dissuade the anxious elders from this demand by warning them against their exploitation and enslavement by the monarch fell on deaf ears (8:7–22). The fear of the enemy was too great and the need for a powerful leader too deep to give up this wish.

Around 1030–1020 B.C.E. the aging prophet Samuel reluctantly anointed Saul ben Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, king over all the tribes of Israel (1 Sam. 10:1–25). The anointment was carried out with a special oil horn from which olive oil was poured upon the head of the king to be. The story of Saul is replete with mythical embellishments. Albright (1957:290) viewed Saul as a compromise candidate:

The advance of the Philistines after the destruction of Shiloh . . . threatened to reduce Israel to hopeless servitude, and the Philistines neglected no effort to assure their domination. . . . The leaders of Israel, in particular the aging Samuel, had no recourse but to find a king, and it can hardly be accidental that their choice fell on Saul, who was not only famous for his stature and prowess, but was also a member of the weakest and most central tribe, that of Benjamin. In a confederacy where tribal jealousy ran high, it was of great importance that the new king should not excite particularistic friction from the start.

Benjamin had not been the weakest tribe in Israel: it had the best warriors in all the tribes (Judg. 20:14–16). However, Benjamin had been decimated in a bitter and terrible fratricidal war with the other tribes (20:35–48). Kish, the father of the future king, was himself “a mighty man of power” (1 Sam. 9:1). The name of Kish’s father is given as Abiel (El is my father), but it is elsewhere given as Ner (1 Chron. 8:33), the Canaanite sun god. Since Ner was El’s son in Canaanite myth, Ner and Abiel could well be one and the same person. Saul’s army chief was Abner (Avner, Aviner, or Abiner) ben Ner, whose name means “Ner is my father” (1 Sam. 26:5). Abner was Kish’s brother and Saul’s uncle, a relation confirmed by other verses (1 Sam. 14:50, 1 Chron. 9:39).

The young Saul himself was “a choice young man, and a goodly: and there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he: from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people” (1 Sam. 9:2). Saul’s stature was part of his charisma, as were his ecstatic prophetic trances (10: 10–12). Schiffer (1973) believed that the chief “ingredients” of charisma were foreignness and imperfection, a calling, the fighting stance, the social station, the sexual mystique, the hoax, and the innovative lifestyle. These “charismatic ingredients” cause us to attribute charisma to our leaders because they evoke in our unconscious mind the powerful echoes of our earliest emotional experiences with our mothers and other important “objects.”

The young Saul had several of these charismatic ingredients. Not only was he exceptionally tall and “goodly,” but he also had the prophetic calling and the fighting stance against the Philistines. His prophetic trances marked him as special and different. He showed his military prowess in a great battle against the Ammonites (1 Sam. 11:1–13). It was after this battle that Samuel anointed Saul at Gilgal as king of Israel “and there Saul and all the men of Israel rejoiced greatly” (11:14–15). The story of his previous secret anointment (10:1) is probably apocryphal. Saul’s battles against the Philistines were bitter but inconclusive (14:52). He was unable to defeat them, yet did not surrender to them. Albright (1957: 290) believed that Saul “was unable . . . to advance beyond a loose political confederacy . . . because of innate weakness of character.”

The most famous incident illustrating King Saul’s “weakness of character” was his sparing the life of Agag, the king of the Amalekites, after having defeated the Amalekites and massacred them wholesale (1 Sam. 15:8–9). Agag may have been an unconscious father figure for Saul. The biblical version depicted this incident as the great provocation that enraged Samuel and made him turn away from Saul, humiliate him in front of the people, and refuse to see him again (15:10–35). Elie Wiesel, a Holocaust survivor, saw Saul’s sparing of Agag as “humanism” (Wiesel 1981).

Samuel may have had many other reasons for disliking Saul, who had been forced upon him by the elders of the Israelite tribes and who had displaced Samuel and his sons as the political and military leaders of the tribal confederacy. Samuel may well have used the Agag incident to proclaim that Yahweh was “wroth” with Saul and to fall out with the fledgling king. He used David ben Yishai (David son of Jesse), of Bethlehem in the tribe of Judah, as a foil against Saul.

THE EVIL SPIRIT OF YAHWEH

King Saul suffered from episodes of severe and agitated depression. The biblical story says that "the Spirit of the Lord [Yahweh] departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him" (1 Sam. 16:14). Since Saul's ecstatic prophetic trances were probably manic states, it is fair to say that Saul suffered from manic-depressive illness. Saul's madness was studied by the great medieval Jewish physician Moses Maimonides, as well as by modern scholars such as Rosen (1968), Kluger (1974), and Littman (1981). Rosen (1968:22) interpreted the saying "Is Saul among the prophets?" (1 Sam. 10:11) to indicate Saul's emotional instability. Kluger (1974:56) read the same saying as the people's surprise that this well-to-do landowner should keep such base company. Kluger pointed out that the spirit of God made Saul into a prophet rather than a king. Saul's "election as king presupposes the prophetic experience; on the other hand, prophetic ecstasy is a sign of the election as king." Kluger believed that this was the key to the riddle of Saul's character. His election as king is expressed in Saul by inner prophetic possession rather than by outer signs of royalty or power.

Wiesel (1974a:79) understood Saul's ambivalent relationship to Samuel: "On the one hand he resents Samuel's authority but on the other he needs him. Whenever the prophet is away the king feels lost, insecure." Littman (1981) thought that Saul was paranoid. The evil spirit of God that beset Saul after Samuel had repudiated him and anointed David as his successor (1 Sam. 16:14) was probably severe and agitated depression. Most of the scholars cited interpreted the evil spirit of God to mean depression or melancholia. However, if ecstatic prophesying occurred during manic states, then it is not clear how Saul could prophesy while under the influence of the evil spirit of God (18:10).

David served as Saul's music therapist. David was born around 1037 B.C.E. and was in his teens when Saul was anointed king (c. 1025 B.C.E.). The youthful David was "cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters, and a comely person" (1 Sam. 16:18). When Saul was in deep depression, David played the harp "and the evil spirit departed from Saul" (16:23). When Saul was in a manic prophetic trance, however, he became violent and attempted to kill David (10-11).

What was the cause of Saul's manic-depressive illness? The biblical version connects Saul's emotional conversion to prophetic ecstasy with Samuel. It was the aging Samuel who chose Saul, anointed him, and foretold his future:

and it shall come to pass, when thou art come thither to the city, that thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp, before them; and they shall prophesy: and the spirit of the Lord [Yahweh] will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man. . . . And it was so, that when he had turned his back to go from Samuel, God gave him another heart: and all those signs came to pass that day. (1 Sam. 10:5-9)

Zeligs (1955b) believed that unconsciously Samuel was a father figure for Saul, whose own father, Kish, had been "a mighty man of power" (1 Sam. 9:1). It had not been easy for Saul to stand up to this patriarch. When Samuel upbraided Saul publicly, Saul was unable to stand up to him, either (13:8–14, 15:13–35). Saul may have internalized his parricidal rage and turned it against himself. Neither could he bring himself to kill King Agag of the Amalekites, perhaps another unconscious father figure. The biblical chroniclers tell us nothing about Saul's mother and about his early life, but we do know that manic-depressive illness arises from disturbances in the early mother-child relationship (Falk 1982). More often than not, these stem from problems in the process of emerging from the symbiotic fusion with the mother, separating and individuating from her (Mahler et al. 1975). Sanford (1985) interpreted Saul's tragedy as a separation-individuation issue.

David's growing popularity, especially after his legendary victory over Goliath the Philistine (1 Sam. 17), seems to have enraged Saul still further. In fact, Goliath was slain by another warrior (2 Sam. 21:19). The original Hebrew text of this verse says that Elhanan slew Goliath; the authors of the King James Version changed it to "slew the brother of Goliath" so as to preserve the myth of David's glory. Yet another biblical verse makes it seem that Goliath was Egyptian (1 Chron. 11:23). The song of the women who declared that David had slain ten times as many Philistines as Saul made Saul "very wroth" (1 Sam. 18:6–8). The unhappy king was torn between his homosexual love for his handsome music therapist and his envy of him.

It is a fascinating feature of the biblical editors' attempts at concealment that what they tried to hide in one text they revealed in others. The texts were not carefully collated. Unconsciously, the chroniclers and editors may have wished to reveal what they consciously sought to conceal. The authors of Samuel gave the names of Saul's three sons as Jonathan, Ishyo, and Malchishua (14:49), but then listed his three sons that were killed at the Battle of Mount Gilboa as Jonathan, Abinadab, and Malchishua. Saul actually had four sons: Jonathan, Malchishua, Abinadab, and Eshbaal (1 Chron. 8:33, 9:39), and two daughters, Merab and Michal (1 Sam. 14:49). Ishyo (Yahweh lives) and Eshbaal (Baal lives) may have been one and the same person. Saul's son Jonathan fell in love with David, as did Saul's daughter Michal. Jonathan's overt homosexual feelings for David may have echoed Saul's latent ones.

David's cat-and-mouse struggle with Saul continued throughout the latter's reign (1 Sam. 18–27). Saul's mental condition worsened. We are told that he fell into ecstatic trances during which he stripped himself naked and "prophesied before Samuel in like manner, and lay down naked all that day and all that night" (19:24). This story, however, contradicts an earlier statement to the effect that after Samuel rebuked and repudiated Saul publicly, Samuel never saw Saul again for the rest of his life (15:35). What are we to make of this glaring contradiction? The contradictions in 1 and 2 Samuel have made scholars assume they were pasted together from several sources. Samuel died in ripe old age (1 Sam. 25:1, 28:3), but even after his death he continued to haunt Saul. The Israelite king Saul became like Shakespeare's Scottish murderer-king Macbeth two thousand years later, whose fear and guilt led him to consult witches.

Before his final battle with the Philistines at Mount Gilboa, the tragic Saul went to see "the woman who hath a familiar spirit." She "brought up" the dead Samuel for him, which only served to scare Saul further (1 Sam. 28).

As with Shakespeare's *Macbeth* at Dunsinane, the great battle at Mount Gilboa ended with a terrible defeat and with the death of the king. After his three sons were killed, Saul committed suicide rather than be tortured and killed by the hated enemy (31:1–4); *Macbeth* had himself killed by *Macduff*. Saul's very choice of the site for this battle was suicidal: the Philistines controlled the route into the Valley of Esdraelon (Jezreel), where Mount Gilboa is located, they had the support of the sea peoples and Canaanites, their scythed chariots could maneuver in the valley, and they could cut Saul off from the Hebrew tribes to the north (Bright 1981:194–95). The tragic battle and Saul's death at Mount Gilboa occurred around 1012 B.C.E.

Saul's entire career was tragic. The prophet Samuel tormented him, and so did his beloved-and-hated music therapist and rival, David. He was tortured by very painful inner conflicts and by alternating states of manic trances and of agitated depression. His children loved his rival. He demanded a hundred Philistine foreskins from David as bride-price for his daughter Michal, thinking that David would get killed in battle, only to see his rival bring back two hundred foreskins, forcing him to lose his daughter to his rival (1 Sam. 18:20–30).

Saul's early victories over the Philistines soon gave way to defeat. His suicide capped a life of agony, failure, and losses. The first king of Israel had lost his battles with his father, with his prophet, with his rival, with his children, and with his enemies. Having lost his three sons as well, he had nothing left. It was a sad beginning for the monarchy in Israel, and a tragic name for a people to bear—Israel, the epithet of the Canaanite god El who castrated his own father and killed his own children.

FATHERS AND SONS

The ancient Hebrew family was patriarchal. The resentful dominated sons often rose up against their fathers. The biblical texts of *Samuel* and *Kings* abound with father-son conflicts. After Saul's suicide, the young David, Saul's chief rival, who had been anointed by the prophet Samuel, became king of Judah, but it took him another seven years to win over the rest of the Israelite tribes from the house of Saul. It was precisely this archaic struggle of father versus son, built into the very structure of the patriarchal Hebrew family, that had given rise to the Yahweh religion. Let us examine these oedipal conflicts as they are portrayed in the biblical literature.

David (c. 1037–962 B.C.E.), youngest son of Jesse of Bethlehem, in the tribe of Judah, was not even present when the aged prophet Samuel came to anoint one of Jesse's eight sons as the new king of Israel (1 Sam. 16:1–11). Zeligs (1974:164) believed that Jesse "thought so little of his youngest son that he did not even consider his presence necessary on the occasion when the religious leader of Israel was present, although Samuel had asked him to bring his sons." Zeligs pointed out that the only

verses describing the relationship between Jesse and his son David show Jesse commanding and David obeying (1 Sam. 17:17–20). She inferred that Jesse's paternal relationship to David was cold and authoritarian.

Zeligs thought that Jesse either envied his youngest son or despised him; David may have been an illegitimate child. Like the mythical Joseph, David may have been hated and envied by his brothers. When Samuel came to anoint one of them king and chose David, their jealousy and hatred could only have increased. It was precisely his insecure feeling within his family that made David long for achievement, conquest, power, mastery, and fame. Lasswell (1977) thought that power was an unconscious compensation for early narcissistic injuries. David at first denied to himself the envy, rage, and death wishes felt toward him by his father and brothers. The myth of David and Goliath shows these feelings coming to a head when David delivers food to his brothers in the battlefield at his father's command:

And David left his carriage in the hand of the keeper of the carriage, and ran into the army, and came and saluted his brethren. And as he talked with them, behold, there came up the champion, the Philistine of Gath, Goliath by name, out of the armies of the Philistines, and spake according to the same words: and David heard them. . . . And David spake to the men who stood by him, saying, What shall be done to the man that killeth this Philistine, and taketh away the reproach from Israel? for who is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should defy the armies of the living God? . . . And Eliab his eldest brother heard when he spake unto the men; and Eliab's anger was kindled against David, and he said, Why camest thou down hither? and with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know thy pride, and the naughtiness of thine heart; for thou art come down that thou mightest see the battle. (1 Sam. 17:22–28)

This myth says that David was not deterred by his eldest brother's scathing rebuke. He went on to fight Goliath and to slay him. Zeligs believed that the biblical compilers and editors attempted to suppress the rivalry, jealousy, and serious conflict between David and his brothers, who are rarely mentioned in the narrative.

Zeligs (1960a, 1974) felt that David's emotional strength came from an early loving relationship with his mother. The Hebrew name David meant "beloved," as does the Arabic equivalent, Dawud. The Hebrew word *dod* in The Song of Songs meant "lover," *dodim* meant "lovmaking," and *dudaim* is the name of the mandrake plant, magically believed to grow from the sperm of hanged men and to promote sexual prowess and conception. Like Joseph, David was a special child to his mother, who gave him his name. Jesse's jealousy of his son David may have been due to this special love of David by his mother.

Zeligs (1974:170) thought that David's battle with Goliath was an unconscious displacement of his struggle with his father. This struggle was also displaced to King Saul, whose personal armor and sword David declined to use (1 Sam. 17:38–39). At first Goliath became the bad father, Saul the good father, and Jerusalem the good mother in David's unconscious mind. We do not know whether in fact it was David's mother who named him, although this is not unlikely, and whether David was in fact

a name or a title. Benjamin itself may have been a generic name for several tribes. The cuneiform clay tablets of King Zimrilim of Mari (1730–1697 B.C.E.), written in a West Semitic language akin to Hebrew, refer to an Amorite (western Semitic) nomadic tribal confederation of Bani-yamina, the people of the south (Bright 1981:78, 88). Some scholars think that these texts use “Davidum” as the title, not the name, of the military commander of these nomads. Other scholars dispute this view.

Zeligs believed that David’s beheading of Goliath was an act of symbolic castration. The biblical text says that David took Goliath’s head and brought it to Jerusalem (1 Sam. 17:54), but three verses later it says that Abner, Saul’s general, brought David before Saul with Goliath’s head in his hands (17:57). At the time of the battle Jerusalem was a Canaanite stronghold of the Jebusites; the story is riddled with contradictions and impossibilities.

The symbolic interpretation, as with many other biblical stories, may be more useful than the concrete one. David “would have liked to present the symbol of his triumph to the mother. The significance of a city as a mother symbol is utilized a number of times in the narratives about David. . . . Jerusalem is still a captive city, held by an alien, or hostile father. David kills the bad father, Goliath, and lays the sign of his triumph in the lap of the mother” (Zeligs 1974:173). Indeed, in the Canaan of the late eleventh century B.C.E. each major city was considered the mother of the villages and small towns around it. They were called her “daughters,” and together they formed a city-state. By extension, Jerusalem was the psychological “mother” of the Jews (Falk 1987).

David’s “killing” of Goliath was a symbolic rite of initiation, a testing of his manhood. He kept the armor of the dead Philistine “giant” to absorb his former strength. He refrained from accepting King Saul’s armor. At first David denied Saul’s murderous rage at him, until Saul actually attempted to have him killed. He then fled the king’s wrath by hiding in the wilderness of Judah and the Dead Sea with his men. When Saul pursued David and caught up with him, it was David who trapped Saul, yet spared his life on two different occasions (1 Sam. 24, 26). David could not bring himself to kill “Yahweh’s anointed” because the king was an unconscious symbol of his own father Jesse, as was Yahweh.

Zeligs (1974:177) felt that David’s narcissism was “repressed and sublimated.” This was why he abandoned Goliath’s sword after the battle, only to find it again in the house of Ahimelech, the priest at Nob, as he fled the wrath of King Saul (1 Sam. 21:10–11). David took the great sword and escaped to King Achish of Gath, the mother-city of his enemy Goliath. “In this hour of severe emotional distress,” wrote Zeligs, “was David returning in fantasy to an earlier period, the time of his first triumph? Was he now acting out . . . the wish to take possession of the city owned by the hostile father, with the very sword taken from the father? At the same time, in the ambivalent fashion of unconscious conflict, did he wish to offer himself as a soldier to the king, to fight for Achish as he had fought for Saul?” (Zeligs 1974:179).

When David arrived in Gath, he was recognized by Achish’s men, who said to their king, “Is not this David the king of the land? did they not sing one to another of

him in dances, saying, Saul hath slain in his thousands, And David his ten thousands? And David laid up these words in his heart, and was sore afraid of Achish" (1 Sam. 21:11–12). Zeligs thought that the madness feigned by David in the biblical story was actually a real emotional regression under great stress. David "scrabbled on the doors of the gate, and let his spittle fall down upon his beard" (1 Sam. 21:13). This is "the behavior of an infant who wants to be taken up by the mother and fed" (Zeligs 1974:180). One is reminded of the behavior of Edgar in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, who feigns madness in much the same way under the stress of murderous pursuit by his father, who has been misled by his bastard son Edmund into thinking that Edgar has betrayed him.

In another version of the biblical story, David made a rational decision to join Achish and moved to Gath with his six hundred men and two wives (1 Sam. 27:1–4). Achish gave David the city of Ziklag to rule as his vassal. David now had to fight for Achish. He and his men raided and massacred the various Canaanite tribes who lived south of Philistia, sparing not a soul, while telling Achish that they had been killing the Jews, the Cainites, and other enemies of the Philistines. Achish trusted David and wished to keep him in his forces during the great battle at Aphek, but his fellow Philistine lords forced him to dismiss David (29).

When David and his men returned to Ziklag they found it burnt down by the Amalekites and their wives and daughters taken prisoner. David was almost stoned by the furious people of Ziklag, but he recovered, pursued the Amalekites, and destroyed them (1 Sam. 30). While David was busy fighting the Amalekites, his rival Saul fought the Philistines at Mount Gilboa. Three of King Saul's sons—Jonathan, Abinadab, and Malchishua—were killed, and Saul killed himself by falling on his sword (31:2–4). The Philistines "cut off his head, and stripped off his armour, and sent into the land of the Philistines round about, to publish it in the house of their idols, and among the people" (31:9).

Zeligs (1960a) made no mention of David's probable guilt feelings over the death of his chief rival, Saul. We have some indication of these guilt feelings in David's execution of the young man who came to tell him he had killed Saul at the king's own command (2 Sam. 1:1–17). David intended to show the entire Israelite people that he mourned Saul's death and did not covet his crown; consciously or unconsciously he had wished to do just what the young man had told him he had done. He had not come to Saul's rescue. David's guilt feelings may have caused his self-destructive and masochistic behavior as king. When he was publicly cursed by a mad Benjaminite, he forbade his aide Abishai to kill the offender, claiming that God had commanded the man to curse him (16:7–12). David's guilt feelings over Saul's death may have echoed and fused with his earlier unconscious guilt feelings over having displaced his own father, Jesse.

7

The Short-Lived Union

King David at first ruled his own tribe of Judah only, setting up his court in Hebron. The Jews were still being given unabashedly pagan Canaanite names: Saul's only surviving son was named Eshbaal or Ishbaal (1 Chron. 8:33, 9:39). Noth (1928:119, 138) thought that this name meant "Baal's fire" or "Man of Baal." Albright (1953a:113, 207) thought that it meant "Baal lives." As previously mentioned, Eshbaal may have been the same person as Ishyo (Yahweh lives), one of Saul's sons (1 Sam. 14:49) who did not die at Gilboa (31:2). Eshbaal was crowned King of Israel by Abner (Aviner), the late king's army chief and Israelite strongman (2 Sam. 2:8-9).

Eshbaal's name is given in 2 Samuel as Ishbosheth (Man of Shame), because the Deuteronomist chroniclers of 1 and 2 Samuel, after the fall of the kingdom of Israel, hated the cult of Baal; in the same way Gideon's name of Jerubaal was given as Jerubbesheth and Meribbaal's as Mephibosheth.

Eshbaal enraged Abner by reproaching him for having slept with Saul's concubine, which was very probably a political act on Abner's part, asserting himself as Saul's successor. Abner sought to strike a deal with David. If David accepted Abner as his army chief, Abner would deliver the other tribes to David's rule and the tribe of Judah would reign supreme with David as king of all Israel. David received Abner royally in Hebron (2 Sam. 3:6-21). Joab, who was David's army chief as well as nephew, was afraid and jealous of Abner, whom he rightly suspected of wishing to displace him. Joab plotted to kill both Abner and Eshbaal and to deliver the rest of the tribes to David himself. In this he soon succeeded.

DAVID, KING OF ISRAEL

After seven years of bitter, fratricidal warfare between the house of Saul and the house of David, the wily and brutal Joab succeeded in killing Abner, who had earlier killed Joab's brother Assael (2 Sam. 2:23; 3:27). As he had done when the young man came to tell him of Saul's death, David cunningly mourned the death of Abner in public and repudiated Joab. He did the same when informed of the death of Ishbaal (Ishbosheth), Saul's successor, executing the murderers of his rival (2 Sam. 4). Around 1005 B.C.E. the elders of all the tribes of Israel came to Hebron and anointed David king over Israel.

By this time David had six wives and one son by each (2 Sam. 3:2–5). He soon captured Jerusalem from the Jebusites and established his court there (5:6–9). He defeated the Philistines, united the Israelite tribes and created a new amphictyonic religious center in Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6). He took additional wives and concubines and had eleven more sons by them (5:13–16). He died sometime between 970 and 960 B.C.E. (cf. Bright 1981:195, 211).

In 1004 B.C.E. David made the city of Jerusalem his capital. Jerusalem had been inhabited as early as the fourth millennium B.C.E. Its Canaanite Hebrew name was *Yerushalem*, meaning “founded by Shalem.” Shalem (Shalim) was a Canaanite deity, one of the first two sons born to El by mortal women (Gordon 1961:189). Gordon thought that Shalem’s name meant “dusk”; other scholars, perhaps more accurately, interpreted it as “the perfect one” (Albright 1957:231; Graves and Patai 1964:59, 104): in Hebrew, *shalem* means “whole,” “complete” or “perfect.” Shalem’s brother was named Shakhar, meaning “dawn,” which may have misled Gordon into interpreting Shalem’s name as dusk. Some scholars have identified Shalem with the Assyrian god Shalman (Shulmanu), whose cult was common among the western Semitic or Amorite peoples. David had made the City of the Perfect One his capital. His favorite son, Shlomoh (Solomon), was named after the god Shalem.

David was the greatest military leader the Israelite tribes had ever had. He defeated not only the Philistines but also the Moabites, Edomites, Ammonites, and various other peoples surrounding the Israelites. The territory held jointly by the Israelite tribes became greater than at any time previously. David’s victories were partly due to the relative weakness of the great empires around Canaan at that time—Assyria in the northeast and Egypt in the southwest. Much of the actual fighting was done by Joab, the chief of David’s army. While Joab was busy fighting the Ammonites at Rabbah (now Amman), his king was busy ogling bathing women from his rooftop (2 Sam. 11:2). This led to the tragic death of Uriah the Hittite, whom David caused to die in the war so that he could marry Uriah’s wife Bathsheba, whom he had slept with and gotten pregnant (11:3–17).

The conflict between prophet and king reached a new climax when Nathan the Prophet came to deliver a scathing sermon to King David (2 Sam. 12). The biblical story has Nathan upbraid David in Yahweh’s name and prophesy doom to him: “Behold, I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and I will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbor, and he shall lie with thy wives in the sight of this sun” (12:11). Nathan’s “prophecy” was of course apocryphal. The biblical chroniclers who wrote the story knew very well what had happened afterwards. There are echoes of Samuel’s verbal scourging of Saul in this story.

SON VERSUS FATHER

The “neighbor” that Nathan had in mind turned out to be none other than David’s own son, Absalom (2 Sam. 16:22). His name is also given as Abishalom, meaning

"Shalom is my father," or Abishalem, meaning "Shalem is my father." The latter is probably the correct name. The reading "Absalom" is the result of the tendentious, distorted vocalization by the tenth-century Hebrew scholars in Muslim Tiberias, who sought to imitate the Koran and to conceal the pagan origin of his name.

It was customary for ancient kings to crown their firstborn sons during their lifetime and to share their throne with them during the final years of their lives. The root causes of David's family tragedy were psychological, as are the root causes of all human tragedy. Zeligs (1974:183) believed that "in his role of father David reveals the most conflictual aspect of his personality. His relationship to his sons is marked by indulgence to their wishes, a lack of restraining discipline, and a surprising unawareness of their real character." Did David wish to be the opposite kind of father to his own children than his own father Jesse had been to him? It seems that in his wish to avoid being stern, envious, and neglectful, and to be loved by his children, David went over to the other extreme. When his son Amnon, who was named after the Egyptian god Amen (Amon), or possibly after the god Nu (Nun), desired his half-sister Tamar, he feigned illness and asked David to send Tamar to him to bake him some pancakes (2 Sam. 13:6). David might have known that Amnon would seduce and rape Tamar, yet he could not say no to his son. Did David encourage incest between his children?

Indeed, David's daughter Tamar was raped by her half-brother Amnon, who then refused to see her again. Tamar, desolate and full of helpless rage, "put ashes on her head, and rent her garment of divers colours that was on her, and laid her hand on her head, and went on crying" (2 Sam. 13:14-19). Her brother Absalom met her and realized what had happened. He told her to keep quiet. When King David heard all this "he was very wroth" (13:21), yet he did nothing to punish Amnon in any way. Why had Tamar not gone straight to her father to tell him what Amnon had done to her? Zeligs (1974:185) felt that "there was not a close relationship between them." The same was true of her brother Absalom, who kept the matter to himself, while Tamar "remained desolate in her brother Absalom's house" (2 Sam. 13:20). We are told nothing further about Tamar. Was she really Absalom's sister or was she in fact his daughter? Did he name his daughter after his sister? We are told that Tamar was the name of Absalom's beautiful only daughter (14:27), only to discover later that Absalom's daughter's name was Maachah (1 Kings 15:2, 15:10; 2 Chron. 11:20-21).

The upshot of this family tragedy was that Absalom had his half-brother Amnon murdered (2 Sam. 13:28-29), rose up in arms against his father (15:10-24), and made love to his father's concubines "in the sight of all Israel" (16:22). Absalom was the most good-looking man in Israel and was highly narcissistic (14:25-15:6; 18:18). It is likely that David unconsciously perceived in Absalom a mirror image of himself. David could not say no to Absalom either. He could have prevented the murder of Amnon by refusing to send Amnon along to Absalom's sheep-shearing feast, but he yielded to Absalom's pressure (13:23-27). Zeligs (1974:187) believed that "David had to repress an awareness of hostility in his sons." David denied the murderous rage his son Absalom harbored for his half-brother Amnon. Zeligs's explanation for

this was that "David always longed for a loving and protective father. He had a need to seek out such figures and to deny the reality of aggression in father figures. If this was so, then his ego ideal would demand that he himself be without hostility in this role. Such a defensive need may explain, in part, David's inability to be firm with his sons or to see in them what he dared not see within himself." An alternative explanation would be that David deeply needed to be loved by his children. His inability to say no to them and to be firm with them came from his great need to be loved, which made David deny even his son Absalom's parricidal feelings toward him. His profound need to be loved may have stemmed from his being envied and even hated by his father and brothers, from an early feeling of abandonment and rejection.

Indeed, when Absalom had murdered Amnon and fled to his maternal grandfather, the king of Geshur, "David mourned for his son every day. . . . And the soul of King David longed to go forth unto Absalom; for he was comforted concerning Amnon, seeing he was dead" (2 Sam. 13:37-39). If it is true that David unconsciously perceived in his son Absalom a mirror image of himself, it would help us understand his longing for his parricidal son. For three years David pined for his handsome renegade son while being enraged at Absalom at the same time. David's army chief Joab was finally able to induce his king to let his rebellious son Absalom return to his home in Jerusalem, but it took another two years for David to agree to see his son (14). David went on denying his son's parricidal and regicidal feelings until Absalom "stole the hearts of the men of Israel" and rose up in arms against him (15).

David may have unconsciously felt guilty for displacing his own father Jesse by becoming king of Jesse's own tribe of Judah, and later of all the tribes of Israel. When the messenger came and told David that his own beloved son Absalom had risen against him and that "the hearts of the men" were "after Absalom," David did not pause to find out how many of his people had actually defected to his son but fled Jerusalem straightaway (15:13-14). Zeligs (1974:191) saw this as "a panic reaction of a terrified man." She admitted that the highly experienced David "evidently felt that he would be safer away from the city" but thought that David was "overwhelmed by feelings of rejection" and "too hurt to be able to fight back." She speculated that Absalom's parricidal revolt "may have stirred up David's own repressed Oedipal impulses" (Zeligs 1974:192).

Absalom (Abishalem) was the son of Maachah, daughter of the king of Geshur (2 Sam. 3:3; 1 Chron. 3:2). It was probably she who named him after the Canaanite god Shalem. There are some fascinating contradictions in the biblical text concerning Absalom. At one point we are told that he had three sons and a daughter, Tamar (2 Sam. 14:27), but elsewhere we are told that he had no sons at all (18:18). We are told that Absalom named his only daughter Tamar, the name of his beloved sister (1 Sam. 14:27); then we are told that his only daughter's name was Maachah, the name of his mother (1 Kings 15:2 and 2 Chron. 11:20). Who was her mother? Did Absalom have two daughters? Biblical scholars have been unable to settle these questions. The only way to resolve this contradiction is to assume that Absalom's daughter had *two* names, Maachah and Tamar—the names of his mother and sister.

Absalom was a tragic, narcissistic, and violent figure. Incest weighed heavily on Absalom's mind. His mother, his sister, and his daughter may have been fused or confused in his emotions. Absalom's oedipal revolt against his father David was most dramatically expressed by his making love to his father's concubines "in the sight of all Israel" (2 Sam. 16:22). While this was a political act asserting his claim to the throne, it was also a displacement and an acting out of his wish to commit incest with his own mother.

David's own struggle against his rebellious son Absalom was fraught with inner conflict. He left his ten concubines behind in Jerusalem "to keep the house" (2 Sam. 15:16), even though he already knew that Absalom was capable of murder and rape. Did he deny Absalom's depravity or did he wish to propitiate his son?

Absalom's tragic revolt against his father led to the death of twenty thousand Israelites (2 Sam. 18:7-8). The root cause of the tragedy was Absalom's grandiose self (Kohut 1978), his feeling that he was great, special, unique, all-important, and omnipotent. This was his own unconscious defense against the very painful feeling of being unloved. Absalom was killed by the man who had killed David's other enemies, Joab (2 Sam. 18:14-15). David was

much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept: and as he went, thus he said, O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son! . . . the king covered his face, and the king cried with a loud voice, O my son Absalom, O Absalom my son! (18:33-19:4)

These moving words have inspired artists through the ages. The father-son conflict stirs deep emotions. The great German composer Heinrich Schütz set the Latin version of this verse, *Fili mi Absalom*, to beautiful and moving music.

Joab, a practical man and free of inner conflict, hit the nail on the head when he angrily upbraided his king: "Thou hast shamed this day the faces of all thy servants, which this day have saved thy life, and the lives of thy sons and of thy daughters, and the lives of thy wives, and the lives of thy concubines; in that thou lovest thine enemies, and hatest thy friends" (2 Sam. 19:5-6). Joab was unable to grasp David's inner conflict of love, hate, and guilt feelings over the death of his son.

For all his inner torment, David had great "ego strength." He was able to rally his inner resources even at the hour of his direst grief. Joab's angry rebuke brought the grief-stricken king to his senses, and he sent for the priests and elders of the tribes to restore him to his throne, which they did (19:12-44). When tribal warfare erupted and the Israelite tribes rebelled against David, the king was able to quell the revolt, aided by his loyal hatchet man, Joab (20). David regained his city, his palace, his concubines, and his throne. In David's old age, after all his trials and tribulations, a war of succession broke out between two of his sons. David was unable to chastise his older son Adonijah for attempting to seize the throne (1 Kings 1:5-6). The conflict once more ended in fratricide (2:1-35).

Happily for David, he chose as his successor his son Solomon, the son of

Bathsheba, whom David had taken from Uriah. Solomon was a living "linking object" for David (Volkan 1981). He linked David to his first son by Bathsheba, who had died (2 Sam. 12:18). This had been a deep blow for David. Solomon, whom David at Nathan's behest named Jedidiah (Yahweh is my friend), was David's only compensation for the dead child. Solomon thus had a very special emotional meaning for David, and was "beloved by Yahweh" (12:24).

When Bathsheba came to see the dying David she reminded him that he had sworn to make her son Solomon king (1 Kings 1:17). No such oath is mentioned earlier in the story. Did Bathsheba fool a senile king? In any event, this was one son who had not rebelled against his father. When David died around 970 to 960 B.C.E., he had already had his son Solomon crowned King of Israel in Jerusalem (1:31–40 and 2:1–12), passing over his older sons who had been born in Hebron (2 Sam. 3:2–5). Solomon was one of the wisest kings in Jewish history and lore, yet he too saw his sons engage in fratricidal war.

FANTASTIC GLORY AND REAL SECESSION

The united kingdom of Judah and Israel, under Judah's domination, did not do away with tribal rivalries. It lasted only two generations. Solomon (986–930 B.C.E.), son of King David and his wife Bathsheba, was his father's favorite son. Although it was the mother's privilege to name the newborn child, Solomon was named by his father (2 Sam. 12:24). As mentioned, his Hebrew name Shlomoh derived from that of the Canaanite god Shalem (Shalim), the Perfect One, the "founder" of Jerusalem.

David may have wished his son Solomon to be perfect like Shalem, to make up for David's losses of his sons Amnon and Absalom and the loss of Bathsheba's son, who had died just before Solomon was conceived. David probably felt guilty for having sent Bathsheba's husband Uriah to his death. Nathan the Prophet's scathing rebuke fell on fertile ground.

Who were David's other sons? Did any of them have the right of primogeniture? One biblical list of David's sons (2 Sam. 3:2–5) slightly conflicts with another (1 Chron. 3:1–9). The first list names six sons, all born at Hebron, before David moved his capital to Jerusalem: Amnon ben Ahinoam, Chileab ben Abigail, Absalom ben Maachah, Adonijah ben Haggith, Shephatiah ben Abital, and Ithream ben Eglah. The second list names nineteen sons: Amnon, Daniel ben Abigail, Absalom, Adonijah, Shephatiah, and Ithream, born at Hebron; Shimea, Shobab, Nathan and Solomon, sons of Bathsheba; and nine other sons, all born in Jerusalem. Were Chileab and Daniel one and the same person? By both lists, Chileab (or Daniel) was the heir to the throne after the deaths of Amnon and Absalom. Why did he not become king? The chroniclers say nothing of his fate. Was he assassinated by a rival brother? Was he mentally ill? Did he die young?

Nathan reinforced Bathsheba's plea with a dramatic appearance before the dying King David (1 Kings 1:22–28). The psychological point is that, unlike many of his

successors, David had not made it clear which of his many sons would succeed him. David feared making one of his sons the official heir, because that would make the others hate him. Nathan succeeded in rousing David's anger against Adonijah (Yahweh is my lord) by telling David that Adonijah had already proclaimed himself king (1:25), which was not true. David's ambivalence was resolved by the unilateral action of his son Adonijah, and he announced that Solomon would be his heir. Nathan the Prophet, Zadok the priest, and Benaiah, Solomon's general, lost no time in crowning the young Shlomoh king of Israel (1 Kings 1:39).

Most scholars agree that Solomon ruled the joint kingdom of Judah and Israel in the middle of the tenth century B.C.E. Some scholars think he shared the throne with his father David during the last two years of the latter's reign, 967–965 B.C.E. Albright (1957:291) dated Solomon's accession to the throne as late as 960 B.C.E. Other scholars date it as early as 972 B.C.E. There are similar chronological problems in coordinating the date of David's accession and his death with those of the pharaohs of Egypt in Solomon's day (Thiele 1951; Bright 1981:195 n. 25).

Like many of the rulers of his time, the young king had his chief rivals and enemies murdered or exiled (1 Kings 2:13–46). His guilt feelings may have been repressed, but his great building projects may have been his unconscious attempt to alleviate them. Within a year of his accession to the throne, King Solomon seems to have felt secure enough to begin his administrative and building projects on a vast scale. Solomon was a great builder. His narcissism required ever greater edifices to sustain his grandiose self.

Solomon constructed the great Temple of Yahweh, built himself a magnificent palace, and rebuilt the Jerusalem city walls. These vast construction works required laborers, money, and building materials. Taxes were levied on Solomon's subjects (5:13–18). Slave labor came from the Canaanite tribes that David had subjugated (9:20–21). Architects and building materials came from Tyre, whose King Hiram was an old friend of David. The temple of the Tyrian god Baal Melqart (Lord King of the City) may have served as a model for Solomon's Temple of Yahweh. While Solomon glorified Yahweh, he also worshipped El, Baal, and the other Canaanite deities. He built altars to Baal, Anath, and other Canaanite gods on the *bamoth* (high places), of which the biggest was at Gibeon, and sacrificed thousands of animals to them (3:3–4).

The Deuteronomist chroniclers say that Solomon's conversion from the Baal to the Yahweh cult occurred at Gibeon during a dream in which Yahweh made a pact with the young king (3:8–15). After seven years of construction work the Temple of Yahweh was ready, and Yahweh appeared to Solomon once more in his dream (9:2–9). The deal was simple: if King Solomon worshipped Yahweh and obeyed his commands, Yahweh would keep his heirs on the throne forever; if Solomon worshipped other gods, Yahweh would "cut off Israel out of the land" that he had given them and would bring destruction upon his own Temple.

This story is quite probably apocryphal and was written by the Deuteronomist scribes after the fall of Israel in the seventh century B.C.E. The cult of El, Asherah, Baal, Anath, and the other Canaanite deities was contemporaneous with that of Yahweh

(Albright 1968). There were times when Yahweh was identified with El or with Baal. Canaanite theophorous names such as Israel and Ishmael, Jerubaal, and Eshbaal went side by side with Jewish theophorous names like Jehoash and Jedidiah.

The biblical chroniclers ascribed Solomon's pagan practices to his foreign wives, who "turned away his heart after other gods." As a consequence Solomon "went after Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites. . . . Then did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon" (1 Kings 11:1-7). Actually, the Israelite tribes continued to worship the Canaanite deities throughout the First Temple period, well into the sixth century B.C.E. Solomon was only following widespread and popular practices.

The sacrifice of firstborn children to the fire god Moloch persisted for many centuries. It took place in the Valley of Hinnom (Gehenna) west of the Jerusalem city wall. Here is one description of the horrifying practice among the Carthaginians, the Semitic descendants of the Canaanite Phoenicians (Frazer 1951:327):

In order to renew the solar fires, human victims may have been sacrificed to the idol by being roasted in its hollow body or placed on its sloping hands and allowed to roll into a pit of fire. It was in the latter fashion that the Carthaginians sacrificed their offspring to Moloch. The children were laid in the hands of a calf-headed image of bronze, from which they slid into a fiery oven, while the people danced to the music of flutes and timbrels to drown the shrieks of the burning victims.

Some scholars have seen here unmistakable echoes of Yahweh, the fire god of the Cainites (who were bronzesmiths) and of the golden calf El of the totemistic Hebrews at Mount Sinai. The name of the Canaanite fire god Moloch is a homonym of the Hebrew word *melech*, meaning "king." Moloch was not only a fire god, like the Cainite Yahweh, but also a divine king (Frazer 1951:96-122; Róheim 1930). His unconscious role as an awesome, devouring father is clear.

Solomon spent most of his time consolidating his power, securing his realm, and magnifying his own name. He spent seven years and countless lives and fortunes building the Temple of Yahweh, which was the most magnificent building of its kind in his time, and another thirteen years building his own palace (1 Kings 6:38-7:1), of which "there was not the like made in any kingdom" (10:20). Solomon was a "high-level narcissistic personality" (Kernberg 1975:332-33) and a reparative rather than a destructive leader (Volkan 1980). Solomon was able to function at a high level, to build, to restore, to repair, and to advance his people because of his own narcissism. In order to satisfy the requirements of his grandiose self, he built bigger and greater projects, elevated his underlings to positions of power, and in general advanced the material and cultural level of his people (Albright 1957:291-94).

Solomon was the first king of Israel to set up a system of administration in his realm. The biblical account speaks of those through whom he ran his kingdom: the priests, the scribes, the recorder, the man over the host, the man over the officers, the principal officer, the man over the household, and the man supervising the collection

of tribute (1 Kings 4:1–6). Coggan (1989) gave them modern titles: “In charge of the calendar . . . Adjutant-general . . . Secretary of State . . . Commander of the Army . . . Superintendent of the regional government . . . King’s Friend . . . Controller of the household . . . Superintendent of the forced levy.” The Biblical Hebrew word *sarim* by which they are designated actually meant “rulers” or “governors” rather than “princes.” These people may have formed a sort of cabinet. The twelve “officers” that Solomon set up “over all Israel” (4:7–19) were similarly local governors.

The biblical account repeatedly stresses the peace and prosperity of “Judah and Israel” under Solomon (Kings 4:20–25). It is likely that Solomon was able to achieve these benefits for his people thanks to the easing of pressure from the neighboring empires of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria during his reign. Modern scholars used to “belittle the tradition preserved in Kings, to say nothing of the obviously exaggerated form which is given by the Chronicler” (Albright 1957:291). Twentieth-century archaeology, however, has found considerable evidence to confirm the biblical accounts, including chariot cities at Megiddo, Hazor, and Tell el-Hesi, copper refineries at Ezion-Geber, near Elath, and various structures on Jerusalem’s Temple Mount.

THE CHERUBIM MYSTERY

The biblical descriptions of Solomon’s Temple of Yahweh (1 Kings 6, 2 Chron. 3–4) are very elaborate. One of its most fascinating features was the two cherubim, mythical winged sphinxlike figures over which there is considerable debate among scholars. Albright (1957:294) thought that the cherubim were winged Sphinxes. The cherubim’s image seems to have changed over the centuries. The first biblical mention of the cherubim has them guarding the gate to the Garden of Eden after the expulsion of Adam from it. Ezekiel described them as giant creatures with the combined features of man, ox, lion, and eagle (Ezek. 1:4–14, 10:1–15). Ezekiel’s cherubim had great wings with which they covered the holy ark of the covenant since the days of the tabernacle of the congregation in the time of Moses and the exodus (Exod. 25:17–22, 26:1, 36:8, 37:6–9; Num. 7:89; 1 Kings 6:23–28, 8:6; 2 Chron. 3:10–14).

The ivory cherubim found in King Ahab’s palace in Samaria, dating from the ninth century B.C.E., were winged women (Patai 1967:103). The Hebrew *cherub* is related to the Akkadian *karibu*, an intermediary between man and god (Patai 1967:104). Patai pointed out that the cherubim in the Temple were clearly “graven images,” which were forbidden to the Jews (Exod. 20:4), and that they were numerous and ubiquitous in Solomon’s Temple (Patai 1967:101, 107). In early Hebrew myth the cherubim were conceived of as Yahweh’s mounts or chariots. As Baal rode the clouds, so Yahweh rode the cherubim (Patai 1967:108–11). By the time of Ezekiel, in the sixth century B.C.E., the cherubim were still thought of as very physical creatures. By the first century C.E. they had become symbols. Philo Judaeus of Alexandria (20 B.C.E. to 50 C.E.), the great Greek-Jewish historian and philosopher, described the cherubim as two aspects of Yahweh, one male, the other female (Patai 1967:111–16), while

Flavius Josephus (37/38–95/100 C.E.) attempted to conceal their existence (Patai 1967:117–21).

Patai quoted from talmudic legend to argue that at some point in history, probably under the impact of progressing hellenization in the third century B.C.E., the two cherubim in the Holy of Holies became male and female cherubim locked in a sexual embrace (Patai 1967:121–132). Were the original cherubim in Solomon's temple also male and female? Were they locked in a sexual embrace? We are not told by the biblical chroniclers. If the cherubim were indeed winged sphinxlike creatures, they would represent a fusion in our unconscious mind of the devouring mother of our infancy with the sexual mother of our childhood and adolescence (Róheim 1934:2–3, 7–8, 196–197). The human female head of the Sphinx came with a devouring lion's body. In the Greek myth the Sphinx first made love to the hapless victim who could not solve her riddle and then ate him up. The Greek name Sphinx means "the strangler."

In Solomon's palace there were "ten bases of brass . . . and on the borders that were between them were lions, oxen, and cherubims [*sic*]. . . . Moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with the best gold. The throne had six steps . . . and there were stays on either side on the place of the seat, and two lions stood beside the stays. And twelve lions stood there on the one side and on the other upon the six steps: there was not the like made in any kingdom" (1 Kings 7:27–29, 10:18–20). Solomon's preoccupation with lions may indicate an inner concern with the theme of devouring no less than with that of power. It may be that to him, unconsciously, devouring meant power. The biblical chroniclers glorified King Solomon beyond all reality:

And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the sea shore. And Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser than all men . . . and his fame was in all nations round about. And he spake three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand and five. . . . And there came of all people to hear the wisdom of Solomon, from all kings of the earth, which had heard of his wisdom. (1 Kings 4:29–34)

The myth of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings 10) has fascinated Jews, Ethiopians, and Arabs. Ethiopians believe that Sheba was their own land. Actually Sheba (Saba) was the region of southern Arabia now known as Yemen and the Hadhramaut (Court of Death). Its people, the Sabaeans, were Semites who had migrated south from northwestern Arabia. During the tenth century B.C.E. Semitic tribes colonized Ethiopia from Sheba. The Sabaeans spoke a Southeast Semitic language called Himyaritic (South Arabic), akin to Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian) and to Ethiopic (Geez). Situated on the Indian-African trade route, Sheba was a wealthy country.

In the middle of the tenth century B.C.E. the Queen of Sheba apparently came to Jerusalem "with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold, and precious stones" to "prove" Solomon with "hard questions." She was so impressed

with the Israelite king's wisdom and with the opulence of his court that "there was no more spirit in her" and she gave Solomon "an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones." The Queen of Sheba's name is not given. Greek and Arab traditions later named this queen Balkis. The Semitic Ethiopians have an ancient myth that says that King Solomon made love to the Queen of Sheba, who became pregnant by him and bore him a son, Menelik, who became the first king of Ethiopia. The emperor of Ethiopia bore the title of the Lion of Judah. We have no documentary evidence of an Ethiopian kingdom before the first century; this myth may be another product of group narcissism.

Solomon seems to have had a weakness for foreign women. One of his wives was the daughter of the Egyptian pharaoh and he also had many Moabite, Ammonite, Zidonian (Phoenician), and Hittite women. The biblical story puts the number of Solomon's "princess" wives at seven hundred and of his concubines at three hundred (1 Kings 11:1-3). If we make allowance for the exaggeration in this story, King Solomon still must have had many women. Marrying outside the heirship group (exogamy) is well known in psychoanalysis as an unconscious defense against incest. Solomon may well have had incestuous feelings for his beautiful mother Bathsheba. Did the queen of Sheba become a stand-in for Bathsheba in the king's unconscious mind or in that of his mythmakers?

During Solomon's reign the Egyptian pharaoh Sheshonk (Shoshenq or Shishak I, r. 945-924 B.C.E.), commanded the Libyan mercenaries at Herakleopolis, an important city in Lower Egypt. When the weak Twenty-First Dynasty at Tanis (Avaris or Zoan) was overthrown, or died out, around 945 B.C.E., Sheshonk became king of Egypt, founding the Twenty-Second, Libyan or Bubastite dynasty, with its capital at Bubastis. Sheshonk raided Canaan, destroying many of its cities, and gave refuge to Jeroboam, one of King Solomon's governors who had risen up in arms against his king.

The northern Israelite tribes had never quite accepted their domination by the southern tribe of Judah, of which Solomon was the leader. Jeroboam's revolt came during the final years of Solomon's reign (935 B.C.E.). Hadad, an Edomite prince, had survived Joab's savage massacre of the Edomites (11:15-18), following which Hadad had been brought to Egypt and raised there by its pharaoh. Back on the throne of Edom, Hadad acted together with Egypt against Israel. Hadad raided Solomon's kingdom from the east and the Egyptian pharaoh Sheshonk invaded it from the south (11:14-25). The resumption of hostilities against Solomon's realm by his powerful neighbors and the revolt of his trusted servant must have grieved the aging king deeply.

SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR

Around 935 B.C.E. King Solomon's Judaeon-Israelite union came apart at the seams. The Egyptian pharaoh Sheshonk began raiding Solomon's southern cities, such as Gezer. Edom was the kingdom southeast of Judah. The Edomite king Hadad,

Sheshonk's brother-in-law, began plundering Solomon's cities. Hadad (in Akkadian, Adad) was the name of the West Semitic storm god, fused with the Canaanite Baal. Judah and Israel, while seemingly of the same faith, actually preferred different gods. While Yahweh and El were partially fused, as Yahweh-El, Yahweh was the god of Judah, while Yahweh-El was the god of Israel, whose name means "El shall reign." Yahweh seemed unable to help Solomon against the Edomite king of Aramaea, which made the Yahwist biblical chroniclers blame Solomon for his own defeats (1 Kings 11). The northern Israelite tribes, including Ephraim, resented their domination by the tribe of Judah, a fact that had already become clear during the reign of King David (2 Sam. 19:41–44). They also hated the heavy burden of taxation that King Solomon had imposed upon them to finance his grandiose projects.

As King Solomon lay dying, tribal jealousy and rivalry erupted into full-scale civil war. Jeroboam ben Nebat, of the tribe of Ephraim, was "a mighty man of power" whom King Solomon had appointed to oversee the construction of Jerusalem's city walls and fortifications. The Israelite tribes of the north, who had syncretized Yahweh with Bull-El of the Canaanites, were seething with anger at the Judah tribesmen of the south, worshippers of Yahweh and antagonists of the El and Baal cults. Jeroboam now became the leader of the angry northern tribes, who rose up in arms against King Solomon. When Solomon sent his soldiers to kill the rebel leader, Jeroboam fled to Sheshonk's court in Egypt, where he stayed until the death of Solomon, around 922 B.C.E. (1 Kings 11:40; Anderson 1966:199; Bright 1981:229). When Solomon had been buried, his eldest son Rehoboam left Jerusalem for Shechem, the present-day Nablus (Neapolis), to be crowned by the tribes of Israel.

The city of Shechem was the political and religious center of the northern tribes, who now sensed an opportunity to free themselves from the yoke of Judah. They appealed to Jeroboam, who returned from Egypt to lead the northern Israelite tribes in their rebellion against the house of David. Jeroboam confronted Rehoboam at Shechem and demanded that the new king reduce the burden placed on his loyal subjects. Rehoboam committed a major blunder, spurning the counsel of his elders and adopting that of his young advisers, who told him to crack down on the Israelites (1 Kings 12). The young king's get-tough approach caused an exact repetition of an earlier rebellion against David himself (cf. 12:16 with 2 Sam. 20:1). The Israelites stoned the king's tax collector to death. Rehoboam himself barely escaped with his life. He returned to Jerusalem to reign over Judah and Benjamin, the two southern tribes that had always been at odds with the northern ones.

Jeroboam, the hero of the Israelite revolt, became king of Israel around 922 B.C.E. and reigned until 901 B.C.E. Assyria and Babylonia were fighting for hegemony in Mesopotamia and beyond. Jeroboam was a contemporary of Adad-nirari of Assyria (Adad-nirari II, r. 911–891 B.C.E.) and Shamash-mudammiq of Babylonia (r. 930–904 B.C.E.). Adad-nirari of Assyria fought the Babylonians and the Aramaeans from Arabia. Adad-nirari defeated Shamash-mudammiq of Babylonia, forcing him to cede extensive territories to Assyria. Shamash-mudammiq was assassinated. His successor Nabu-

shum-ukin (r. 904–888 B.C.E.) signed a peace treaty with Assyria. The prolonged Assyrian-Babylonian wars kept the military pressure off Israel and Judah.

Jeroboam's god was Yahweh-El in the shape of a bull, later known as Yahweh Shomron after the new capital of the Israelite kingdom (Gilula 1978–79). Jeroboam erected two new religious centers with temples for Yahweh-El, one at Bethel (House of El) in his own tribe of Ephraim, the other at Dan, the former Layish (Leshem), in the north. Both temples claimed to house the Levites and the Cohanim, the true descendants of the tribe of Levi and the priestly tradition of Moses and Aaron. It was Aaron himself who had made the golden calf of El at Mount Sinai (Exod. 32:1–6).

Jeroboam had two "golden calves" (probably a bull and a cow) cast by his goldsmiths and placed them in his new temples at Bethel and Dan (1 Kings 28–29). These were probably Yahweh-El and his consort Asherah. The archaeological evidence includes drawings from eighth century B.C.E. of a bull-headed god and a cow-headed goddess, their sexual organs prominently displayed, with a Hebrew inscription that most probably reads "To Yahweh Shomron and to his Asherah" (Gilula 1978–79, Meshel 1979, Lemaire 1984, Dever 1984, Olyan 1988:23). In the minds of the Israelites, Yahweh, originally an epithet of El, had split off from El and deposed him (Cross 1973:44–75) or was an imported god whom the Jews had fused with El. Either way, most scholars believe that in the development of the Israelite religion, Yahweh took over El's consort, Asherah. Olyan (1988:40) believed that by the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age, El had lost his consort Asherah to his son Baal (the Lord), "due to El's alleged impotence and Baal's assumption of kingship over the gods." This, and the power of the Baal cult in Israel, led to direct and serious conflict between Yahweh-El and Baal, the chief god of the Canaanites during the early Israelite period. More accurately, the priests of Yahweh became embroiled in bloody conflict with the priests of Baal.

8

Yahweh-El versus Baal

Some biblical scholars, ignoring the facts of Yahweh's fusion with El, Yahweh's splitting off from El, or Yahweh's victory over El in the minds of the Israelites, maintain that Jeroboam's temples were dedicated to the cult of Yahweh and not the cult of El. This makes it hard to interpret Jeroboam's "golden calves." Were they the bull god El and the cow goddess Asherah of the ancient Canaanites and Hebrews, were they two different images of Yahweh, or were they merely Yahweh's mounts? Albright (1957: 299) held the latter view:

[I]n presumable reaction against the representation of Yahweh in the Temple of Solomon as an invisible deity enthroned above the two cherubim (winged Sphinxes), which is now known to have been influenced by contemporary Canaanite iconography (where kings and gods are shown sitting on thrones supported by two cherubs), Jeroboam represented Yahweh as an invisible figure standing on a young bull of gold. It is true that the "golden calves" have been assumed by most scholars to have been direct representations of Yahweh as bull-god, but this gross conception is not only otherwise unparalleled in biblical tradition, but is contrary to all that we know of Syro-Palestinian iconography in the second and first millennia B.C. Among Canaanites, Aramaeans, and Hittites we find gods nearly always represented as standing on the back of an animal or as seated on a throne borne by animals—but never as themselves in animal form [*sic*]. It is true that the Hurrians considered the two bulls Sheri and Khurri, who supported the throne of the storm-god Teshub, as minor deities, but they were not identified with the great storm-god!

Anderson (1966:200) echoed Albright's view, writing that "Jeroboam may have been returning to an old North Israelite tradition in which Yahweh was represented standing invisibly on the back of a young bull." Meek (1950:134, 161) believed that the golden calves were the god Baal in the form of a bull, and that Jeroboam had revived the bull cult as the official religion of the northern kingdom. El, rather than his son Baal, was the ancient bull god of the Canaanites, adopted by the Hebrews, although in Canaanite myth Baal had taken his father El's place.

Is it true, as Albright believed, that the Canaanite gods were never themselves represented in animal form? The bull and cow were ancient Canaanite symbols of fertility. The Canaanite Hebrew word for fertilizing and procreating, *paroh*, is derived from the word for bull, *par*. El, the father god of the Canaanite pantheon, was

repeatedly referred to in the Ugaritic texts of the fourteenth century B.C.E. as Bull-El (Graves and Patai 1964:12, 27; Anderson 1966:202; Patai 1967:43, 54, 184). Thoru-El (Bull-El), as he was called in the Ugaritic tablets, was represented as a bull in Canaanite iconography, his wife Asherah as a cow. Moreover, we are told that King Jeroboam

made two calves of gold, and said unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem: behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. . . . And Jeroboam ordained a feast . . . and he offered upon the altar . . . sacrificing unto the calves that he had made. (1 Kings 12:28-32)

This makes it clear that the calves themselves were considered gods, rather than God's mounts, by Jeroboam and by his Israelites. How could Albright disclaim the divinity of the bulls? Was the idea unpalatable to him? Scholars will go to any length to "prove" the nonexistence of that which they cannot emotionally accept. Albright's disciple Anderson (1966:202) attempted to reconcile the two conflicting views by saying that "unwittingly, perhaps, Jeroboam was giving encouragement to the fusion of Israel's faith with the Baal religion." Actually, Jeroboam did so quite wittingly and with the full approval of his people, in whose minds the cults of Yahweh, El, and Baal had long been fused. Cross (1973:74) thought that Jeroboam could not have chosen a new god over Yahweh, yet did not deny that Yahweh-El could have been Jeroboam's bull god. Bright (1981:238) believed that

although it is of course likely that unthinking people did offer [the golden bulls] worship, they were nevertheless certainly designed not as images of Yahweh (high gods were not represented zoomorphically by the ancient Semites) but as pedestals upon which the invisible Yahweh was conceived as standing or enthroned.

This contradicts everything we know about El as a bull god in the Ugaritic texts and in the ancient Canaanite religion.

The *bamoth* (high places) upon which the pagan rituals of Asherah, Baal, and Anath were conducted proliferated in the time of Jeroboam. There was an altar at Bethel upon which sacrifices were made to the golden calves and there were "houses of the high places" in the cities of Shomron (Samaria) (1 Kings 13:32). The rituals included sexual relations in public with "holy women" (*kedeshoth*) who were supposed to represent the goddess Qudshu (Asherah), Anath, or Ashtoreth. The avowed purpose of these orgies was to ensure the fertility of the land, but their unconscious meaning was incestuous, since Asherah was a mother goddess. The cult of Asherah was stronger and more persistent than that of Baal, and she was fused with Anath and Ashtoreth (Patai 1967:29-52; Olyan 1988:39).

Shiloh, the "federal" religious center that had been destroyed by the Philistines around 1050 B.C.E., partially regained its role in the tenth century B.C.E. Ahijah (Yahweh is my brother), the prophet of Yahweh at Shiloh during the final years of Solomon's reign and the division of the realm, was bitterly disappointed in Jeroboam. The biblical

chroniclers would have us believe that Ahijah had predicted the division of the kingdom and Jeroboam's accession to power in a most dramatic fashion: he had caught the young rebel leader's garment and rent it in twelve pieces, giving Jeroboam ten and telling him that Yahweh was giving him ten tribes of Israel to rule (1 Kings 11:29–39). This is most probably an apocryphal story.

When Jeroboam's son Abijah (Yahweh is my father) fell ill, the chroniclers tell us, it was Ahijah who foretold the child's impending death. The biblical chroniclers, writing after the fall of the Israelite kingdom sometime in the seventh century B.C.E., wished to discredit Jeroboam for being disloyal to Yahweh and for making "other gods, and molten images, to provoke me to anger" (1 Kings 14:9). Actually, the Israelite people were quite devoted to their goddess Asherah and had fused Yahweh first with her husband El. Jeroboam's naming of his son Abijah indicates that his worship of Yahweh did not conflict with that of El, Asherah, and Baal.

THE CULT OF YAHWEH

Jeroboam became king of Israel sometime between 931 and 922 B.C.E. and reigned for twenty-two years, by the biblical account. The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, often mentioned in Kings, has never been found, making the dates impossible to corroborate. Jeroboam therefore died sometime between 909 and 901 B.C.E. His counterpart in Judah was Rehoboam, Solomon's eldest son, who had barely escaped with his life when the northern Israelite tribes rose up in arms against him. Their secession left Rehoboam with only two southern tribes to rule, Judah and Benjamin, from which the first kings of Israel had come. His kingdom henceforth became known as Judah, it being the larger and more important of these two tribes.

Rehoboam was the son of an Ammonite wife of Solomon's named Naamah, originally the name of a sister of the smith Tubal-Cain, the "instructor of every artificer in brass and in iron" (Gen. 4:22) and the ancestor of the Cainites or Kenites. Many centuries later Naamah became the name of the mother of the demons in Jewish mysticism. Rehoboam had to fight not only his northern secessionist brethren but also Pharaoh Shishak (Sheshonk) of Egypt, who invaded Judah around 918 B.C.E. (Bright 1981:233; Anderson 1966:199). Rehoboam was forced to pay tribute to Sheshonk, who took away "the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house; he even took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made" (1 Kings 14:25–26).

Sheshonk boasted of his victory in a detailed list of the cities he had taken that appears on the north wall of the Temple of Amon-Re at Karnak (No-Amon) in central Egypt. This temple was successively built by the pharaohs Senusret (Senusrit or Sesostris I, r. 1918–1875 B.C.E.), Thutmose (Tuthmosis I, r. 1493–1482 B.C.E.), Ramessesu (Ramesses I, r. 1292–1290 B.C.E.), Seti (Sethi or Sethos I, r. 1290–1279 B.C.E.) and Ramessesu (Ramesses II, r. 1279–1213 B.C.E.). No-Amon was renamed Thebbai (Thebes) by the Greeks many centuries later (Anderson 1966:199). Sheshonk's list of

over 150 places he had captured includes some Ephraimite cities around Megiddo, which led scholars to conclude that he had fought his protégé Jeroboam. Some scholars believed that these were cities which Rehoboam had seized from Jeroboam and that Sheshonk had captured them from Rehoboam and given them back to his protégé.

Assyria was gaining the ascendancy over Babylonia. In the ninth century B.C.E. the Assyrian king Assur-nasir-apal (Ashurnasirpal II, r. 884/883–860/859 B.C.E.), whose name means "Ashur preserve the son," expanded his kingdom far and wide, conquering all the lands from his capital of Nimrud (Calah or Kalakh) on the Tigris River to the Mediterranean Sea. The Assyrians were known for their ferocity. In his cuneiform inscriptions Assur-nasir-apal boasted of having rebellious chieftains impaled upon stakes, dismembered, and skinned alive. Nimrud became a great royal city, boasting monumental architecture and great gold treasures, until it was overrun by the allied Median, Babylonian, and Scythian (Sacaean) armies in 612 B.C.E.

The kingdom of Judah lasted longer than its northern neighbor, the kingdom of Israel. It survived more or less intact until 587/586 B.C.E., when it was destroyed by Babylonia. Most European tongues use terms derived from the Hebrew word *Yehudah* (Judah) to denote the Jews. The Hebrew word *yehudi* (of Judah) inspired the old Greek word *ioudaios*, from which was derived the Latin word *judaus*. This gave rise to the old French word *juieu*, from which came the English word "Jew." The German word *Jude*, the French word *juif*, the Spanish word *judio*, and the Dutch word *jood* have the same derivation. Other European languages use words derived from the earlier term "Hebrew," such as *Evreio* (Greek), *Ebreo* (Italian), and *Yevrey* (Russian).

The kingdom of Israel lasted some two centuries before it was destroyed by King Sharru-kin of Assyria (Sargon II, d. 705 B.C.E.) in 722–721 B.C.E. Its brief history was dominated by two kinds of conflict: one was the internal struggle between the popular cults of El, Asherah, and Baal and the more difficult one of Yahweh (Albright 1968, Cross 1973); the other was the external conflict between Israel and its big and powerful neighbors, especially Assyria to the north and Egypt to the south. It was a tragic history that culminated in the destruction of the kingdom, the death of its king, the exile of its inhabitants, and their assimilation within the dominant culture of Assyria.

ROYAL INCEST IN ANCIENT ISRAEL?

The tragic fate of the small kingdom of Israel was to be sandwiched between great, powerful, and relentless powers: Aramaea (Syria) to the northeast, Ashur (Assyria), and Babel (Babylonia) to the east, and Egypt to the south. Only Judah was a minor buffer. On the west Israel was secure because of the Mediterranean Sea and the absence of sea raiders, but its neighboring land kingdoms often invaded tiny Israel. To survive, the Israelite kings had to ally themselves with Egypt, Aramaea, Assyria, or Babylonia. This often brought upon them the wrath of the other powers. It was a no-win situation.

King Jeroboam of Israel died in 901 B.C.E. (some scholars date his death eight years earlier to 909 B.C.E.) and his eldest son Nadab became king of Israel. Nadab's reign was short-lived. Within two years he was assassinated by his chief officer Baasha ben Ahijah (Yahweh is my brother), of the northern Israelite tribe of Issachar, while Nadab was besieging his Philistine enemies at Gibbethon (1 Kings 15:25–28). "Un-easy lies the head that wears a crown," as Shakespeare put it (*Henry IV* 3.1.31). Regicide is an old tradition in human affairs (Frazer 1951:308–30). The king being an unconscious symbol of the father (Freud 1900:353), regicide was an unconscious substitute for patricide. The regicide Baasha waged constant war on King Asa of Judah (1 Kings 15:16), a paranoid elaboration of his mourning (Fornari 1975:xiv–xv) and of his unconscious sense of guilt over his killing of the king.

During the first half of the ninth century B.C.E. no less than six kings succeeded each other on the throne of Israel: Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri, and Ahab (1 Kings 15:25–16:34). Their fate was tragic. Baasha reigned over Israel for twenty-four years (906–883 B.C.E. or 900–877 B.C.E., depending on whose chronology one follows), but was denounced by the prophets of Yahweh for following Jeroboam's idolatrous ways. The prophet Jehu became so incensed with his king that he predicted that the dogs and fowls of the air would eat Baasha's dead (1 Kings 16:4). Indeed, gloated the biblical chroniclers, Baasha's son Elah ruled for only one year (883–882 B.C.E. or 877–876 B.C.E.), being assassinated in his drunken stupor by Zimri, the "captain of half his chariots." Zimri, fearing vengeful retaliation by one of Baasha's surviving offspring, massacred them all. The biblical chroniclers paraded this act as proof of Jehu's prophecy coming true.

Interestingly enough, the Israelites were again besieging the Philistines at Gibbethon when Zimri murdered Baasha. Zimri himself did not reign for more than one week. Omri, "the captain of the host" or chief of staff of the Israelite army, learned of Zimri's regicide and used the opportunity to make himself king. He besieged Tirzah, the royal city, and Zimri burned himself to death in his own palace, out of guilty despair and helpless rage (1 Kings 16:18). The Israelites split into two camps, one led by Tibni ben Ginath, the other by Omri. A brutal civil war ensued. Omri's forces defeated Tibni's and, to be on the safe side, Tibni was duly executed.

Omri became king and reigned over Israel for twelve years, 885–874 B.C.E. (Thiele 1951) or 882–871 B.C.E. (Sukienik et al. 1950–82, 6:303). The first six years he reigned at Tirzah, the old Israelite capital, and the last six at the new Israelite capital of Shomron that he had established. The Authorized Version, using the later Greek name, calls this city Samaria (1 Kings 16:23–28). Anderson (1966:209) and Bright (1981:240), following Albright, held that the biblical count was exaggerated and that Omri actually reigned for nine years only (876–869 B.C.E.). Omri attempted to fortify his new realm and expand its frontiers, but Israel now came under the threat of Assyria.

Assyria was the great Mesopotamian kingdom northeast of Israel. Ashur was the name of the Assyrian people, the name of their country, the name of their chief god, and the name of their chief city, located on the right bank of the upper Tigris River, south of modern Mosul, Iraq. The Assyrian capital was later moved to Nimrud (Calah

or Kalakh) on the Tigris River, then to Nineveh (near Mosul, Iraq), where the Tigris meets the Euphrates. Ashurnasirpal II (Assur-nasir-apal), described by most historians as warlike, brutal, barbaric, bloodthirsty, shrewd, and cruel, greatly expanded Assyria's territory. Bright (1981:241) believed that Ashurnasirpal made terror an instrument of his policy and was the most brutal king in Assyrian history. Did his father call this king "Ashur preserve the son" because he feared to lose him?

The biblical Calah is now known as Nimrud (Nimrod) in honor of the mythical biblical hunting hero (Gen. 10:8–12; Mic. 5:6; 1 Chron. 1:10), possibly related to Ninurta, god of the south wind. Ashurnasirpal had his capital city at Calah. Archaeologists have found Ashurnasirpal's temple, palace, sculptures, ivories, gold vessels, and will. Calah was one of the great cities of the ancient world (Dowell 1989). Ashurnasirpal was a relentless conqueror, pushing north to Urartu (Ararat) and west all the way to the Mediterranean. He not only made conquered kings pay him tribute, as was customary, but installed Assyrian governors over them. In fighting Assyria, Omri was up against a formidable enemy. Fortunately for Omri, Ashurnasirpal was busy conquering the Aramaic-speaking peoples north of Israel. It remained for his son Shalmaneser II (Shulmanu-asharedu, r. 859–824 B.C.E.), whose name means "Shulmanu is the top-ranking god," to invade and subdue Israel.

WAS AHAB HIS BROTHER'S SON?

What we are not told is often more important than what we are. King Omri of Israel was an important ruler, mentioned in the famous stele of King Mesha of Moab known as the Moabite Stone (Pritchard 1969). Bright (1981:241) found that the Assyrians referred to Israel as "the house of Omri" long after his dynasty had been overthrown. Yet the biblical chroniclers and editors obviously withheld information about Omri. The four-year civil war in Israel was disposed of in two verses (1 Kings 16:21–22). Omri's entire twelve-year reign was allotted seven verses (16:23–29). There is no mention of Ashurnasirpal, and Chronicles omits any mention of Omri whatsoever. The chroniclers gave the full name of each king of Israel and Judah, which included his tribe's and his father's name as a matter of course, as well as the names of his wives. In Omri's case neither his father's nor his wives' nor his tribe's names are given. Why was Omri's father's name omitted? Who was Omri's father? Who were his wives? Which tribe did he hail from? Why did he move his capital to Shomron?

We may be able to solve these riddles by probing the story of Omri's son Ahab. Ahab's name is correctly read *Ahiab*, meaning "my brother is Ab" or "my brother is the father." Ahab was probably so named by his mother, as was the custom among the Israelites. Why was Ahab given this curious name? Was Ahab's father also his brother? Did Omri commit incest with his own mother? Like most Israelites, Omri practiced the Canaanite cults of El, Asherah, and Baal (1 Kings 16:25–28). While incest may have been legal in Israel in the tenth century B.C.E. (Graves and Patai

1964:133), and royal incest may still have been acceptable in the ninth century B.C.E., incest was the Canaanite practice the biblical writers strongly condemned (Lev. 20:17). The problem is compounded by the fact that neither Omri nor Ahab were "good" kings but "evil" Canaanite idolaters in the eyes of the Yahwist biblical chroniclers.

We are told that Ahab reigned for twenty-two years (1 Kings 16:29). Ahab, whose name Herman Melville chose for his obsessional, vindictive whaling captain in *Moby Dick*, reigned over Israel for twenty-two years, 875/874 to 853/852 B.C.E. (Patai 1967:102). The Albright school believes that Ahab only reigned for nineteen years, 869–850 B.C.E. (Anderson 1966:209; Bright 1981:241). Some scholars hold that Ahab shared the throne with his father during the last three years of Omri's life (874/873 to 871/870 B.C.E.). It was customary for the Israelite kings to share their throne with their sons during the last years of their lives. This was the realization of an oedipal fantasy. Ahab may well have wished to displace his father.

WHOSE DAUGHTER WAS ATHALIAH?

If Ahab was the issue of incest between his mother and his elder brother, could he have committed incest himself? The answer to this question may lie in the fascinating contradictions in the biblical texts concerning Queen Athaliah, wife of King Jehoram (Yahweh is high) of Judah, and Jehoram himself. Athaliah is described as a daughter of Omri, which would make her Ahab's sister (2 Kings 8:25–26; 2 Chron. 22:1–2). We are told that Ahab of Israel had two sons, Ahaziah and Jehoram. Jehoram succeeded his elder brother Ahaziah on the throne of Israel after Ahaziah died without an heir, in the second year of the reign of King Jehoram of Judah (2 Kings 1:17). Athaliah's name probably meant "Yahweh is the Lord."

Who were Athaliah's mother and father? Her mother's name is not given. We are told that King Jehoram of Judah married an unidentified daughter of *Ahab* (2 Kings 8:18, 2 Chron. 21:6), presumably Athaliah, but also that the mother of Jehoram's youngest son (presumably one of Jehoram's youngest wives), was Athaliah, daughter of *Omri* (2 Kings 8:25–26, 2 Chron. 22:1–2), which would make her Ahab's sister. Were these two different wives? Like Ahab's eldest son, Jehoram's youngest son was named Ahaziah (2 Chron. 22:2). We are told that Jehoram was thirty-two years old when he acceded to the throne of Judah and that he reigned for eight years before dying (2 Kings 8:17–24, 2 Chron. 21:5). This would make Jehoram forty years old at the time of his death. We are then told that Jehoram's youngest son, Ahaziah, was twenty-two years old when he became king of Judah, in the twelfth year of the reign of King Jehoram of Israel (2 Kings 8:26), the thirteenth year of the reign of King Jehoram of Judah (2 Kings 1:17). Then we are told that this youngest son of Jehoram, Ahaziah, was forty-two years old when he acceded to the throne (2 Chron. 22:2). To be forty-two at the time of his father's death, Ahaziah would have to be born before his father. Yet Ahaziah is supposed to have been Jehoram's youngest son.

There are other inconsistencies in the biblical texts concerning Omri, Ahab, and Athaliah. We are told that King Omri of Israel and King Asa of Judah were contemporaries. King Omri of Israel died in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of King Asa of Judah (1 Kings 16:28–29). Asa himself died three years later (1 Kings 15:10). Asa's son was Jehoshaphat, the father of Jehoram. Jehoram of Judah was therefore a child when King Omri of Israel and Jehoram's grandfather, Asa of Judah, died. How could Athaliah, the mother of Jehoram's youngest son, and therefore one of Jehoram's younger wives, have been the daughter of Omri, who was Jehoram's grandfather's age and who died when Jehoram was a child? Bright (1981:242 n. 38) was aware of this problem:

Since [Athaliah's] son [Ahaziah] was born ca. 864 [B.C.E.] (II Kings 8:26), [Athaliah] could not have been the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, who could scarcely have been married over ten years at the time. [Athaliah] may have been Ahab's daughter by an earlier marriage, or . . . a daughter of Omri who was raised by Ahab and Jezebel after the former's death.

This hypothesis is attractive but unlikely, given the above age considerations. Athaliah almost certainly was Ahab's daughter, not Omri's. Why then did the biblical chroniclers pass her off as Omri's daughter? If Jehoram had several wives, of which Ahab's daughter was one and Athaliah another, the chroniclers would have had no need to conceal this fact. The fact that they made Athaliah out to be Omri's daughter and did not tell us the name of Ahab's daughter is significant. Indeed, as we have seen, the name of Athaliah's mother is never mentioned either.

The only satisfactory hypothesis is that Athaliah was the child of an incestuous union between Ahab and his mother or between Ahab and one of his father's wives, and that the biblical chroniclers attempted to conceal this fact for the reasons outlined at the beginning of this chapter. This hypothesis would explain the various riddles and contradictions in the biblical text. Royal incest was not uncommon. Ahab, himself the issue of incest, may well have committed incest in his turn. If Ahab committed incest with his father Omri's wife, Athaliah was the issue of that incest. Ahab, whose own father Omri was his brother, was himself both Athaliah's father and her brother. Athaliah may even have been raised in King Omri's court as his daughter. The biblical chroniclers, to whom incest was abhorrent (Lev. 20:17), may have attempted to disguise this fact by passing Athaliah off as Omri's daughter rather than Ahab's.

Why King Ahab would have committed incest with his mother or with one of his father's other wives is the key psychological question here. Ahab's stormy career and his violent death (1 Kings 16:29–22:40 and 2 Chron. 18) suggest that he was a tempestuous individual, moved by overwhelming ambition, a grandiose self, and unconscious conflict. As in the case of Absalom and David, sexual intercourse with his father's wife or concubine may have had the political meaning of asserting his right to the throne as well. It is also possible that the incest was instigated by his mother or by one of his father's wives.

YAHWEH AND BAAL

Ahab's reign was the setting for the great and dramatic struggle between the cult of Yahweh-El and the cult of Baal over the Israelite soul. In Ahab's time a war broke out between Yahweh's and Baal's prophets. Ahab's wife Jezebel, who was a Sidonian princess, naturally championed the prophets of the Baal. The great showdown occurred on Mount Carmel at the end of Ahab's reign (1 Kings 18). One should bear in mind that Ahab worshipped Yahweh as well as Baal, and that in the people's minds the two deities and El were pretty much fused. It was in Ahab's House of Ivory (1 Kings 22:39) that the carvings of winged cherubim were found (Anderson 1966:207; Patai 1967:88, 102-3).

The end of Ahab's reign was marked by the growing threat from his powerful neighbors to the northeast and east. Several kings of Aramaea were named Ben-Hadad (son of Hadad: Assyrian Adad-idri) after the storm god Hadad (Adad). Anderson (1966:209) thought that King Ben-Hadad of Aramaea, son of Tabrimmon, who ascended the throne in Damascus around 880 B.C.E. and allied himself with King Asa of Judah against King Baasha of Israel (1 Kings 15:16-20), was Ben-Hadad II (d. 841 B.C.E.), who led a coalition against the invading forces of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, pushing them back at Karkar (853 B.C.E.), and invaded Ahab's kingdom (1 Kings 20, 22:29-36). Bright (1981:243), following Albright, thought that Ben-Hadad II was the throne name of Hadadezer. Ben-Hadad raided Ahab's kingdom and besieged his capital of Shomron around 855 B.C.E. Ahab was able to turn him back, but the Aramaean king returned a year later (854 B.C.E.) and a great battle was fought at Aphek, scene of the Israelite defeat two centuries earlier. Ahab again turned back his attackers. After protracted negotiations Ahab made a pact with Ben-Hadad through which Ahab regained his lost cities. Ahab wisely spared Ben-Hadad's life, turning him into an ally. This pact was denounced by the prophets of Yahweh, who wanted Ben-Hadad executed (1 Kings 20:38-43).

The Battle of Karkar on the Orontes River (Qarqar on the al-Asi River, northwest of Hamah, Syria) took place in 853 B.C.E. That year King Ahab of Israel joined Ben-Hadad of Aramaea and ten other kings in a desperate alliance against the expansionist Assyrian empire to the east. In his famous inscription the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (Shulmanu-asharedu, r. 860/859-825/824 B.C.E.) boasted of having defeated twelve kings, including Ben-Hadad of Aramaea, Ahab of Israel (Ahabbu Sirilayu), and the kings of Tyre and Ammon at that battle. Shalmaneser's inscription says that King Ahab had brought with him ten thousand infantry and two thousand chariots of war (Anderson 1966:208).

Ahab had gambled on Shalmaneser's armies being defeated by the allies. Indeed, Shalmaneser's victory was far from conclusive, for he failed to take Damascus, the Aramaean capital, and to engage his other enemies. The biblical chroniclers passed over the Battle of Karkar in total silence because it did not fit their aim of discrediting King Ahab as an idolater (Anderson 1966:210; Bright 1981:243). Ahab's alliance with Ben-Hadad did not prevent war from breaking out between them three years

later. Ahab's father Omri had ceded the city of Ramoth-Gilead to Aramaea. Under the terms of their pact Ben-Hadad had promised to hand it back to Ahab, but he reneged on his vow.

After considerable soul-searching and prophet-consulting, Ahab allied himself with King Jehoshaphat of Judah and set out to capture Ramoth-Gilead back from King Ben-Hadad. It was a disastrous decision. The Israelites were beaten back by the Aramaeans and King Ahab himself was killed in the battle for Ramoth-Gilead (1 Kings 22:34–40). The biblical chroniclers gloated over Ahab's death, claiming that Ahab and Jehoshaphat had been forewarned of their impending and inevitable defeat by Yahweh's prophet Micaiah, whose name means "Who is like Yahweh?" The chroniclers had the dogs lick Ahab's blood and the whores bathe in it (the Authorized Version of 1 Kings 22:38 is heavily bowdlerized).

Ahab had married Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of Sidon (1 Kings 16:31). The chief Canaanite deities—El, Asherah, and Baal—were as popular in Sidon as they were in Canaan. It was apparently the Baal-worshipping Jezebel who began the massacre of the prophets of Yahweh but was foiled by one of Ahab's top aides, Obadiah, a devout Yahwist. Obadiah concealed the prophets of Yahweh in two caves (1 Kings 18:3–4). King Ahab did encourage the cults of Baal and Asherah, the Canaanite deities so popular with his people, and he built a House of Baal in Shomron, the new Israelite capital built by his father. He did not fight the Yahweh cult, however, and it was no accident that his close aide Obadiah was a fervent Yahwist. Ahab did not feel Yahweh and Baal to be antagonists. He saw them as complementing one another in their functions.

This, however, was not the view of the prophet Elijah the Tishbite of Gilead. Elijah, whose name either means "El is Yahweh" or "Yahweh is my god," was the chief prophet of Yahweh at the time of Ahab. Elijah was associated with prophetic communities in Bethel and in Jericho (2 Kings 2). Like Samuel at the time of King Saul and Nathan at the time of King David, Elijah fought his king. He was enraged at the rapid proliferation of the Baal and Asherah cults. The biblical chroniclers tell us that Elijah prophesied drought and famine for Ahab's land (1 Kings 17:1–7). This was a direct challenge to Baal, who was believed to be the god of fertility (Anderson 1966:213), and led to Elijah's dramatic confrontation with Baal's prophets on Mount Carmel.

Elijah first went north to Zarephath, a Sidonian city (now in Lebanon), where he supposedly wrought some miracles (1 Kings 17:8–24). He returned to Shomron when it was plagued by a terrible famine and many Israelites were dying of starvation. Elijah had "proved" that Yahweh could wreak drought and famine upon the land. Jezebel had become the patroness of the prophets of Baal, whom Elijah vehemently opposed. As a result he became Ahab's sworn enemy. At their confrontation Ahab and Elijah accused each other of "troubling Israel" (1 Kings 18:17–18). This led to a highly dramatic public test at which Elijah confronted 450 Baal prophets and 400 Asherah prophets. The biblical account gives us some fascinating information about self-mutilation in the Baal cult: "And they cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them" (1 Kings 18:28).

The chroniclers say little about emotions, but it is clear that the prophets of Baal were in an ecstatic religious frenzy. While the psychiatric symptom of individual self-mutilation occurs in borderline and psychotic patients only, this may not be true for group self-mutilation. It may also be that borderline people were drawn to the prophetic calling.

Anderson (1966:211–12) pointed out that the chronicler neither expressed concern over Elijah's building of an altar on a "high place" (Mount Carmel) nor rebuked him for not having denounced the Bull-El cult of Bethel. If Elijah's name meant "El is Yahweh" then this altar would have been in keeping with the Yahweh-El cult so common in Israel. Indeed, Yahweh-Shomron, fused with Bull-El, was now the god of Israel (Dever 1984). Elijah was able to excite the Israelite crowd into a frenzy for Yahweh, which led them to capture the prophets of Baal and deliver them to Elijah. The chief prophet of Yahweh, the chroniclers tell us, personally slaughtered the 450 prophets of Baal (1 Kings 18:40). Elijah's feelings are not spelled out, but it is obvious that he acted in murderous, vengeful, and jealous fury. In his ecstasy "he tucked up his robe and ran before Ahab all the way to Jezreel" (1 Kings 18:46). There is little that is rational in fundamental religious zealotry.

We are told that Queen Jezebel was furious at Elijah for having killed her prophets and vowed to kill him (1 Kings 19:1–2). The myth of Elijah has him escape to the Judean desert, where he had a vision of being fed by an angel of Yahweh and, we are told, walked all the way to the holy Mount Horeb in Sinai. After "a great strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord" Elijah was told by Yahweh to go north to Damascus and to anoint Hazael (El saw) king of Aramaea. The meaning of Hazael's name may have been "El saw the misery of the parents" (cf. Gen. 29:32). Elijah was told to anoint Jehu ben Nimshi as king of Israel and Elisha his own successor.

The myth of Elijah may be apocryphal. By the time it was written, probably in the seventh century B.C.E., Ahab, Elijah, Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha were all dead for two centuries. Anderson (1966:212) thought that the Elijah stories "were tinted with the dye of the imagination and faith of Israel as they were remembered and elaborated in oral tradition." Albright (1968) and Cross (1973) held similar views. Cross (1973: 191–94) pointed out the striking parallels between the myth of Moses and the myth of Elijah, the most significant difference being that in Elijah's case "Yahweh was not in the stormwind . . . Yahweh was not in the quaking . . . Yahweh was not in the fire." This marked the beginning of a new era in the way the prophets viewed Yahweh's self-disclosure.

Ahab's death sometime between 853 and 850 B.C.E. marked a decline in the fortunes of the Israelite kingdom. Ahab had been able to turn back the invasions of Aramaea and Assyria and to subdue some of his neighbors. After his death the Moabites rose up in arms against their Israelite masters. Ahab's son Ahaziah reigned only one year (852–851 B.C.E. or 850–849 B.C.E., depending on whose chronology you follow) before dying of a nasty fall that broke his neck and left him paralyzed (2 Kings 1:1). Ahaziah sent to Baal-Zebub (Beelzebub), a local Baal of Ekron, rather than to Yahweh's

prophet Elijah, to find out whether he was going to live, and the biblical chroniclers attributed Ahaziah's death to this act of religious apostasy. Could anyone have helped King Ahaziah to his fatal fall? Was Ahaziah killed by his brother Jehoram, who succeeded him?

Elijah died a short time after Ahab, but the Israelite folklore, especially that of the prophetic Yahweh communities, had him ascend to heaven in a chariot of fire (2 Kings 1:11). He became a major prophet in Jewish folk tradition, second only to Moses. Orthodox Jews still believe that Elijah is to herald the coming of the Messiah. During the Jewish Passover seder ceremony a wine glass is set aside for Elijah, who is believed to enter the room and to drink it invisibly. He entered the Christian tradition under his Greek name of Elias. John the Baptist and Jesus Christ were asked whether they were incarnations of Elias, and when Jesus cried *Elie, Elie, lema sabach-tani?* or *Elie, Elie, lamah azabtani?* (My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?) on the cross (Matt. 27:46), he was thought to have called upon Elijah, who also appeared with Moses in the transfiguration of Jesus before his disciples Peter, James, and John (17:3).

The myth of Elijah ascending to heaven in a chariot of fire and joining Yahweh may also have derived from archaic memories of fathers sacrificing their children to the fire god Moloch. Elijah's successor Elisha was said to have cried "My father, my father, the chariot and the horsemen of Israel!" (2 Kings 2:12). One is reminded of Lustig's (1976) theory of the early Jewish religion as an unconscious defense against child sacrifice.

The name Jehoram means "Yahweh is the high god." Jehoram ben Ahab became king of Israel at the death of his brother Ahaziah, sometime between 851 and 849 B.C.E. The biblical chroniclers had him reign for twelve years, but Anderson (1966:209) and Bright (1981:247) cut his reign down to seven years (849 to 842 B.C.E.). Jehoram forced his cousin-in-law Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, to help him suppress a Moabite rebellion (2 Kings 3:4-27). The Moabites had been subjugated by Jehoram's father Ahab. During the last years of Jehoram's reign in Israel (842-840 B.C.E.) King Ben-Hadad II of Aramaea was assassinated in his capital city of Damascus by Hazael, a follower of Elijah's successor Elisha, who founded a new dynasty in Aramaea. If we are to believe the biblical chroniclers, Hazael had already been anointed by Elijah. As their theophorous names indicate, Hazael was a worshipper of El, while Ben-Hadad worshipped Hadad (Baal). We get some idea of the savagery of war in the ninth century B.C.E. from Elisha's statement to Hazael:

Because I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: their strong holds wilt thou set on fire, and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child. (2 Kings 8:12)

Elisha's scheming spanned both Aramaea and Israel. He not only supported Hazael against Ben-Hadad in Damascus but also Jehu of Gilead against the house of Ahab in Israel. After Hazael murdered Ben-Hadad, he waged war on King Jehoram of Israel, who was wounded in the battle of Ramoth-Gilead. Jehoram went to his rest house at

Jezreel to nurse his wounds, where he was visited by the newly anointed King Ahaziah of Judah, Jehoshaphat's grandson (2 Kings 8:29). Elisha dispatched one of his "mad" disciples to anoint Jehu as king of Israel. This king is called Jehu ben Nimshi (1 Kings 19:16) but also Jehu ben Jehoshaphat ben Nimshi (2 Kings 9:1-14). Who was his father? Jehu lost no time killing both Jehoram and Ahaziah by treachery (9:11-28). The biblical account is graphic:

When Joram [Jehoram] saw Jehu, he said, Is it peace, Jehu? He replied, Do you call it peace while your mother Jezebel keeps up her obscene idol-worship and monstrous sorceries? Jehoram wheeled about and fled, crying out, Treachery, Ahaziah! Jehu drew his bow and shot Jehoram between the shoulders; the arrow pierced his heart, and he slumped down in his chariot. (9:22-24)

Jehu's murderous rage did not abate till he had the aging, widowed Queen Jezebel killed by her own eunuchs, who pushed her out of a high window. Her blood splattered against the wall and Jehu's horses trampled her under their hooves. We are told that her corpse was devoured by dogs, for when they came to bury her "they found no more of her than the skull, and the feet, and the palms of her hands" (2 Kings 35). Parents may have had less empathy for their children in ancient times than they do now. As a result children grew up harboring considerable narcissistic rage, and in turn became unempathic parents themselves. Vengeful savagery was common in those days, and Jehu's early rage at his own mother may well have been unconsciously displaced onto the queen.

We are told that King Hazael of Aramaea reigned in Damascus for thirty-six years (842-806 B.C.E.). He made a habit of raiding the northern Israelite cities. The regicide Jehu became king of Israel at about the same time and reigned for twenty-eight years (842/841-814/813 B.C.E.) (2 Kings 10:36; Anderson 1966:244). Jehu was hell-bent on revolution and reform. He brutally slaughtered all the surviving members of the house of Ahab (2 Kings 10:1-17). Jehu treacherously summoned all the prophets of Baal to a great feast, pretending to revive the cult of Baal under his royal patronage, only to massacre them wholesale and burn down the temples of Baal (2 Kings 10:18-28).

The Yahwist biblical chroniclers obviously approved of Jehu's massacres: they described them in loving detail. Jehu's only sin, they said, was to have worshipped Jeroboam's golden calves (the bull of Yahweh-El and the cow of Asherah) in Bethel. For this he was punished with the scourge of Hazael, who plundered Jehu's lands (2 Kings 10:29-36). This is an unlikely story, for Hazael worshipped the same god (Yahweh-El) that Jehu did. Biblical historiography was heavily colored by the need to prove Yahweh's supremacy over Baal and by the sad fate of the kingdom of Israel, which had been destroyed by the time of writing. The struggle between Yahweh-El and Baal was a father-son conflict: Baal was the son of El who displaced his father and usurped his father's wife Asherah as his wife in Canaanite myth. The Israelites unconsciously projected their inner conflicts onto Baal.

9

The Personal Roots of Religious Revolution

This chapter deals with the violent religious revolution of King Asa of Judah (1 Kings 15; 2 Chron. 15). The biblical texts involving the Hebrew kings during the First Temple period present us with fascinating contradictions and inconsistencies. During that period a great struggle was being waged between the prophets of Yahweh and those of the Canaanite gods (Albright 1968; Cross 1973; Olyan 1988). The people themselves, whose need of a father god in no way ruled out their need of a mother goddess, a fire god, a sun god, a sea god, and a host of other deities, were quite willing to practice Yahwism along with Baalism, to use a convenient shorthand for the various Canaanite cults. The projection of inner infanticidal, parricidal, incestuous, and other wishes on the gods made the latter psychologically indispensable.

The Hebrew people worshipped the Canaanite gods, which they fused with Akkadian deities and with Yahweh. The Canaanite father god El, the mother goddess Asherah (Elath), the chief god and storm god Baal (Hadad), the virgin goddess of love and of war Anath, the fertility goddess Ashtoreth (Ashtart), the sun god Shamash (Ner), the sea god Yamm, the river god Nahar, and the fire god Moloch (Melech) were idolized side by side with their official god Yahweh, whom they fused (syncretized) with El. Asherah was Yahweh's consort, present beside him in Solomon's Temple (Reik 1964; Patai 1967; Lemaire 1984; Dever 1984; Olyan 1988).

Infanticide, parricide, and incest were commonplace in this divine family (Gordon 1961). The writers and editors of the biblical texts were writing at a time when Yahwism needed bolstering. The kingdom of Israel had been destroyed. Judah was in dire straits. Yahweh, the protector of Judah and Israel, had seemingly failed. The historiography of the Yahwist writers and editors became tendentious. Those kings who had promoted Yahwism and fought Baalism were glorified, whereas those who had promoted "other gods" were severely criticized.

The Yahwist writers and editors attempted to prove that Yahweh had rewarded the former with long and fruitful reigns while punishing the latter through destruction and pillage by their enemies. In the process these writers and editors twisted and suppressed vital information, which can be reconstructed by examining the inconsistencies in their combined texts in detail and by applying psychoanalytic insight.

This is the case of King Asa of Judah (reigned c. 911–871 B.C.E.), who wrought a violent religious revolution in Judah, removing Asherah from the Temple and forcing his people to embrace Yahweh. I shall put forward a psychohistorical hypothesis to explain some striking inconsistencies in the biblical text concerning Asa and his father King Abijam. I do not claim that my hypothesis is the ultimate truth, but rather intend to show that it fits the evidence we have better than the theories that have been proposed by biblical scholars heretofore.

The primary sources we have on the kings of Judah are extremely limited. *The Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*, which the biblical editors often allude to, has been lost or suppressed, and the biblical text itself is often our only primary source. That text itself is full of fascinating contradictions and inconsistencies that cannot be explained by the mere fact of it having undergone many revisions and redactions. On the contrary, the authors of these numerous changes and revisions could have spotted these contradictions and inconsistencies and attempted to eliminate them, yet they have survived in the text.

The psychohistorical method is foreign to biblical scholarship. The work of Zeligs (1974, 1986) and a few other scholars cited in this chapter is an exception to the rule. When this chapter was first published (Falk 1989), I anticipated the angry reactions of traditional biblical scholars, reminding them of the ancient Roman saying, *sine ira est studio*. I shall deal with the various possible objections to my hypothesis in the discussion section below.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH

The kingdom of Judah lasted from the early tenth century B.C.E. to 586 B.C.E. The first king of Judah after the division of the Israelite kingdom was Rehoboam, the son of Solomon and of Naamah, an Ammonite princess (1 Kings 11:43, 14:21–31; 2 Chron. 9:31, 12:13). At 1 Kings 10:1–5 it says that it was Naamah who had imported the cult of the Ammonite fire god Milchom (Moloch), to whom firstborn sons were sacrificed. This cult was widespread among the Jews during the First Temple period.

Biblical scholars differ on the date of Rehoboam's accession to the throne and on the length of his reign. Most of them think that he was born around 971 B.C.E., became king of Judah and Israel around 931 B.C.E., and reigned over Judah for some seventeen years (1 Kings 14:21; 2 Chron. 12:13; Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 7:348), dying around 915 or 914 B.C.E. Rehoboam was fifty-seven years old when he died. Albright (1949) believed that Rehoboam reigned for seven years only (from 922 to 915 B.C.E.), a view echoed by Albright's disciples Anderson (1966:198) and Bright (1981:232) but disputed by Sukenik et al. (1950–82, 7:348), who believed that it would upset the entire biblical chronology.

In the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign (c. 925 B.C.E.), his tiny kingdom of Judah was invaded by the armies of Pharaoh Sheshonk (Shishak) of Egypt, founder of the Twenty-Second (Libyan) Dynasty. Sheshonk destroyed several of its cities, besieged

Jerusalem, and forced Rehoboam to pay him tribute (1 Kings 14:25–26; 2 Chron. 12:2–9). Sheshonk took away all of Judah's gold. This must have been a great blow to Rehoboam's narcissism.

The kingdom of Israel to the north was an ambivalent ally. During Rehoboam's time there was constant warfare between Judah and Israel (1 Kings 14:30; 2 Chron. 11–12). There were two minor Yahwist prophets in his time, Shemaiah and Iddo, who warned Rehoboam against defying both Yahweh and Egypt (2 Chron. 12:5–15). Rehoboam had eighteen wives, sixty concubines, twenty-eight sons, and sixty daughters (2 Chron. 11:21). In such a family jealousy and rivalry are rife, and the potential for incest and fratricide is high. Wives can be madly jealous of each other, and so can brothers. Rehoboam's favorite wife was his beloved cousin Maachah, the favorite daughter of his uncle Absalom (Abishalem) (2 Chron. 11:20–21). His name means "Shalem is my father." Maachah had been named after Absalom's own mother (2 Sam. 3:3) and was a "linking object" between Absalom and his mother (Volkan 1981).

When Maachah's first son was born she named him Abijam (Aviyamm), which means "Yamm is my father" (1 Kings 14:31). As mentioned, Yamm was the Canaanite god of the sea (Gordon 1961:191–94). Maachah worshipped Yamm's mother Asherah as well (1 Kings 15:13; 2 Chron. 15:16). She had introduced a statue of Asherah into the Temple of Yahweh, where Asherah was worshipped "with some interruptions" throughout the First Temple period (Patai 1967:45–52; Patai 1977:55; Lemaire 1984, Dever 1984). Following the rule of primogeniture, Rehoboam made his firstborn son Abijam "the chief, to be ruler among his brethren: for he thought to make him king" (2 Chron. 11:22).

CONTRADICTIONS AND INCONSISTENCIES

There are many fascinating inconsistencies and contradictions in the biblical narrative involving King Abijam, his wife and his son:

1. His name is first given as Abijam (Aviyamm), meaning "Yamm is my father" (1 Kings 14:31, 15:1–8), but it is later given as Abijah (Aviyah), meaning "Yahweh is my father" (2 Chron. 11:20–22, 12:16, 13:1–23).

2. Abijam's mother is first identified as Maachah, daughter of Absalom (1 Kings 15:2 and 2 Chron. 11:20–22), but she is later identified as Michaiiah, daughter of Uriel of Gibeah (2 Chron. 13:2).

3. Maachah, daughter of Absalom (Abishalem) and King Rehoboam's favorite wife, is identified as the mother of Abijam (1 Kings 15:2; 2 Chron. 11:20–22) but also as the mother of his son Asa (1 Kings 15:10, 13; 2 Chron. 15:16). At the same time Asa is not listed among her sons by Rehoboam (2 Chron. 11:20).

4. Maachah is identified as Absalom's daughter (1 Kings 15:2, 10; 2 Chron. 11:20), yet we are told that Absalom had but one daughter named Tamar (2 Sam. 14:27).

5. We are told that Abijam reigned for only three years and died, being succeeded by Asa. The cause of his death is not stated (1 Kings 15:2–8; 2 Chron. 15:2–23).

6. We are told that Abijam died during the reign of King Jeroboam of Israel (1 Kings 15:8–9), but we are also told that Jeroboam died during Abijah's reign (2 Chron. 13:20).

7. We are told that Asa succeeded his father Abijam as king and could have removed his mother Maachah, the regent, from power at once (1 Kings 15:13), yet he waited fifteen years to do so (2 Chron. 15:10–19).

What could be the cause of all these inconsistencies? Is there more to our texts than meets the eye?

ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THE CONTRADICTIONS

Traditional Jewish commentators noticed these contradictions and attempted to resolve them by weaving myths about the royal family. The discrepancy involving the dates of Abijam's and Jeroboam's death gave rise to the myth that Abijah had defeated Jeroboam but "shortly thereafter occurred his death, brought about by his own crimes . . . he had indulged in excessive cruelty; he ordered the corpses of the enemy to be mutilated, and permitted them to be buried only after putrefaction had set in. Such savagery was all the more execrable as it prevented many widows from entering into a second marriage. Mutilating had made identification impossible, and so it was left doubtful whether their husbands were among the dead" (Ginzberg 1967–69, 4:183). One of my hypotheses will explore the deeper significance of this legend.

The glaring contradiction involving the identity of Asa's mother gave rise to the legend that Maachah was devoted to the gross worship of Priapos, the Greek fertility god, "an obscene little deity, a daimon of fertility, represented as a more or less grotesquely misshapen man, with a huge and erect phallos" (Ginzberg 1967–69, 4:184; Rose 1959:175). Saint Jerome's Vulgate rendered the Hebrew *miphletseth* (1 Kings 15:13) as "Priapus"; the Revised English Bible renders it as "an obscene object." Ginzberg (1967–69, 6:308) added:

The assonance of "Phallus" and *miphletseth* may have suggested this assumption. . . . To reconcile the contradiction between 1 Kings 15.10 and 2 Chron. 13.2, it is asserted that after repenting of her idolatrous practices, the name of Asa's mother was changed; her father's name, too, was changed; the latter was none other than the wicked Absalom. . . . The commentators Kimhi and Gersonides on 1 Kings 15.2, as well as ps.-Rashi on 2 Chron. 13.2, call attention to the fact [*sic*] that *it was not the mother, but the grandmother, of Asa* who had been addicted to idolatry. This is another attempt to reconcile the contradiction between 1 Kings 15.2 and 15.10. [Emphasis mine]

This all too easy conversion of "mother" into "grandmother" was adopted by the editors of the New English Bible, who converted Absalom's daughter Maachah into his granddaughter (even though she is clearly and repeatedly identified in the original Hebrew text as his *daughter*), as well as into Asa's grandmother (even though the biblical Hebrew text repeatedly tells us she was Asa's *mother*). This gross distortion was repeated by the editors of The Jerusalem Bible (Jones 1966) and of The Revised

English Bible (Coggan 1989). These unwarranted and unscholarly changes underscore the discomfort of the editors with our difficult text.

The traditional Jewish legends did not resolve the contradictions any more than did the editors of The New English Bible. They may have been attempts to ward off the unpleasant truths that lay concealed behind them. Modern historians have also noticed and attempted to explain these riddles and contradictions. Albright (1953a) thought that "the most reasonable explanation is that Asa's own mother had died and that Rehoboam's widow continued to exercise the prerogatives of queen mother during the infancy of Asa, whose father had died in the third year of his reign." This "explanation" unnecessarily calls for the death of Asa's mother during his infancy and does not explain why Maachah herself is repeatedly identified in the biblical text as Asa's mother, not as his adoptive mother or stepmother. Nor does it explain the rest of the contradictions I have listed.

Myers (1965:79) put forth a supermarket list of hypotheses, of which only the first, namely that Abijah and Asa were brothers, makes any sense. The others are attempts to avoid the problem. Bright (1981:240) thought that Asa was "either a son or a brother of Abijah" who succeeded to the throne as a boy when Abijam died prematurely. During Asa's minority "Maacah acted as regent and continued to have her way, but when Asa reached manhood he sided with the more conservative party, deposed the queen-mother, and instituted a reform (vv. 11-15), which, during his reign and that of his son Jehoshaphat (873-849), freed Judah, at least officially, of pagan cults." This explanation leaves much to be desired: Was Asa Abijam's son or was he his brother? Why did Abijam die prematurely? What of all the contradictions I have enumerated? Bright, too, may have recoiled from the truth.

Some scholars have explained the name change from Abijam to Abijah by the wish of the chroniclers to erase the idolatrous origin of Abijam's name in the god Yamm (Sukenik et al. 1950-82, 1:24). As for Abijam's mother's name, one Israeli scholar explained that Michaiah was actually Abijam's wife rather than his mother, which would make her Asa's mother, while Maachah was Abijam's mother (Sukenik et al. 1950-82, 5:194). The chroniclers, however, repeatedly tell us that Asa's mother was Maachah, daughter of Absalom or Abishalom (1 Kings 15:10-13; 2 Chron. 15:16). The Israeli scholar's "explanation" is as forced as that of The New English Bible.

SOME HYPOTHESES

There is obviously more to all these riddles and inconsistencies than meets the eye. Here are a series of hypotheses that seem to explain all the contradictions in the biblical text (Falk 1989):

1. Maachah committed incest with her son Abijam during Rehoboam's reign. This may have occurred in a fit of jealous rage or madness. Asa was the issue of that incest. *Maachah raised Asa as Rehoboam's son, but he was really Abijam's son* and his brother at the same time.

2. After Rehoboam's death his favorite son Abijam became king. Maachah became the Queen Mother. The young Asa was jealous. He didn't know he was Abijam's son as yet.

3. In the third year of Abijam's reign Maachah told Asa that he was his brother Abijam's son. She may have added that her son Abijam had seduced or raped her. Asa was enraged and resolved to kill his father-brother Abijam.

4. Asa killed Abijam three years after Abijam became king, took his place on the throne of Judah, and made his mother Maachah regent.

5. In the fifteenth year of his reign the aging Maachah told Asa the whole truth, namely, that it was she who had seduced Abijam. The enraged Asa removed his mother Maachah from power and became the sole ruler of Judah.

6. The biblical chroniclers, writing three centuries later, attempted to conceal the incest and the parricide by altering various details involving the two kings.

SUPPORT FOR THE HYPOTHESES

The above may upset some of my readers, but anger may blind us to historical truth (Loewenberg 1985). Not only do the above hypotheses explain the numerous contradictions in the biblical narrative, but the following considerations seem to lend them further support:

1. Most of the kings of Judah and of Israel ruled for many years, except those that were assassinated (Bright 1981). Abijam reigned for three years only.

2. Asa was clearly the son of Maachah, daughter of Absalom (1 Kings 15:10-13; 2 Chron. 15:16), and so was Abijam (1 Kings 15:2; 2 Chron. 11:20-22). They were therefore brothers. Yet Asa was also Abijam's son (1 Kings 15:8; 2 Chron. 13:23).

3. Asa was not among Maachah's sons by Rehoboam (2 Chron. 11:20). He was clearly Abijam's son, not Rehoboam's. Had Asa been Rehoboam's son, the biblical chroniclers could simply have told us that King Abijam was succeeded by his brother Asa. They repeatedly tell us that Asa was Abijam's son.

4. Rehoboam had twenty-eight sons (2 Chron. 11:21). This meant that Abijam had to contend with twenty-seven rivals for the throne. His son Asa must have grown up thinking that he was Abijam's brother and feeling jealousy and rivalry for him, not knowing the true identity of his father. When Asa learned his true identity, most probably from his mother, he became enraged with his father-brother.

5. Fraternal rivalry was especially strong in biblical times. Fratricide was not uncommon among princes. Maachah's uncle Amnon had committed incest with his sister Tamar and had been killed for this by Maachah's father Absalom (2 Sam. 13:28-29). It is possible that Absalom's rage had come from his unconscious wish to do just what his brother Amnon had done.

6. The killing of Abijam by Asa was parricide and fratricide at the same time. To the Yahwist chroniclers, Asa was a "good" king who "did that which was right in the eyes of Yahweh" and removed the idols and abominations from the land (1 Kings

15:11–15; 2 Chron. 14:1–6). In the fifteenth year of his reign he forced all his subjects to embrace Yahweh, removed Maachah from power and burnt her idol of Asherah (2 Chron. 15:10–19). The biblical chroniclers had strong reasons to conceal both his being the son of an incestuous union and his parricide. They wished to portray Asa as a virtuous, Yahweh-fearing king. Their attempt to cover up the incest and the parricide would explain the various riddles and inconsistencies in their narrative.

7. In Judah incest was punishable by death (Lev. 20:11). When Asa learned from his mother Maachah about her “rape” by his brother Abijam, of which he was the issue, his personal rage was reinforced by his religious indignation and he decided to kill Abijam. *Asa viewed himself as his father's Yahweh-appointed executioner. He named his firstborn son Jehoshaphat, meaning “Yahweh has passed judgment.”*

8. Had Abijam died of natural causes, his age at the time of his death would have been stated, as was the case with all other kings of Judah. He died in the third year of his reign of unstated causes and at an unknown age.

THE TRAGEDY OF ABSALOM

To understand the role of Maachah, the key figure in our story, it is essential to go back to her father Absalom, the most handsome son of King David. Absalom was the son of David and his third wife Maachah, daughter of King Ptolemy (Talmi; in Greek, Ptolemaios) of Geshur (2 Sam. 3:3). Absalom's name is variously given as Abishalom, Abisalem, and Abishalem (Shalem is my father). Shalem, as we have said, was a Canaanite god whose name means “the perfect one.” Absalom was his mother's favorite son, and Maachah was Absalom's favorite and beautiful daughter, named after his mother (2 Sam. 3:3). Yet in the only biblical verse listing all of his children, the name of Absalom's only daughter is given as Tamar (14:27). Now, Tamar was the name of Absalom's beautiful sister, who had been raped by her half-brother Amnon (13:1–22). Did Absalom name his only daughter after his mother or after his sister?

Absalom was a narcissistic young man, tempestuous and violent. The confusion in Absalom's life between mother, sister, and daughter may have a deeper significance. Absalom himself had never resolved his own oedipal conflict. His rebellion against his father David and his sexual relations with his father's concubines “in the sight of all Israel” (16:22) show this quite clearly. Absalom may not have committed incest with his mother or with his sister, but he killed his half-brother Amnon for having done just that (13:22–39). His murderous rage may have derived from his unconscious guilt feelings. Amnon had done exactly what he, Absalom, had wanted to do.

THE TRAGEDY OF MAACHAH

Maachah grew up in a family in which incest, fratricide, and parricide kept occurring. Her family history reads like a clinical case study. Maachah's aunt Tamar was raped

by her half-brother Amnon (2 Samuel 13:1–22). Her father Absalom killed his half-brother Amnon (13:23–36). Absalom escaped to his father-in-law's country, fearing the vengeful wrath of his father David (13:37–39). Absalom returned to Jerusalem, but his father David refused to see him (14:1–24). Absalom built himself a great monument thinking he would have no son and heir (18:18).

Absalom married an unidentified woman and had three sons and one daughter, who is first identified as Tamar (14:27) but who is later identified as Maachah (1 Kings 15:2,10; 2 Chron. 11:20–21). After Maachah was born, her father Absalom was reconciled to his own father David (2 Sam. 14:31–33). When Maachah was a girl, however, Absalom rebelled against his father and committed incest publicly with his father's concubines (15:1–16:22). Soon thereafter Absalom was killed by David's army chief Joab (18:15).

Maachah was no more able to mourn the death of her father Absalom than her father Absalom himself had been able to mourn the death of his own mother Maachah or the rape of his sister Tamar. This was why he named his daughter for both of them. Maachah's feelings seem to have remained "fixated" on her father Absalom. Maachah was a very attractive lady, her cousin Rehoboam's favorite wife (2 Chron. 11:20–22). Her favorite goddess was Asherah (Qudshu), the Canaanite mother goddess (2 Kings 15:13, 2 Chron. 15:16), whom she introduced into the Temple of Yahweh (Patai 1967:45–52). The Jewish legend that has her "grossly worshipping" the Greek fertility god Priapos with his enormous erect penis may have derived from the heavy sexual undertone that the readers sensed in the biblical text. Maachah was "stuck" in her own incestuous feelings and desires. Her worship of Yamm, the Canaanite sea god, and her naming her firstborn son after him, is significant. In Canaanite myth Yamm was killed by his brother Baal (Gordon 1961:194), just as Maachah's own father, Absalom, had killed his brother Amnon.

Maachah may have seduced her firstborn son Abijam in a fit of madness, when she became enraged with her husband and jealous of his other wives. She may also have unconsciously transferred her incestuous feelings from her father Absalom to her son Abijam. At some point after her husband Rehoboam's death she may have been overwhelmed by guilt feelings, which led her to tell her son Asa that he was really his brother Abijam's son. She must have told him that she had been seduced or raped by Abijam, for Asa killed Abijam and took his place, while Maachah remained Queen Mother and regent for fifteen years (2 Chron. 15:10–19).

Then, when Maachah was growing old, she told Asa the truth, namely, that it was she who had seduced her son—his father, whom Asa had killed. His rage at her was great, for he removed her from power, destroying and burning the idol of her Asherah. Asa's killing of the mother goddess Asherah was unconscious matricide. It is most interesting that in both Canaanite and Hittite myth the mother goddess attempted to seduce her own son (Albright 1968:107), just as Maachah had done. Maachah, who actively practiced the Canaanite religion, must have believed this myth.

ABIJAM AND ASA

Rehoboam had made Abijam his successor, and upon Rehoboam's death around 914 B.C.E. Abijam became king of Judah. The widow Maachah became Queen Mother; after Abijam's murder by Asa she became regent as well (1 Kings 15:13; 2 Chron. 15:16). She was the real power behind Asa's throne. After Abijam's coronation his brother Asa was jealous. When he learned he was Abijam's son as well, Asa's rage grew murderous. He resolved to kill his father/brother when he could no longer contain his rage. It took Maachah another fifteen years as regent to tell Asa the whole truth. It was then that Asa destroyed and burnt down his mother's goddess and removed his mother from power.

Abijam had taken up his dead father's war against King Jeroboam of Israel. The chroniclers tell us that he dealt a major defeat to Jeroboam, who lost several important cities and some half a million men and died of grief or illness (2 Chron. 13:13–20). Among the cities captured by Abijam from Jeroboam were the holy city of Bethel and her "daughters" or neighboring towns. This story may be apocryphal and exaggerated, however, for 1 Kings makes no mention of Abijam's great victory, stating only that Abijam reigned for three years and died in the twentieth year of Jeroboam's reign (around 911 B.C.E.)—a glaring contradiction to 2 Chronicles.

What is left out of a story is often just as significant as what is in it. The fact that we are not told the cause of Abijam's death is important. It is possible that the biblical chroniclers were trying to cover up King Abijam's incest with his mother Maachah and his murder by his son-brother Asa by inventing a new mother for Abijam, by changing his name to Abijah, and by having him kill King Jeroboam of Israel. King Asa was King Abijam's brother whether or not Abijam had committed incest with his mother, for they were both indisputably the sons of Maachah, and Abijam was killed in the twentieth year of Jeroboam's reign.

INCEST AND PARRICIDE FROM DAVID TO ASA

It is fascinating to go back to King David himself and to trace the transmission of the themes of incest and parricide through the generations from David to Absalom to Maachah to Abijam to Asa. David himself was overly permissive and inadequate as a father, craving the love of his children and striving to be the reverse of his stern, rigid, and rejecting father Jesse (Zeligs 1960a). When David's son Amnon seduced and raped his daughter Tamar, David did nothing. When his other son Absalom killed Amnon, David was angry and sorrowful, yet he did nothing, and later reconciled himself to Absalom. When Absalom rebelled against him and slept with David's concubines "in the sight of all Israel," David still sought Absalom's love. The tragic chain of events that led from Absalom's parricidal rebellion to his great-grandson Asa's political and religious revolution may have begun with Jesse and David.

DEICIDE AS MATRICIDE

If the above hypotheses are correct, as she was aging, Maachah told Asa the whole truth. Asa now became enraged at her as well. He felt he had been exploited, used, and manipulated by Maachah. Asa felt guilty for having killed his father. He removed Maachah from power and proceeded to destroy her goddess Asherah and her entire legacy. This he did very zealously. As Sachar (1958:46) put it, "Asa went so far in his zeal that he punished the aged queen-mother for having teraphim [idols] in her possession and had the infamous emblem solemnly burnt in the valley of Kidron." Sachar seems to have had no idea what personal rage and guilt feelings lay behind Asa's zeal.

If Asa was the issue of incest between his father and his father's mother, he certainly vented his rage on both. Fifteen years after murdering his father/brother Abijam, he removed his mother Maachah, the regent, from power and destroyed and burnt her idols (1 Kings 15:13; 2 Chron. 15:16). Maachah had been Absalom's favorite daughter, named after his beloved mother, and had been Rehoboam's favorite wife. Maachah was very powerful after the death of Abijam and may have been "the power behind the throne" of both Abijam and Asa. The man who had killed his father-brother and taken his place on the throne of Judah at first made his mother regent but fifteen years later took away his mother's power. His rage was vented upon his mother's goddess because he could not bring himself to kill his aging mother. Asa's "killing" of his mother's Asherah, the mother goddess, was an unconscious matricide.

The biblical chroniclers presented Asa as one of the most virtuous monarchs of Judah. He destroyed the "abominations" and the idols of his mother Maachah. He knew how to forge political alliances that gave peace and prosperity to his realm. He eliminated the Canaanite practice of having sexual relations with the *kedeshim*, who were the holy male prostitutes or "sodomites" of the goddess of sacrifice (Qudshu or Asherah), upon the *bamoth* or high places (1 Kings 15:11). He "took away the altars of the strange gods, and the high places, and brake down the images, and cut down the groves [asherim] . . . he took away out of all the cities of Judah the high places and the images" (2 Chron. 14:2-4).

Asa destroyed and burnt the idol of Asherah that his mother had erected (1 Kings 15:13). Asa's reformist zeal, however, came not so much from his love of Yahweh but from his profound rage at his father/brother and at his mother. Indeed, "the high places were not removed" (1 Kings 15:14; 2 Chron. 15:17). Asa made constant war against his "enemies" (1 Kings 15:16-24; 2 Chron. 14:7-14) and killed every subject who refused to embrace Yahweh (2 Chron. 15:13).

Anderson (1966:205) saw Asa's actions in terms of power: "Asa shook himself free from the control of his mother, deposing her from her regency and banning the worship of Asherah, the Canaanite mother-goddess." But Asa's political actions were extreme. He "went so far as to bribe Damascus [Aramaea] to attack his northern rival" (Sachar 1958:46). Sachar was alluding to the pact made by Asa with King Ben-Hadad of Aramaea against King Baasha of Israel (1 Kings 15:18-21; 2 Chron. 16:1-5). It is most interesting that one of the cities captured and destroyed by Ben-Hadad

was Abel-Beth-Maachah (the mourner of the house of Maachah) (1 Kings 15:20). Significantly, this city's name was dropped from the 2 Chronicles version.

DEATH OF A REFORMER KING

Asa was very young when he became king and may well have been manipulated by his mother Maachah. We have conflicting accounts in 1 Kings and in 2 Chronicles concerning his wars. We are told that he made war on King Baasha of Israel "all their days" (1 Kings 15:16) and that Baasha died in the twenty-sixth year of Asa's reign (1 Kings 16:6-8). Then we are told that there was peace for thirty-five years and that Baasha did not invade Judah until the thirty-sixth year of Asa's reign (2 Chron. 15:19, 16:1). These obvious contradictions stem from the chroniclers' attempts to portray Asa as peace-loving. Actually Asa was quite warlike, not only fighting Baasha and his successors but also massacring the Cushites (2 Chron. 14:7-14). He killed all his subjects who would not embrace Yahweh (2 Chron. 15:13). He seethed with righteous, murderous rage. Asa had killed his own father. As mentioned, wars and massacres are paranoid elaborations of unconscious guilt feelings and unmourned losses (Fornari 1975).

In the thirty-ninth year of his reign Asa became paralyzed from the waist down and his son Jehoshaphat apparently became regent. Asa sought out his physicians rather than Yahweh (1 Kings 15:23; 2 Chron. 16:12). It is clear that Asa's rage at his mother was a much deeper motive for his reformist zeal than his love of Yahweh. He "killed" the mother goddess Asherah because he would kill his own mother. He eliminated Baal because the mother goddess Asherah had seduced him. His personal tragedy was acted out upon the religious stage. Asa died in 871 B.C.E. after a forty-one-year reign marked by blood and terror.

DISCUSSION

Some readers may question my underlying assumption that the contradictions in the biblical text arose at the hands of a group of editors who shared a common psychological motivation, however unconscious, that resulted in the identifiable contradictions. I may seem to them to have overlooked the fact that these texts arose over the course of centuries, that the editing process took place over extended periods of time and at the hands of multiple groups of editors, and that they reflect different and ancient biblical traditions.

I am well aware of this fact, though. The only motivation I have assumed all the editors of the biblical texts to have shared is that of promoting the Yahweh religion and denigrating the loathsome religion of the Canaanites. This can hardly be disputed. It is precisely the survival of these glaring inconsistencies in the biblical texts despite all the editing and reediting that cries for an explanation. This explanation I have attempted to provide.

Other readers may raise the question of why such pains were taken by the biblical editors to conceal the facts of incest and parricide in this case, when such occurrences are elsewhere recorded openly in the biblical text. This objection, however, overlooks the fact that cases of incest and parricide were recorded in the Bible only when they could be condemned by the biblical editors and when the perpetrators had been punished, as was the case with Amnon and with Absalom. In the case of Asa, a king who vigorously promoted the Yahweh religion, it would have run quite contrary to the aims of the biblical writers and editors to acknowledge him as the offspring of incest and as a parricide, both punishable by death by their time and anathema to the authors of Leviticus.

Some readers might be bothered by my seemingly anachronistic interpretations. I may seem to have overlooked the three centuries that elapsed between the incest-parricide and the writing of the texts. Maachah's cult of Asherah may have involved ritual orgies of the bacchanalian type later condemned by Hosea and Amos. Not only cult prostitutes but incest may have been socially acceptable among the cult's participants on such occasions. Abijam may also have committed incest as a political act, under his mother's guidance, immediately after Rehoboam's death, as a means to consolidate his throne. Absalom's incest with David's concubines may have had cultic significance as well. It was definitely a public political statement of Absalom claiming David's kingdom.

In other words, these readers' objection might run, even if Asa was the issue of incest, there is no need to assume that the incest was a private act that Maachah kept secret for years. The fact that an editor writing around 600 B.C.E. suppressed references to incest does not mean that the participants in that incest three centuries earlier had shared the same cultural outlook. Three centuries is a long time, and we have evidence that royal incest was publicly acceptable in the early era of Judah: Tamar had told her brother Amnon he should request her from their father King David, "for he will not withhold me from thee" (2 Sam. 13:13).

My hypothesis, however, is that Maachah had to keep the incest secret because her son Asa was born while her husband King Rehoboam was still alive. Royal incest may have been acceptable in the days of Kings David, Solomon, Rehoboam, and Abijam, but it was certainly condemned in the biblical texts such as Leviticus, Kings, and Chronicles and was punishable by death. Indeed, mother-son incest was especially abhorrent to the authors of these texts. Asa, the king who removed Asherah from the Holy of Holies of the Temple of Yahweh and violently wrought the Yahweh revolution in Judah, could not have been presented as the issue of such incest and as a murderer of his own father.

Here I come to the strongest possible objection to my thesis. Some readers may accept the incest part of my hypothesis while rejecting the parricide part. Whereas the argument about incest may be attractive because it resolves the obvious contradictions in the text, the argument about parricide may seem like sheer speculation. At first sight there seems to be no problem in the biblical text concerning Abijah's death. Biblical scholars believe that the phrase "slept with his fathers" always meant that the

king died of natural causes. Since that phrase is used of Abijam in both 1 Kings 15:8 and 2 Chron. 14:1 my hypothesis of parricide would seem untenable.

But is it? As I have shown above, there are many problems in the biblical text on the issue of Abijam's death, not the least of which is whether it occurred during Jeroboam's reign in Israel or after the latter's death. Let us put ourselves in the shoes (or sandals) of the biblical editors. If we wished to praise King Asa, the king who eliminated the Canaanite gods and promoted the Yahweh religion, a king who wrought the first great religious revolution in Judah, would we not have stooped to concealing the violent death of his father at Asa's own hands, if in fact it had occurred? For both the editors of Kings and of Chronicles, telling us that Abijam "slept with his fathers" may have been a neat way of concealing his violent death.

Some readers, biblical scholars especially, may object that I have argued from theory to a historical fantasy, and not from historical facts, via theory, to a sober historical reconstruction. My approach may seem unbending and dogmatic to them. But is it? I have put forward a carefully documented set of hypotheses to explain numerous and glaring inconsistencies in the biblical texts. My approach may be unconventional among religious historians and biblical scholars, but this makes it innovative rather than dogmatic. I realize that the "fantastic" psychohistorical hypotheses I have put forward in this chapter are just that—hypotheses. The dearth of documentary evidence makes it impossible to know what happened with any degree of certainty. My only claim is that the hypotheses I have advanced explain the very contradictions in the biblical text that conventional religious historians and biblical scholars have been unable to reconcile. History and politics, as Loewenberg (1983) has written, begin in the family.

10

Tragic Queens

The biblical chroniclers tell us that King Asa of Judah reigned for forty-one years (1 Kings 15:10; 2 Chron. 16:13), which scholars think was from 911 to 871 B.C.E. (Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 1:467). As we have seen, Asa may have killed his father-brother Abijam (Aviyamm). His mother Maachah was both regent and Queen Mother during the first fifteen years of his reign. Asa then removed her from power, destroying and burning her idol of Asherah, the mother goddess, whom Maachah had worshipped. Maachah's end, like her life, was tragic.

Asa waged war against King Baasha of Israel, but it is not at all clear when this war began and how long it lasted. We are told that Asa of Judah and Baasha of Israel fought each other "all their days" (1 Kings 15:32) and that Baasha died in the twenty-sixth year of Asa's reign (1 Kings 16:6–8). Then we are told that there was no war between Judah and Israel during the first thirty-five years of Asa's reign, and that Baasha invaded Judah in the thirty-sixth year of Asa's reign (2 Chron. 15:19, 16:1). Albright (1950) accepted this version at face value, which made him slash Rehoboam's reign and those of other kings by nine to ten years. Anderson (1966) copied this error. Most scholars agree that Baasha invaded Judah in the twenty-sixth year of Asa's reign, around 886 B.C.E., was attacked by Asa's ally King Ben-Hadad of Aramaea, and died the same year.

As with the other biblical alterations and distortions concerning Asa and his father-brother Abijam designed to cover up Abijam's incest with his mother Maachah and his murder by his son Asa, the absence of war during Asa's reign in 2 Chron. 15–16 may well have been part of the chroniclers' attempts to portray King Asa as a pacifist, Yahweh-loving, and goodly monarch rather than as the driven, vengeful, enraged, and warlike man that he was. Asa not only waged war on King Baasha of Israel, making a pact with Baasha's enemy King Ben-Hadad of Aramaea against Israel, but he also waged war on Baasha's successors Elah, Zimri, Omri, and Ahab. Asa massacred the Cushites (2 Chron. 14:7–14), an element of the Midianites, as well as his own subjects who refused to embrace Yahweh (15:13). He threw the seer who enraged him in jail and bitterly oppressed his people (16:10).

The kingdom of Judah had no respite from Asa until he became paralyzed from

the waist down in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, 873 B.C.E., and his thirty-three-year-old son Jehoshaphat took over as regent (Sukenik et al. 1950-82, 3:565). Asa may have named his firstborn son Jehoshaphat, meaning "Yahweh has passed judgment," in an attempt to justify his execution of his incestuous father. Jehoshaphat was thirty-five years old when he became king of Judah upon his father Asa's death around 871 B.C.E. (1 Kings 22:42). He was born during the sixth year of his father's reign, while Maachah was still regent, and reigned for twenty-five years (*ibid.*).

It is psychologically significant that the bitterest wars were fought between peoples who were very much alike (Volkan 1988). Such was the case with Edom and Moab, two tribes much warred against by the Israelites. King Ahab of Israel made war on the Moabites, a West Semitic people whose culture lasted from the fourteenth to the sixth century B.C.E. Their chief god was Chemosh. The Edomites worshipped Kos (Kaus) and used a language and a script almost identical to Hebrew. The Moabites and Edomites were closely related to the Israelites. They flourished in the ninth century B.C.E. The Moabites had been subjected by the Israelites and occasionally rebelled against them. The famous Moabite Stone or stele of King Mesha of Moab (Pritchard 1969) tells of that revolt. Ahab was able to subdue the Moabites once more.

Jehoshaphat was one of the reformer kings of Judah. He reversed his father's policy of allying himself with Aramaea against Israel. Jehoshaphat married his heir Jehoram to a daughter of King Ahab of Israel (2 Kings 8:18; 2 Chron. 18:1, 21:6). This daughter, whose name was most probably Athaliah, brought tragedy to Judah, of which more below. Jehoshaphat allied himself with King Ahab of Israel against Aramaea (1 Kings 22:1-40; 2 Chron. 18:1-34). The alliance between Judah and Israel extended Israel's alliance with Tyre and Sidon, later known as Phoenicia, which had been cemented by Ahab's marriage to Jezebel, daughter of King Ethbaal of Sidon. It was during Judah and Israel's joint battle to take Ramoth-Gilead from Aramaea that King Ahab of Israel was killed around 852 B.C.E.

To the Yahwist chroniclers, Jehoshaphat was a "good king." He reformed the religious, political, and military institutions of Judah. He eliminated the pagan practices, including the sacred prostitutes known as *kedeshim* and *kedeshoth* (1 Kings 22:47). Neumann (1968:76) thought that Kadesh was the Canaanite goddess of sacrifice, a daughter of El. Actually Kadesh was none other than Qudshu, an epithet of Asherah, El's consort (Cross 1973:20; Olyan 1988:71). Her priests appear in the Ugaritic texts along with the *cohanim* (plural of *cohen*), priests of El, and with the *asherim*, priests of Asherah. The *kadesh* or *kadosh* was a male prostitute-priest and the sacrificial rites of Asherah-Kadesh (Qudshu) involved "sacred" sexual intercourse with him. Similarly the sacred prostitute-priestesses of the goddess were called *kedeshoth* (*cf.* Schlesinger 1976:376).

Jehoshaphat must have taken his name seriously. He set out to judge and to reform all aspects of his realm. The people's psychological need for the *bamoth* (high places) was so great, however, that even Jehoshaphat was unable to eliminate them (1 Kings 22:44). He fortified his cities, providing them with storehouses for times of

siege (2 Chron. 17:12–13). He divided his kingdom administratively into twelve provinces and appointed governors to rule them (17:12). He set up judges in the fortified cities of Judah (19:5–11). He expanded his kingdom southward and eastward, scaring away his enemies and securing peace for his realm (17:10, 20:1–31).

When Ahaziah succeeded his father Ahab as king of Israel in 852 B.C.E., Jehoshaphat made a naval pact with the new Israelite king to build seagoing vessels to carry gold from Ophir to Judah and to Israel. Ophir may have been in Arabia, India, or Africa. It seems that the ships were wrecked at Ezion-Geber on the Red Sea coast, which a contemporary prophet blamed on Jehoshaphat's treaty with the idolatrous King Ahaziah. The authors of Kings attempted to cover up their good king's blunder by denying that Jehoshaphat had ever agreed to join Ahaziah (cf. 1 Kings 22:49–50 with 2 Chron. 20:35–37).

Jehoshaphat had seven sons. His firstborn was named Jehoram, meaning "Yahweh is most high." There was terrible rivalry between Jehoram and his six brothers, all of whom coveted their father's throne. Jehoshaphat made Jehoram the crown prince and attempted to pacify his younger sons by giving them fortified cities and great wealth. After Jehoshaphat's death in 846 B.C.E., his younger sons rebelled against their elder brother Jehoram, who defeated and massacred them all, along with several high officials of the realm (2 Chron. 21:1–4). In this he was aided and abetted by his wife Athaliah.

In another attempt at concealing unpleasant realities, the Deuteronomist chroniclers omitted Jehoram's fratricide from their version of the story (2 Kings 8:16–24). The Semitic Edomites, whose chief god was Kos (Kaus), lived southeast of Judah. They had been vassals of Judah and had no king of their own. They now crowned one of their leaders king of Edom and rebelled against Jehoram. He responded by attempting to subdue them militarily. His failure to do so was attributed by the biblical chroniclers to his straying from Yahweh (2 Kings 8:18–22; 2 Chron. 21:8–10). One of Yahweh's (or El's) epithets was Yahweh Sabaoth (the Lord of Hosts), and he was supposed to have supervised each war of Judah personally.

Meanwhile, in Israel, royal fratricide was thriving. Within a year of his accession to the throne, King Ahaziah mysteriously fell through a lattice in his upper chamber, broke his neck, became paralyzed, and died soon thereafter. He was succeeded by his brother Jehoram (Joram), who may well have engineered Ahaziah's death. The Yahwist biblical chroniclers attributed Ahaziah's death to his idolatrous ways (2 Kings 1:2–18). The authors of Chronicles made no mention of the tragic accident.

ISRAEL AND JUDAH

In a political move, Ahab's daughter Athaliah was married to her brother's namesake, King Jehoram ben Jehoshaphat of Judah. Israel was allied with Judah—for a while. King Jehu of Israel attempted to save himself from Hazael's Aramaean scourge by allying himself with the expansionist Assyrian empire. Around 841 B.C.E. Jehu paid

tribute to King Shalmaneser III (Shulmanu-asharedu of Assyria, r. 858–824 B.C.E.), whose Black Obelisk from Nimrud (Kalakh) at the British Museum shows "Jehu ben Omri" at the head of an Israelite delegation kneeling before "the mighty king, king of the universe, king without a rival, the autocrat, the powerful one of the four regions of the world" (Pritchard 1969).

Ancient warfare was interminable. When Jehu of Israel paid him tribute, Shalmaneser III of Assyria was vigorously attacking Aramaea. Four years later (837 B.C.E.) internal Assyrian problems forced Shalmaneser home, and Hazael renewed his raids on Israel (Amos 1:3). Around 828 B.C.E. Shalmaneser's elder son, Crown Prince Ashur-danin-apal, rebelled against his father. The aging king made his younger son Shamshi-adad (Adad is my sun) his heir. When Shalmaneser died (824 B.C.E.) Ashur-danin-apal gained the upper hand and Shamshi-adad (Shamshi-adad V, r. 823–811 B.C.E.) fled to Babylonia. With the help of King Marduk-zakir-shumi (Marduk remember my name) of Babylonia, Shamshi-adad regained his Assyrian throne. He married a Babylonian princess, Sammu-ramat (Semiramis), yet made war against the Babylonian kings Marduk-balassu-iqbi and Baba-aha-iddina (818–812 B.C.E.).

King Jehu of Israel died in 814 B.C.E., and his son Jehoahaz became king of Israel. We are told that Jehoahaz reigned in Shomron for seventeen years (2 Kings 13:1), but Anderson (1966:244) believed that he reigned for fourteen years only and that he shared his father's throne from 817 to 814 B.C.E. Be that as it may, the cult of Baal and Asherah flourished in Israel as never before. Relieved of the Assyrian attack, King Hazael of Aramaea went on plundering Israel's cities. The biblical chroniclers thought of this scourge of Israel as Yahweh's punishment for the Israelite "whoring after other gods" (2 Kings 13:2–7).

In 811 B.C.E. King Shamshi-adad of Assyria (Shamshi-adad V) died, and the following year he was succeeded by his son Adad-nirari (Adad-nirari III, r. 810–783), who resumed the Assyrian onslaught upon Aramaea. Around 806 B.C.E. King Hazael of Aramaea died in Damascus (Anderson 1966:209) and was succeeded by his son Ben-Hadad III. The Semitic kingdoms of Aramaea, Israel, and Assyria were closely related linguistically, ethnically, and culturally, yet fraternal wars can be much more devastating than wars between strangers. Through the unconscious processes of externalization and projection one sees all of one's unacceptable aspects in one's enemy, who is quite similar to oneself (Volkan 1988).

King Jehoahaz of Israel died in 801/800 B.C.E. and his son Jehoash ascended the throne of Israel in Shomron. He reigned for sixteen years (2 Kings 13:10). Jehoash's reign was not remarkable for anything but the death of the prophet Elisha (2 Kings 10:14–20) and the king's triumphs over King Ben-Hadad III of Aramaea, from whom Jehoash recovered several cities lost by his father (2 Kings 13:22–25). Jehoash, whose name means "Yahweh has given," ushers in the eighth century B.C.E. in Israelite history. The jars with depictions of Yahweh and Asherah on them (Dever 1984) date from this century.

King Jehoash of Israel died between 786 and 784 B.C.E. He was succeeded by his son Jeroboam II, whose era Anderson (1966:227) considered "glorious" and whom

he called "the greatest king of the Jehu dynasty." It was probably during his time that the Elohistic version of Israel's sacred history, known to biblical scholars as the E narrative, was formulated. We shall examine the tragic history of the kingdom of Israel under this "glorious" king and his successors down to its ultimate destruction by Assyria in 721 B.C.E.

The glaring inconsistencies in the biblical narrative that were so obvious in the case of Abijam and Asa return to plague us. We are told that King Ahaziah of Israel died and was succeeded by his brother Jehoram (Joram) in the second year of the reign of King Jehoram of Judah (2 Kings 1:17). This would place Ahaziah's death some two years after the death of King Jehoshaphat of Judah. Then we are told that King Jehoram (Joram) of Israel ascended the throne in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat's reign in Judah (2 Kings 3:1). The latter reigned for twenty-five years (1 Kings 22:42, 2 Chron. 20:31). This would place Jehoram's accession to the throne of Israel seven years before Jehoshaphat's death in Judah, and nine years before Ahaziah's death. It is improbable that King Jehoram of Judah succeeded his father Jehoshaphat during the latter's lifetime. There has to be a reason for the total omission of King Ahaziah of Israel from Chronicles; his murder by his brother Jehoram may be the most likely reason.

WHO WAS ATHALIAH'S FATHER?

We are further bedeviled by the contradictions concerning the identity of the wife of King Jehoram of Judah. We are told that she was the daughter of King Ahab of Israel (2 Kings 8:18; 2 Chron. 21:6). Then we are told that the mother of Jehoram's youngest son, and therefore Jehoram's wife, was Athaliah, daughter of King Omri of Israel (2 Kings 8:25-26; 2 Chron. 22:1-2). Athaliah was one of Jehoram's younger wives, being the mother of his youngest son. Omri was Ahab's father (1 Kings 16:28-29). How could Omri's daughter Athaliah have been younger than Ahab's daughter, Omri's granddaughter?

Athaliah and Ahab's daughter were probably one and the same person. Ahab had probably committed incest with one of his father's wives, and Athaliah was the issue of that incestuous union. Ahab was both her father and her brother, which may account for his name Ahiab, meaning "my brother is my father." The biblical chroniclers attempted to cover this up by passing Athaliah off as the daughter of Ahab's father, King Omri, and by omitting the name of Ahab's daughter.

The story of Athaliah reads like a classical Greek tragedy. Her husband Jehoram may have been poisoned. He died in the eighth year of his reign, at the age of forty, of a terrible intestinal disease (2 Chron. 21:18-20). We are told that the Lord "smote him in his bowels with an incurable disease," but someone may have given the Good Lord a hand in this. Could this have been Athaliah herself? All of Jehoram's older sons were killed by "the band of men that came with the Arabians" (22:1). The only survivor was Athaliah's youngest son Ahaziah (Jehoahaz), who became king of Judah

at the age of twenty-two, around 843 B.C.E. (2 Kings 8:26; 2 Chron. 21:17, 22:1–2). It is hard to accept the Chronicles version that has Ahaziah forty-two years old at his accession to the throne (2 Chron. 22:2): Ahaziah's father Jehoram was only forty years old when he died. Was this another cover-up attempt? What were the chroniclers trying to hide this time? Athaliah was the mother of some of the murdered princes: she clearly had several sons (24:7). Could she have had a hand in their deaths as well as in the poisoning of her husband? Her murderous behavior after the death of her son Ahaziah would seem to suggest this.

After the death of her husband Jehoram and the accession of her son Ahaziah to the throne of Judah, Athaliah became regent and wielded great power. Nor did she have to wait long to become queen, for her son Ahaziah was dispatched within a year of his accession to the throne by King Jehu of Israel, who had murdered the entire house of Ahab (22:9). It is therefore quite likely that Athaliah had engineered the death of her husband as well as that of her other sons. We are informed by the biblical chroniclers themselves that upon learning of the death of her son, Athaliah "destroyed all the seed royal of the house of Judah" and became queen (2 Kings 11:1–3; 2 Chron. 22:10–12).

Athaliah was obviously mad with fear. The only survivor of her bloodbath was her infant grandson, Jehoash, who was saved by his aunt Jehosheba (Jehoshabeath), wife of Jehoiada, the High Priest of Yahweh (2 Kings 11:2; 2 Chron. 22:11). She was able to conceal him from Athaliah for six years. Jehosheba was Jehoram's daughter and Ahaziah's sister, and was therefore most probably Athaliah's daughter as well. Did she conspire against her own mother?

Athaliah may have feared assassination by her own offspring. Her fear was partly realistic, given her ruthlessness and the powerful feelings of matricidal rage she may have provoked in them. Athaliah also had good reason to fear the priests of Yahweh and various other enemies. She had been brought up on Baal worship at her father Ahab's house. Under her strong influence her husband Jehoram had supported Baal worship by the people of Judah in Jerusalem (2 Kings 8:18; 2 Chron. 21:6). The "evil" Athaliah's "wicked" sons "had broken up the house of God" and transferred its sacred objects to the house of Baal (2 Chron. 24:7).

The alliance between Israel and Judah that had been cemented by Athaliah's marriage to Jehoram was destroyed by Jehu's murders of the house of Ahab in Israel and of King Ahaziah in Judah. King Jehu promoted the worship of Yahweh in Israel and suppressed that of Baal. The priests of Yahweh in Judah now waited for an opportunity to topple the "wicked" Athaliah, who felt besieged on all sides. This opportunity came in the seventh year of her reign. Jehoiada, the chief priest of Yahweh, conspired with the army chiefs of Judah to kill Athaliah and to crown Jehoash king. They were able to stir the people into a frenzy and incite them against Athaliah. The queen fled to the Temple of Yahweh, rent her clothes, and screamed in despair upon discovering the conspiracy, which did not stop Jehoiada & Co. from forcing her back to her palace and brutally murdering her there (2 Kings 11:13–16; 2 Chron. 23:12–16). The assassination took place around 836 B.C.E. It was gloated over by the biblical chroniclers, who reveled in the death of the "wicked" queen.

Athaliah's life was the stuff of true tragedy. Indeed, the great seventeenth-century French dramatist Jean Racine wrote a tragedy entitled *Athalie* that Voltaire called "the masterpiece of the human spirit." Athaliah's murders of her husband, children, and grandchildren seem to have been motivated more by fear than by rage. She may have been an unwanted child to begin with, being the fruit of political incest, and she was given away in marriage to King Jehoram of Judah without being asked her own wishes, as was customary, in order to forge a political alliance. To overcome her very painful feelings of rejection and helplessness, she had to become all-powerful. To fight an inner feeling of nonbeing she had to be queen. To ward off her terrible fears she had to kill off all her real and imaginary enemies. She finally brought about her own destruction. Tragedy does seem to have run in the family.

THE HEAVENS THEMSELVES BLAZE FORTH THE DEATH OF PRINCES

After the murder of Queen Athaliah of Judah in 836 B.C.E. her Yahwist enemies had a field day. The Yahweh forces savored their victory over those of Baal with a vengeance. The rabble, incited by Jehoiada, the High Priest of Yahweh, stormed the house of Baal, destroyed his idols and his altars, and murdered his priest in their frenzy (2 Kings 11:18; 2 Chron. 23:17). Athaliah's seven-year-old grandson Jehoash (Joash) was made king of Judah, but Jehoiada was the power behind the throne (2 Kings 12:3; 2 Chron. 24:2). The name Jehoash means "Yahweh has given" (Cook 1898) and Jehoiada means "Yahweh has known."

King Jehoash had a very traumatic childhood. His disturbed grandmother Athaliah had attempted to kill him along with all his brothers, of whom he was the only survivor. He had been saved from the carnage by his aunt Jehoshabath, who concealed him from his murderous mother. He was made king at the tender age of seven but was not allowed to rule. Manipulating the child king, Jehoiada attempted to reform the religion of his people, building a new ark of the covenant and remodeling the Temple of Yahweh to make it more attractive. The people persisted in their idolatry (2 Kings 12:4; 2 Chron. 24:18). Obviously the emotional needs satisfied by the fertility and sacrificial cults of El, Asherah, and Baal were very powerful. They were a vital outlet for the filicidal, parricidal, and incestuous feelings that had to be repressed, as well as for deep fears of death and longings for rebirth. The common people had no trouble worshipping Baal and Yahweh at the same time.

When Jehoash grew up, he became very angry with the priests who manipulated him. The conflict between priests and king grew serious in the twenty-third year of Jehoash's reign, when the king turned thirty (around 814 B.C.E.). The king summoned the aging Jehoiada and confronted him with the state of ill repair the house of Yahweh was in (2 Kings 12:7-9; 2 Chron. 24:6-7). This led to major alterations in the Temple, which were variously attributed to the priest (2 Kings 12:10) and to the king (2 Chron. 24:8). The unlikely story of the death of Jehoiada at the remarkable age of 130 and his

burial in a royal tomb (2 Chron. 24:15–17) was omitted from Kings, as were the revolt of Jehoiadah's son Zechariah against King Jehoash and the former's execution by the latter in the court of the Temple of Yahweh (24:17–22).

This killing did not endear Jehoash to the priests of Yahweh. He further enraged them by delivering all the sacred objects and treasures of their Temple of Yahweh to King Hazael of Aramaea, who besieged Jerusalem later that year (2 Kings 12:18–19; 2 Chron. 24:23–24). The Aramaeans “executed judgment against Joash and . . . left him in great diseases,” after which two of his servants murdered him (2 Kings 12:21–22; 2 Chron. 24:24–27). The Deuteronomist tells us that he was “buried with his fathers” in the City of David (2 Kings 12:22), but the Chronicler insists that “they buried him not in the sepulchres of the kings” (2 Chron. 24:25). This was the ultimate vengeance of the biblical historians, or rather their transference distortion.

Jehoash was succeeded by his twenty-five-year-old son Amaziah (reigned c. 800–771 B.C.E.), whose name means “Yahweh is strong” (2 Kings 14:1–2; 2 Chron. 25:1). Bright (1981:470) and Anderson (1966:244), both followers of Albright, had Amaziah reign until 783 B.C.E. only. In that year the unfortunate king of Judah was replaced by his son Uzziah. Unhappily for him, Amaziah chose to make war on King Jehoash of Israel, his father's namesake. Could Amaziah have been unconsciously motivated by parricidal rage? Considering his father's career and personality, this was not impossible. Most of all, Amaziah seems to have been moved by his own pride, narcissism, or amour propre.

Amaziah first executed his father's murderers and massacred the Edomites, a Semitic people kith and kin to the Jews and subject to Judah's rule who had rebelled against Judah. The chief god of the Edomites was Kos (Kaus), but his name is never mentioned in the Bible. After subduing the Edomites, Amaziah demanded the hand of the daughter of King Jehoash of Israel in marriage. When Jehoash turned him down with great contempt, the proud Amaziah was enraged. He challenged Jehoash to fight him and raised a large army from his loyalist tribes of Judah and Benjamin. To be on the safe side, Amaziah also hired a large contingent of mercenaries of the tribe of Ephraim in Israel, who had always considered themselves special and different. Later, warned by a Man of Yahweh, he dismissed the Ephraimites, which enraged them terribly and made them plunder and massacre the people of Judah (2 Chron. 25:5–13). This tragic event was totally omitted from the Kings version of the story (2 Kings 14).

Around 785 B.C.E. King Jehoash of Israel and his army went down to Beth-shemesh (Beth Shamash, the house of the sun god) to do battle with King Amaziah of Judah. Jehoash roundly defeated Amaziah, massacred his people, and captured him alive. Jehoash went on to Jerusalem, breached its walls, and seized the treasures of both the Temple and the palace. The biblical chroniclers blamed Amaziah's defeat on his worship of an Edomite god whose name is omitted (2 Chron. 25:14–16). It was probably Kos or Kaus. The story is unlikely, since Amaziah had no use for this god except as a trophy (Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 1:438).

Jehoash spared the life of Amaziah, but the people of Judah soon deposed their unhappy king and made his son Uzziah regent (Lewy 1927). King Jehoash of Israel

died the following year. Amaziah survived him, but not as king: we are told that he *lived*, not that he reigned, for another fifteen years (2 Kings 14:17; 2 Chron. 25:25). He was finally murdered, like his father had been (2 Kings 14:19–20; 2 Chron. 25:27–28). Amaziah's narcissistic pride was his own undoing.

Amaziah was succeeded around 783 B.C.E. by his son, whose name was either Uziah (Yahweh is my strength) or Ezriyah (Yahweh is my help). This king is at first identified as Azariah (2 Kings 14:21, 15:2) but is later identified as Uziah (2 Kings 15:13,30,32; 2 Chron. 26:1–23, 27:2; Isa 1:1, 6:1; Hos. 1:1; Amos 1:1). What was his given name? When and why did he change it? Name changes were common in Judah and Israel upon the crown prince's coronation ceremony (Graves and Patai 1964:165). Azariah-Uziah was only sixteen at his accession to the throne. We are told that Uziah fought many enemies and "God helped him against the Philistines, and against the Arabians . . . for he was marvelously helped till he was strong" (2 Chron. 26:7–15). This would suggest that his given name was in fact Uziah and that he changed it to Azariah after winning some battles. Mazar (as quoted in Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 6:126) suggested that this king was named Uziah by his father Amaziah, that he replaced his father as regent in the fourteenth year of the latter's reign (785 B.C.E.), and that he changed his name to Azariah after the death of Amaziah (771 B.C.E.). This would make psychological sense, for his father's death was probably an emotional liberation and rebirth for Uziah. Still, it was customary for the mother to name her son, not the father (Graves and Patai 1983:13). The Hebrew name change from Uziah to Azariah involved the addition of one letter only.

Uziah was born around 799 B.C.E.; he was sixteen at his accession to the throne in 783 B.C.E. His efforts to eradicate the pagan religious practices of his people were half-hearted or unsuccessful, for "the high places were not removed: the people sacrificed and burned incense still on the high places" (2 Kings 15:4). Uziah enraged the priests of Yahweh by arrogating to himself the High Priest's sacred function of burning incense on the altar of Yahweh (2 Chron. 26:16–19). The chroniclers blame Uziah's later-life leprosy on this sacrilege (26:20–23). On the other hand, they credit Uziah with having built Elath on the Red Sea and restoring it to Judah (2 Kings 14:22), with having fortified Jerusalem, with having subdued his enemies, with having expanded his realm, with having created a mighty army, and with having made quite a name for himself (2 Chron. 26:3–15). Uziah copied the military methods of the Assyrians, the great power of his day (Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 6:129).

Uziah's reign marked the beginning of a period of great prosperity for Judah (Bright 1959:240). By 750 B.C.E. Judah was the economic, political, and military leader of the small kingdoms of southern Syria and Palestine. The great powers, however, such as Assyria and Babylonia, would not countenance the rise of smaller kingdoms to prominence. They were intent on expanding their empires and on subduing the smaller kingdoms to vassal status. This was exactly what happened to Judah.

When King Uziah was stricken with leprosy around 758 B.C.E., he was joined on the throne by his twenty-five-year-old son Jotham, who became regent (2 Kings 15:5; 2 Chron. 26:21). The fifty-two years of Uziah's reign (783–734 B.C.E.) (2 Kings

15:2, 2 Chron. 26:3) probably included the years he was coregent with his own father (783–771 B.C.E.), the years Uzziah reigned alone (771–758 B.C.E.), those when his son Jotham coreigned with him (758 to 743 B.C.E.), and those when his grandson Ahaz was coregent (743 to 734 B.C.E.). This was the view of Sukenik et al. (1950–82, 6:125–31). Bright (1959:238) thought that Uzziah died eight years earlier, in 742 B.C.E. It is very difficult to know for sure. Like other ancient writers, the Yahwist biblical chroniclers were not sticklers for accuracy or consistency. Their goal was to advance their own religious and political views, and they were prepared to twist facts, to delete information, and to cover up unpleasant events if necessary.

Some scholars believe that King Uzziah of Judah lost his son and heir Jotham during his lifetime (Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 6:131). We are told that Jotham was twenty-five when he began to reign and that he reigned for sixteen years (2 Kings 15:33, 2 Chron. 27:8). This means that Jotham was forty-one when he died. If in fact Jotham became regent when his father came down with leprosy (around 758 B.C.E.), then he was born in 783 B.C.E. and died in 742 B.C.E. Sukenik et al. (1950–82, 6:131) believed that Uzziah died in 734 B.C.E., whereas his son Jotham had died in 743 B.C.E., so that Uzziah survived his own son by seven years. Bright (1981:471) believed that it was Jotham (776–735 B.C.E.) who survived his father by seven years, becoming coregent with his father around 750 B.C.E. and dying in 735 B.C.E., while Uzziah had died in 742 B.C.E. Each of these views resolves some problems in the text while raising others.

We are bedeviled by further contradictions. For instance, we are told that King Pekah of Israel reigned from the fifty-second year of the reign of King Uzziah of Judah to the twentieth year of Uzziah's son Jotham (2 Kings 27:30). Then we are told that Jotham reigned from the second to the seventeenth year of the reign of King Pekah of Israel (2 Kings 15:32–16:1, 2 Chron. 27:8–9). This is an obvious and glaring contradiction. What were the biblical chroniclers trying to hide? When did Jotham succeed Uzziah? And when did Ahaz succeed Jotham? The biblical stories of the fifty-two years of the reign of King Uzziah and of his succession by his son Jotham are riddled with inconsistencies.

The succession of Jotham by his son Ahaz is similarly surrounded by a chronological haze. We are told that King Pekah of Israel massacred 120,000 subjects of King Ahaz of Judah in a single day "for they had forsaken Yahweh, the god of their forefathers" (2 Chron. 28:6). The great power of the day was Assyria, which had defeated Babylonia and was beginning to invade the various kingdoms of Aramaea. Between 743 and 738 B.C.E. King Tiglathpileser III of Assyria conquered most of the kingdoms of northern and central Syria. Judah's position as the leader of the small kingdoms of southern Syria and Palestine was greatly weakened. King Ahaz of Judah refused to join the anti-Assyrian alliance of the southern Syrian rulers. As a result, Judah was invaded around 733 B.C.E. by King Pekah of Israel and by King Rezin of Aramaea. The prophet Isaiah warned King Ahaz against inviting Assyria to intervene (Isa. 7:1–8:18). Ahaz, however, fearful of his attackers, appealed to Tiglathpileser of Assyria for rescue. The Assyrian king invaded Aramaea around 732 B.C.E. and executed

its king, Retsin (Rezin) (2 Kings 16:9). The Assyrian king raided Israel and exiled its inhabitants (15:29). He then proceeded to claim Judah as his vassal state. Judah became an Assyrian satellite. We are now faced with some highly intriguing biblical verses (2 Chron. 28:19–21):

For the Lord [Yahweh] brought Judah low because of Ahaz king of Israel; for he made Judah naked, and transgressed sore against the Lord. And Tilgath-pilneser [*sic*] king of Assyria came unto him, and distressed him, but strengthened him not. For Ahaz took away a portion out of the house of the Lord, and out of the house of the king, and of the princes, and gave it unto the king of Assyria: but he helped him not.

Ahaz king of *Israel*? We had been repeatedly told Ahaz was king of *Judah*. Did the chroniclers confuse Judah with Israel? This slip of the pen is repeated in 2 Chron. 28:27, which says “they brought him not into the graves of the kings of Israel.” Two kings of Israel had borne names similar to Ahaz: Ahaziah and Jehoahaz. In fact, Ahaz is an abbreviated form of these two names, with the theophorous element deleted. Did the chroniclers confuse them with King Ahaz of Judah? What exactly happened to the unfortunate King Ahaz of Judah? The Revised English Bible (Coggan 1989) eliminated this embarrassment by changing the text to “Ahaz king of Judah” (verse 19) and “he was not given burial with the kings of Judah” (verse 27) even though the original Hebrew clearly says “Israel,” not “Judah.” People tend to deceive themselves, to distort and disguise unpleasant truths. As Phaedrus put it, *Non semper ea sunt quae videntur* (things are not always what they look). Longfellow (1839) wrote

Tell me not, in mournful numbers,
Life is but an empty dream!
For the soul is dead that slumbers,
And things are not what they seem

and William Gilbert penned the humorous version, “Things are seldom what they seem; skim milk masquerades as cream.”

The biblical chroniclers obviously wished to discredit Ahaz. They dropped the theophorous “iah” or “Jeho” from his name. They told us that (a) Ahaz was twenty years old when he began to reign and that (b) he reigned in Jerusalem for sixteen years (2 Kings 16:2; 2 Chron. 28:1). These numbers are suspiciously identical with the number of years Ahaz’s father Jotham was supposed to have reigned when Pekah was killed, and with the number of years Jotham actually reigned. Could there be some connection here? The biblical chroniclers tell us of Ahaz’s abominations and add that “the Lord his God delivered him into the hand of the king of Syria; and they smote him, and carried away a great multitude of captives, and brought them to Damascus. And he was also delivered into the hand of the king of Israel, who smote him with a great slaughter” (2 Chron. 28:1–5).

This is probably an apocryphal story, for we are told that the two invading kings “besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him” (2 Kings 16:5). Their siege was lifted

by the Assyrians. Tiglathpileser III (Tukulti-apal-esharra) of Assyria made King Ahaz of Judah his vassal, which in fact Ahaz had undertaken to be. We also learn this from a list of minor kings paying tribute to King Tiglathpileser III of Assyria, dating from 728 B.C.E. The biblical verses just quoted also suggest as much. Tiglathpileser endorsed King Pekah's murderer, Hoshea (Hosea), as Israel's new king (Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 6:539).

Ahaz himself was an "idolater" in the eyes of the chroniclers. He worshipped the Canaanite gods, including the fire god Moloch, to whom he sacrificed his own son; he also worshipped El, Asherah, and Baal (2 Kings 16:3–18; 2 Chron. 28:1–27). In this he was no different from most of his people. The Canaanite and Assyro-Babylonian cults played a major role in the daily life of Judah. Ahaz's need to appease the Assyrians may well have accounted for some of his religious reforms.

The prophet Isaiah was said to have lived during the reign of four successive kings of Judah: Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah (Isa. 1:1). If Uzziah reigned for fifty-two years, Jotham for sixteen, and Ahaz for sixteen, Isaiah could only have begun prophesying at the end of Uzziah's reign. Biblical scholars, however, believe that there were two Isaiahs and call the second Deutero-Isaiah. During the end of the reign of King Ahaz of Judah the Philistines began to raid his realm. They seized many of its cities (2 Chron. 28:18). Isaiah made a prophecy to Philistia in the year of the death of King Ahaz (Isa. 14:28–32). Some scholars hold Ahaz to have died in 728/727 B.C.E. (Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 1:209), whereas others think he lived as late as 716 B.C.E. (Thiele 1951) or 715 B.C.E. (Albright 1942; Bright 1959; Anderson 1966).

Ahaz had named his firstborn son Hazakiah or Hezekiah (Yahweh is mighty, or Yahweh has prevailed) (2 Kings 16:20; 2 Chron. 28:27). The Deuteronomists tell us that Ahaz was buried "with his fathers in the City of David" (2 Kings 16:20), while the chroniclers insist that "they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel" (2 Chron. 28:27). Ahaz was supposed to be king of Judah. Why did the chroniclers repeatedly confuse Judah with Israel? Was Ahaz in fact king of Israel? The chroniclers may have wished to portray King Ahaz in a worse light than the Deuteronomists, as they had Ahaz's great-great-grandfather Jehoash (2 Kings 12:22 versus 2 Chron. 24:25). In Jehoash's case, however, the chronicler wrote "they buried him not in the sepulchres of the kings" without adding "of Judah" or "of Israel." The tendentiousness of the chroniclers distorted their historiography in a "historical countertransference" (Loewenberg 1985).

11

National Suicide

THE PROUD KINGS OF JUDAH

During the eighth to sixth centuries B.C.E., both Hebrew kingdoms, Israel and Judah, committed national suicide by rebelling against vastly superior powers. The rulers of Assyria and Babylonia were not about to let tiny Israel and Judah defy them. The narcissism of their own rulers was such that they called themselves the King of Kings and Ruler of the Universe and wished to dominate every people near them. But the kings of Israel and Judah were also narcissistic. They seethed with narcissistic injury and impotent rage when subjected by the big powers and eventually rebelled against them. This was their undoing.

The firstborn son and heir of King Ahaz and Queen Abijah of Judah was Hezekiah (Hazakyah), who ascended the throne of Judah upon his father's death, in the third year of the reign of King Hoshea of Israel (2 Kings 16:20, 18:1; 2 Chron. 28:27). The name Hezekiah means "Yahweh is strong" or "Yahweh has prevailed." The date of Hezekiah's accession to the throne is difficult to establish. Certain verses in 2 Kings 18, which we shall presently examine, and the chronology of Sennacherib's reign in Assyria have made some scholars date Hezekiah's accession to the throne of Judah as early as 727 B.C.E., others as late as 715 B.C.E. (Rogers 1914; Thiele 1951; Bright 1981:276; Sukenik et al. 1950-82, 3:96). As one scholar complains, "[T]he Biblical data at this point are exceedingly confusing" (Bright 1981:276 n. 21). It may be, as was the case with some of his predecessors, that Hezekiah was coregent with his father as early as 727 B.C.E. but became king of Judah upon his father's death in 715 B.C.E. It is also possible that the biblical chroniclers confused or distorted the facts for their own tendentious reasons.

Hezekiah was twenty-five years old when he became king and reigned for twenty-nine years (2 Kings 18:2; 2 Chron. 29:1), dying at the age of fifty-four. Upon becoming king he instituted wide-ranging religious and political reforms. Hezekiah's oedipal revolt against his father and his unconscious desire to repair his internalized early mother were expressed both in his religious reforms and in his foreign policy blunders. He unconsciously displaced his personal feelings from his internalized early father and mother figures to the public spheres of religion and politics.

In the religious sphere, Hezekiah "suppressed the shrines, smashed the sacred

pillars, cut down every sacred pole, and broke up the bronze serpent that Moses had made, for up to that time the Israelites had been in the habit of burning sacrifices to it" (2 Kings 18:4). The original Hebrew text has *bamoth* (high places) rather than "shrines," and Asherah, the Canaanite mother goddess, rather than "sacred poles." Hezekiah's destruction of the Asherah may have had unconscious matricidal motives similar to those of his ancestor Asa. He restored the worship of Yahweh and refurbished his Temple (2 Chron. 29:2–36). The key psychological point about Hezekiah is that this worthy king's religious reforms were fueled by unconscious personal feelings directed at his own parents, which had been displaced to the gods.

Whereas Hezekiah's religious reforms brought no visible harm to his people, his home-political and foreign-policy reforms did. Rather than accept harsh reality and submit to the yoke of Assyria as his father had done, Hezekiah sought to free Judah from "her." His revolt against the great power of his day was doomed to fail. His personal struggle with his father was displaced to the political realm with tragic consequences for both himself and his people. After defeating the Philistines to the southwest of Judah, Hezekiah felt confident enough to defy Assyria. His pride and his self-confidence were exaggerated and tragic for himself and for his people. They were attacked and destroyed by the Assyrian king.

Ethnicity derives from language. Just as languages belonging to the same "family" split off from the same original "proto-language," so related ethnic groups split off from the same original "proto-people." The ancient Canaanites and Aramaeans assimilated each other's gods. The Canaanite city of Gebal (in Greek, Byblos; now Jubayl or Jbeil in Arab Lebanon) was one of the oldest cities of the ancient world. Its chief gods were El-Gebal or Elah-Gabal (in Greek, Heliogabalos; in Latin, Elagabalus) and his consort Baalath-Gebal (in Greek, Belthis or Dione). The Aramaean cities of Hamath (now Hamah or Hama) and Emesa (now Hims or Homs) on the Orontes River (now the al-Asi River in Syria) both traded with Gebal. Hamath was an important prehistoric settlement that became an Aramaean kingdom in the eleventh century B.C.E. El-Gebal was worshipped in Emesa as the Aramaean sun god. Emesa contained a great temple to El-Gebal that persisted through Greco-Roman times. In the second century C.E. the family of Julia Soaemias were the hereditary priests of Elah-Gabal. In 218 C.E., having killed his predecessor, Julia's son Varius Avitus Bassianus (204–22) became the Roman Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antonius Augustus. By virtue of his priestly function he was called Elagabalus.

Some scholars think that King Jeroboam ben Joash of Israel (Jeroboam II, r. 786/785–746/745 B.C.E.) shared his father's throne during the last five years of his father's reign (789 to 785/784 B.C.E.). Jeroboam II greatly expanded his kingdom. He "restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain" (2 Kings 14:23–25). The Sea of the Plain is none other than the Dead Sea, also known as the Salt Sea and the Ancient Sea (Anderson 1966:227–28). Jeroboam II ruled the entire area between Aramaea and Judah, which constituted a considerable expansion of Israel's frontiers. Little did Jeroboam and his Israelites know that within sixty years their kingdom would be no more.

The span of "forty and one years" ascribed to Jeroboam's reign may be misleading: like the number thirty-six in the French phrase *je te l'ai dit trente-six fois* (I have told you thirty-six times), the number forty was often used in the Bible as an expression for "many." David and Solomon were each said to have reigned forty years, Moses was said to have spent forty days on Mount Sinai, and the Israelites were said to have spent forty years in the wilderness (Reik 1959).

THE RISE OF THE PROPHETS

Jeroboam's reign was marked by both territorial expansion and great economic prosperity (Anderson 1966:228). It was also marked by the rise of several minor prophets, such as Amos, Hosea, and Jonah. It was the latter who gave Jeroboam the religious support he needed to restore the territories of Israel (2 Kings 14:25). Israel was, as ever, squeezed by its great and powerful neighbors Aramaea (Syria), Ashur (Assyria), and Babel (Babylonia). Jeroboam II was a capable military leader who slowly relieved this pressure by waging successful campaigns to expand his frontiers. The chroniclers tell us that Jeroboam "did evil in the sight of the Lord," yet Yahweh chose to help his people Israel through this king (2 Kings 14:27). It was difficult for the Yahwist chroniclers to reconcile Jeroboam's great achievements with his worship of the golden calves (bull and cow) at Bethel, most probably Yahweh-El and Asherah.

The Elohist tradition at the time of Jeroboam II gave the most central place to the "prophet" Moses (Anderson 1966: 230–32). Moses was said to have seen Yahweh face to face. He was the great lawgiver, national leader, and religious reformer. The Hebrew prophets of the eighth century B.C.E. constantly invoked Yahweh's name. When the shepherd Amos had prophetic visions of Yahweh, he left his native village of Tekoa in Judah, south of Jerusalem, went north to Israel, and began to deliver fiery orations to the Israelites. No one, it seems, is a prophet in his own town.

A prophet feels good when he can tell other people their faults. The externalization of his own unbearable self-aspects makes him feel good by comparison. Amos railed against the crimes of Israel's enemies and prophesied doom and destruction to them. He castigated Judah for having forsaken Yahweh and lashed out against the Israelites themselves for their social injustices and for their idolatrous ways. He predicted the violent death of King Jeroboam, the destruction of Israel, and the exile of its people.

It is difficult to date Amos's activities. They took place "two years before the earthquake" in the reign of King Uzziah of Judah and King Jeroboam of Israel—that is, some time between 783 and 746 B.C.E. We have no idea when the great earthquake took place. Amos's orations were perceived as a religious and political threat by Amaziah, the priest of Yahweh-El at Bethel, who warned King Jeroboam of Amos's "conspiracy" against him. Amaziah urged Amos to flee the wrath of the king and to return to Judah, where he could make his living as a prophet. Amos turned him down and heaped curses on Amaziah: "Thy wife shall be an harlot in the city, and thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword, and thy land shall be divided by line, and

thou shalt die in a polluted land" (Amos 7:17). It was unsafe to tangle with an angry prophet of Yahweh.

The prophetic movement, which began at the time of the judges in the eleventh century B.C.E., had gradually changed its character. The prophets were the earliest Jewish mystics. Albright (1957:306) called the prophets of the tenth and of the first part of the ninth century B.C.E. "natural" or "ecstatic," whereas the canonical prophets that followed them, such as Amos and Hosea, he called "literary" or "rhapsodic." Idel (1988:xi) classified Jewish mysticism into "theosophical-theurgical" and "ecstatic." Such classifications do not always bring insight.

The new prophets renewed the work of their predecessors (Albright 1968:187). They proclaimed Yahweh's sovereignty over the nations, insisted on the covenant between him and his people, and prophesied doom and destruction to its breachers. Israel's election as Yahweh's chosen people was Amos's chief oratorical weapon. This group narcissism was an unconscious defense against the feeling of helplessness, a feeling natural to a small national group surrounded by powerful and highly aggressive empires that constantly encroached on its sovereignty and territory. Amos's personal narcissism reflected that of his people. Amos may have felt that his motherland, Judah, was defiled, and his new motherland, Israel, became his idealized extended self (Kohut 1978; Mack 1983).

ISRAEL'S SUICIDE

It was this national group narcissism, this feeling of being a unique, special people elected by their god Yahweh, that may have led to Israel's ruin. A national religious group that feels elected and special tends to rely on its god to save it rather than devise realistic political strategies. Its grandiose group self is the cause of its own destruction. Israel relied upon its god Yahweh-El to save it, and its god failed. Jeroboam's death was the beginning of the end of Israel.

Jeroboam II died some time between 748 and 746 B.C.E., and was succeeded by his son Zachariah, whose name means "Yahweh shall remember me." This unfortunate king ruled only six months in Shomron before being publicly assassinated by one Shallum ben Jabesh (2 Kings 15:10). Regicide is an unconscious form of parricide. The son who wishes to kill his father displaces his parricidal rage to the king. Regicide had a special meaning in Israel, since its name was an epithet of the Canaanite god El, who had castrated his own father. The regicide Shallum himself was assassinated, after only one month on the throne, by Menahem ben Gadi, who was also good at ripping open pregnant women's bellies (2 Kings 15:16). The biblical chroniclers had Menahem reign for ten years (746 to 736 B.C.E.); Anderson (1966:271) had him reign seven years only, from 745 to 738 B.C.E.

Esharra was the temple of Ashur in the Assyrian city bearing his name. Around 746 B.C.E. an Assyrian general who called himself Tiglathpileser III (Tukulti-apal-esharra, d. 727 B.C.E.) after two previous kings—the name means "My help is the son

of Esharra"—deposed his king, Ashur-nirari V, and usurped the throne of Assyria. Tiglathpileser III was a great warrior and conqueror. He subdued the Aramaean tribes of Babylonia, and his army chief Ashur-danani fought the Medes and reached the Caspian sea. King Ahaz of Judah, at odds with Israel, appealed to Tiglathpileser, who, like his predecessors, invaded the unfortunate Israelite kingdom, forcing King Menahem to pay him tribute. The biblical chroniclers called this Assyrian king, who annexed Babylonia in 729/728 B.C.E., by his Babylonian title of Pul (Pulu), making it seem that two different kings of Assyria had wrought punishment upon Israel. Did they know that Pul (2 Kings 15:19; 1 Chron. 5:26) and Tiglathpileser (2 Kings 15:29; 1 Chron. 5:26) were one and the same person? If they did, why did they not say so?

The tragic fate of the tiny kingdom of Israel was that it was always at the mercy of its great and powerful neighbors: Assyria, Babylonia, and Aramaea. In 728/727 B.C.E. Tiglathpileser III was succeeded by his son Shulmanu-asharedu (Shalmaneser V, d. 722 B.C.E.). His name means "Shulmanu is the highest god." The Assyrian religion comprised a large number of deities who vied with each other for prominence and dominance. Shulmanu, the son of Ashur, was the Assyrian counterpart of the Canaanite god Shalem, the Perfect One.

It took less than twenty years after the death of Menahem ben Gadi for the kingdom of Israel to vanish from the face of the earth. There followed a succession of three kings, the last of which, Hoshea ben Elah, a name for the goddess Asherah, murdered his predecessor with the tacit approval of Tiglathpileser III of Assyria, who made him king of Israel. Hoshea reigned from 732 to 724 B.C.E. He became a vassal to Shalmaneser V of Assyria, who made the Israelite king pay him tribute (2 Kings 17:3). King Hoshea reeled under this injury to his pride. In 724 B.C.E. Hoshea made a secret pact with the Egyptian pharaoh (Piye or Tefnakhte) and ceased paying tribute to Assyria (2 Kings 17:4). The name So in this verse may be the Hebrew version of Sais (Bright 1981:275 n. 17).

The Bible uses the name "Cush" in several different senses: as an element of the Midianites (Num. 12:1; 2 Chron. 14:8, 21:17), as the lands south of Egypt (Gen. 2:13, 10:6), as the father of the Arabian tribes (Gen. 10:7), and as the father of the Babylonian hero Nimrod (Gen. 10:8). The biblical texts refer to Nubia—a region of northeastern Africa now divided between Egypt, Libya, and Sudan—as Cush. (The King James Version erroneously renders it as "Ethiopia" at 2 Kings 19:9 and Isa. 37:9.) The Libyan pharaohs of Egypt had founded the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasties, which were gradually displaced by the Nubian (Cushite) kings of the south. The Libyan princes of Sais in Lower Egypt fought the Cushite princes of Nubia in Upper Egypt for control of all Egypt. The Cushite king Piye (Piankhi) ruled Upper Egypt from 750 to 719/718 B.C.E. The pharaoh approached by Hoshea was either Piye or the Libyan king Tefnakhte, lord of Sais, founder of the weak Twenty-Fourth Dynasty of Egypt (730–709/703 B.C.E.). In 722 B.C.E. Tefnakhte was succeeded by his son Bocchoris (r. 722–715 B.C.E.), whom Manetho called the sole king of the Twenty-Fourth Dynasty (Bright 1981:275). Tefnakhte fought Piye of Nubia, who had seized Upper Egypt and invaded Lower Egypt. The outcome was inconclusive. Piye at first defeated Tefnakhte

and received the submission of the northern Egyptian rulers, but when Piye returned to Nubia in 718 B.C.E. Tefnakhte regained Lower Egypt.

Piye's brother Shabaka founded the rival Twenty-Fifth Dynasty of Egypt, fought Tefnakhte's son Bocchoris, and conquered all of Egypt (719/718–703 B.C.E.). In 719/718 B.C.E. Shabaka moved the Egyptian capital from Bubastis to Sais. Bubastis was the center of worship of the lion-headed Egyptian goddess Bast and the capital of the Libyan dynasties. Sais was the shrine of Neith, goddess of the hunt and war, and of the underworld god Osiris; it was the royal residence of the Twenty-Fourth, Twenty-Fifth, and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties. Manetho reported that the good Shabaka united all Egypt (around 715 B.C.E.), had Bocchoris burned alive, and removed all his other rivals to calm his fear of being deposed.

We have alluded to the "exceedingly confusing" biblical data concerning King Hezekiah of Judah. We are told that King Shalmanesser V of Assyria invaded Israel and laid siege to its capital of Shomron for three years. He laid siege to Shomron in the fourth year of Hezekiah's reign, which was the seventh year of the reign of King Hoshea of Israel (2 Kings 17:5–6, 18:9–12). The siege ended with the fall of Shomron in the sixth year of Hezekiah, which was the ninth year of Hoshea. If the biblical story is accurate and Hezekiah became king in 727 B.C.E., then the siege of Shomron took place from 724 to 721 B.C.E. Since Hezekiah became king in the third year of Hoshea of Israel, this would date Hoshea's accession in 730 B.C.E. Yet Bright (1981:275) dates Hoshea's accession in 732 B.C.E.

On the other hand we are told that Sargon's son and successor, King Sennacherib of Assyria, invaded Judah in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign (2 Kings 18:13). A later verse (2 Chron. 32:1) reports the same event without specifying its date, a fact significant in itself. Bright (1981:276 n. 21) argues that since Sennacherib's invasion came in 701 B.C.E., this would date Hezekiah's accession to the throne as late as 715 B.C.E. Between the Bible and the deep blue Bright, one tends to confuse dates.

The revolt against Assyria drove the last nail into Israel's coffin. Shalmanesser V invaded Israel, arrested Hoshea, and put him in a dungeon (2 Kings 17:4). He besieged Shomron for three years, probably 724 to 722 B.C.E., during which there were terrible famine and death in the city. Shalmanesser V died in 722 B.C.E., before he could complete his siege, and was succeeded by his son and heir Sargon II (Sharrukin, d. 705 B.C.E.). The biblical chroniclers concealed this fact, making it seem as if the Assyrian king who penetrated and destroyed Shomron was the same king who had begun the siege (2 Kings 17:5–6). In 722/721 B.C.E. Sargon II completed the siege of Shomron, destroyed the city, and exiled the entire population of Israel to Assyria. The siege ended in 721 B.C.E. with Sargon II destroying Shomron and exiling its 27,290 Israelite inhabitants (Bright 1981:275). The biblical chroniclers said this disaster was Yahweh's punishment for the pagan Canaanite practices of the Israelites (2 Kings 17:7–23). Significantly, Chronicles makes no mention whatsoever of either Hoshea or the destruction of his kingdom, one of the most important events in ancient Jewish history.

This marked the end of the tragic kingdom of Israel. The "ten lost tribes" of

Israel were assimilated in the various peoples of the Assyrian empire, losing their former ethnic identity. Ancient Israel's political history had ended (Bright 1981:276). It became a backwater of the Assyrian empire. Other ethnic groups of the empire were resettled in Shomron (2 Kings 17:24). They brought their native customs, gods, and cults with them, including child sacrifice (2 Kings 29–31). They mingled with the remaining Israelite population. The tiny surviving community of Samaritans in Nablus and Holon may be their descendants. Israel's suicidal revolt against Assyria ended with the former's total destruction. The personal narcissism of the kings combined with the group narcissism of their people led to their tragic annihilation. Official Israel still calls the northern part of the occupied West Bank by the name of Shomron (Samaria), even though it is meant to become part of a Palestinian Arab state.

THE DESTRUCTION OF SENNACHERIB

Sennacherib's original Assyrian name was Sin-akh-eriba. The name means "Sin has compensated us with a brother," implying that Sennacherib's older brother had died before he was born. Sin was the Assyrian moon god. Sennacherib was not the original heir to the throne of Assyria. He became king of Assyria in 705 B.C.E. upon the death of his father Sargon II. His great invasion of Judah took place in 701 B.C.E. (Bright 1981:285). If indeed this was the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign (2 Kings 18:13), then Hezekiah's accession to the throne of Judah occurred as late as 715 B.C.E. The biblical chroniclers may have fused an earlier invasion by King Sargon II of Assyria with King Sennacherib's later invasion, or two different invasions led by King Sennacherib himself (Bright 1981:285–88). The biblical texts on the exiling of the Israelites to Assyria (2 Kings 17:6, 18:11) totally omit the name of the Assyrian king who carried it out.

We similarly have two conflicting accounts of the confrontation between King Hezekiah of Judah and King Sennacherib of Assyria. One says that Hezekiah was defeated by Sennacherib and was forced to pay a heavy tribute to the Assyrian victor (2 Kings 18:13–16). The other says that Hezekiah stood up to Sennacherib and defeated him, Sennacherib lost 185,000 of his men, and Sennacherib was soon assassinated by two of his sons (2 Kings 18:17–19:37; Isa. 36:1–37:38; 2 Chron. 32:1–21). Which of the two versions is true?

The most likely explanation is that 2 Kings 18:13–16 refers to the first invasion by Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E., whereas the rest of the biblical texts just cited refer to a later invasion by Sennacherib, perhaps twenty years later, in 681 B.C.E., just prior to the Assyrian king's death. In 701 B.C.E. the Assyrians waged war against the Egyptians, defeating them at Eltekeh and proceeding to Judah, where they destroyed many smaller cities and besieged Jerusalem. Hezekiah was forced to surrender and to pay heavy tribute to Sennacherib.

The later invasion was provoked by a new revolt by Hezekiah against Assyria. This time Sennacherib's armies were either turned back or were forced to leave Judah

by revolts in other parts of their empire. Why did the writers of Kings and Chronicles fuse the stories of two separate invasions? They obviously had an ax to grind: the promotion of Yahwism. If Yahweh and his prophet Isaiah had turned back the Assyrian invasion, Yahweh was all-powerful and had to be feared and worshipped. Hezekiah, however, actually died before Sennacherib, which contradicts the story.

Sennacherib moved the Assyrian capital to Nineveh, a great ancient city with many palaces and temples to Sin, Nergal, Nanna, Shamash, Ishtar, and Nabu. The rebellion of the vassal kingdoms against Assyria had begun with Sennacherib's accession to the Assyrian throne of Nineveh in 705 B.C.E. It involved Babylonia, whose ruler Marduk-apal-iddina ("Marduk has given me an heir," the biblical Merodach-baladan of 2 Kings 20:12 and Isa. 39:1) wished to free his people from Assyrian domination; Egypt, whose pharaoh Shabaka wanted to reduce Assyrian power; the Sidonian cities; some of the Philistine cities; and the smaller kingdoms of Moab, Edom, and Ammon both east and west of the Jordan River. All had exerted great pressure upon Hezekiah to join them in their revolt.

Bright (1981:285) believed that Isaiah "branded the whole thing as folly and rebellion against Yahweh," but the verses cited by Bright (Isa. 30:1-7, 31:1-3) speak only of the folly of relying upon Egypt. On the other hand, we are told quite clearly that Isaiah supported Hezekiah in his revolt against Assyria and that it was thanks to Isaiah's and Yahweh's intervention that Sennacherib was defeated (2 Kings 19:20-37; Isa. 31:8, 37:5-7, 37:21-38; 2 Chron. 32:20). Hezekiah had made a military and political alliance with Pharaoh Shabaka of Egypt and the smaller kingdoms against Assyria. His military power was very small, however, compared with Assyria's. He had succumbed to his neighbors' pressure to join in with them in their rebellion. Could the revolt have succeeded? Was it possible for the tiny kingdom of Judah to stand up to mighty Assyria?

Bright (1981:287) thought that after the Nubian Tirhakah (Taharka, or Tarqu, 2 Kings 19:9) became pharaoh, around 690/689 B.C.E., Hezekiah felt more confident and decided to rebel against Assyria once again. During the decade between 701 and 690 B.C.E. there had been a series of revolts by vassal kings that had weakened Assyria. In 689 B.C.E. Sennacherib captured and destroyed the rebellious Babylon. Pharaoh Tirhakah was a Nubian prince who had led the Nubian-Egyptian forces against Assyria in 701 B.C.E. and had been disastrously defeated by Sennacherib's armies. Around 690/689 B.C.E. Tirhakah had seized the throne of Egypt. Depending on which Egyptian chronology one follows, Tirhakah was either the last pharaoh of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty or the founder of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. The unfortunate Tirhaka lost all his battles against the Assyrian rulers Sennacherib, his son Esarhaddon, and his successor Assurbanipal over a thirty-five-year span. Tirhaka was removed from the throne by Esarhaddon.

The Bible calls Tirhakah the "king of Cush" at the time of his war against Sennacherib. In 1 and 2 Chronicles no mention is made of Tirhakah. No wonder the Yahwist chroniclers played down the defeats of Judah's allies in 701 B.C.E. and played up Sennacherib's defeat in 681 B.C.E., which they naturally attributed to the intervention

of Yahweh. Hezekiah had been taught a serious lesson by Assyria in 701 B.C.E. The Egyptian forces under Tirhakah had been defeated as well. His decision to rebel again was as irrational as it was disastrous. If the accession to the throne of Egypt of the young Nubian prince Tirhakah could have moved King Hezekiah of Judah to rebel against Assyria once again, there must have been unconscious personal motives for his decision. It may well be that his unconscious revolt and rage against his early father or mother were precisely these motives. Personal rage and rebellion had been displaced to the political realm, with King Sennacherib of Assyria taking on the role of the bad father and Assyria herself that of the bad mother in Hezekiah's unconscious mind.

Hezekiah took his revolt against Assyria very seriously. He anticipated a prolonged siege by the Assyrian forces, which would cut off Jerusalem's water supply. The Gihon (Gusher) spring is an underground Jerusalem water source that periodically gushes forth aboveground. It was the chief water source for the city of Jerusalem and it was there that King Solomon had been anointed and crowned (1 Kings 1:33). Hezekiah had its upper watercourse plugged and an underground tunnel dug from the source to a pool west of it, inside the City of David (2 Kings 20:20; 2 Chron. 32:30). This pool served as a reservoir for the Jerusalem water supply.

Hezekiah's Tunnel was dug from both sides, one group of diggers starting at the Gihon Spring, the other at the Pool of Siloam (Shiloah), now the Arab village of Silwan, until they met in the middle. This was an unprecedented feat of engineering. It is commemorated in the world-famous Siloam Inscription that was discovered in the tunnel in 1880 and later transferred to the Ancient Orient Archaeological Museum in Istanbul by the Ottoman authorities of Palestine.

In 681 B.C.E. King Sennacherib of Assyria was assassinated by one or two of his own rebellious sons (2 Kings 19:36–27; Isa. 37:37–38; 2 Chron. 32:21), a fact confirmed by Assyrian documents (Pritchard 1969). These parricidal sons supported the Babylonian rebellion against Assyrian domination. Ironically and tragically for them, their younger brother Ashur-akhe-iddina (Esarhaddon) foiled their plans and forced his two brothers to flee to Urartu (Ararat, in what is now Turkey). Esarhaddon became Sennacherib's successor, establishing himself on the Assyrian throne. He waged vigorous wars and expanded his realm considerably. In 674–671 B.C.E. Esarhaddon went on a major military campaign to Babylonia and Egypt, defeating both countries. He deposed Tirhakah as pharaoh of Egypt and placed the lord of Sais, Necho, on the throne there. Sometime after the Assyrian king's departure, however, Necho plotted to revolt, was seized by the Assyrians, and was taken to Nineveh in chains. He was later pardoned and restored to his throne, where he had to face the hostile and restive Nubians.

As we have seen, the chronology of Hezekiah's reign is in dispute among scholars. Some think Hezekiah began to reign as early as 727 B.C.E. and died as early as 698 B.C.E. (Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 3:96). This would put Hezekiah's death before that of Sennacherib, contradicting the biblical story. Other scholars date Hezekiah's reign from 720 B.C.E. to 690 B.C.E., which is still incompatible with the biblical chroniclers' version. Still others, such as Rogers (1914), Albright (1953), Bright (1959:271), Rowley

(1962), and Horn (1966), date Hezekiah's accession as late as 715 B.C.E. and his death as late as 686 B.C.E. Since all scholars agree that Sennacherib died after Hezekiah, in 681 B.C.E., the biblical chroniclers, who put Hezekiah's death after Sennacherib's, must have had a reason to alter the historical reality.

In fact, the biblical chroniclers were vague about the date of Hezekiah's death, writing only that he became fatally ill "in those days" (2 Kings 20:1; Isa. 38:1; 2 Chron. 32:24). If Hezekiah was to have defeated the mighty Sennacherib, he had to be portrayed as having died after the latter, no matter what actually happened. As we have seen many times, the promotion of Yahweh worship during the time the biblical chroniclers were writing brought about all manner of historical distortion.

JUDAH'S SUICIDE

We are told by the biblical chroniclers that King Hezekiah of Judah was succeeded by his twelve-year-old son Manasseh (Menasheh), who proceeded to reign over Judah for fifty-five years (2 Kings 20:21–21:1; 2 Chron. 32:33–33:1). The chronology of Hezekiah's own reign (2 Kings 18:2; 2 Chron. 29:1) has Hezekiah aged twenty-five when he became king, reigning for twenty-nine years, and dying at the age of fifty-four. His son Manasseh was born when Hezekiah was forty-two years old. The kings of Judah and Israel never had only one son, for they had many wives and concubines to bear them children. Hezekiah must have had older sons. Why was he not succeeded by one of them? Had Hezekiah sacrificed his firstborn son to the fire god Moloch (Melech), as was the custom of his day, and as his son and heir Manasseh was to do with his sons? If he had, the Deuteronomist chroniclers would surely have attempted to conceal what they considered this most un-Yahwistic act of their good king (Olyan 1988:4).

Biblical scholars are divided on the dates of Manasseh's reign. Some date his accession as early as 697 B.C.E., others as late as 687 B.C.E. (Suknik et al. 1950–82, 5:41–42). The latter claim that Manasseh actually reigned for forty-five rather than fifty-five years (Albright 1945). These controversies arise from the need to synchronize the lives of the last kings of Judah with Assyrian and Babylonian events whose dates are firmly established. Manasseh sacrificed his firstborn son to the fire god Moloch. The Deuteronomist chroniclers vilified Manasseh, who "did that which was evil in the eyes of the Lord . . . built again the high places . . . reared altars for Baal, and made a grove [Asherah] as Ahab the king of Israel had done, and worshipped the host of heaven . . . and he made his son pass through the fire, and observed times, and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards" (2 Kings 21:2–6). The Lord was Yahweh and the "grove" was his consort Asherah, the Canaanite mother goddess, who was by now firmly entrenched in the Yahweh religion. Emotionally the people needed Mother Asherah no less than they did Father Yahweh.

The Deuteronomist authors of Kings, while relating a dire prophecy made by Yahweh to the people of Judah (2 Kings 21:11–15), make no mention of any political

or military catastrophe befalling Manasseh or Judah during his reign. The chroniclers, however, tell us that the Assyrian hosts "took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon. And when he was in affliction, he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers" (2 Chron. 33:11-12).

Why would the authors of Kings have omitted such information? Some scholars think that the Chronicles story was made up to support Isaiah's dire prophecy to Hezekiah that his sons would be eunuchs in the Babylonian king's palace (2 Kings 20:18). The Chronicles story, however, makes no mention of this prophecy, nor does it say that Manasseh was castrated by his captors. Throughout the seventh century B.C.E., Assyria was being weakened by rebellions in every corner of its empire. Many of Assyria's vassal kingdoms rebelled against Assyrian domination, and Judah was one of them.

Sennacherib's son was Esarhaddon of Assyria (Ashur-akhe-iddina, r. 680-669 B.C.E.), whose name means "Ashur has given me a brother." In 671 B.C.E., victorious over the pharaoh Tirhakah (Taharka) of Egypt, Esarhaddon removed the latter from the throne and installed Necho I (Neco or Nechao) in his place as the new Egyptian pharaoh at Sais, in Lower Egypt. Tirhakah still ruled Upper Egypt, next door to his home country of Nubia. Necho flourished in Lower Egypt, but after the Assyrian forces withdrew in 670 B.C.E., the vengeful Tirhakah again invaded Lower Egypt. Esarhaddon died in 669/668 B.C.E. on his way to subdue this revolt. He was succeeded by his son and heir Assurbanipal (Ashur-ban-apal, r. 668-627 B.C.E.), whose mother Naqia-Zakutu had considerable influence over her husband. Assurbanipal was tutored by the Babylonian general Nabu-shar-usur (Nabu preserve the king) and by the Babylonian scholar Nabu-akhe-eriba (Nabu has given us a brother), who taught him history and literature. Assurbanipal's half-brother Shamash-shum-ukin was made crown prince of Babylonia. When Assurbanipal became king of Assyria (668 B.C.E.) he confirmed Shamash-shum-ukin as ruler of Babylonia.

In 667 B.C.E. Assurbanipal expelled Tirhakah to Nubia again. Necho was reinstated as pharaoh of Egypt, but was soon plotting a revolt against Assyria himself. He was seized by the Assyrians and taken to Nineveh in chains, but was pardoned and returned to his throne in Egypt. In 663 B.C.E. Necho was killed fighting Tirhakah's successor, the Nubian king Tanutamon, who briefly succeeded in seizing Egypt. Necho was succeeded by his son Psamtik (in Greek, Psammetikhos; in Latin, Psammetichus), who fled to the court of his Assyrian protector Assurbanipal in Nineveh. The Assyrians marched southward upon the Nubians, capturing and destroying No-Amon.

Psamtik remained in Nineveh from 663 to 661 B.C.E., at which time Assurbanipal reinstated him at Sais as viceroy of Lower Egypt. But the proud and ambitious young prince wanted to be the pharaoh of all Egypt. Soon he was already rebelling against his former benefactor, Assyria. In 660 B.C.E. Psamtik shook off the Assyrian yoke, when Assurbanipal was busy quelling a Babylonian revolt and other revolts. Psamtik founded the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty in Egypt. It is possible that King Manasseh of Judah had become involved in Psamtik's revolt against Assyria.

Until the mid-seventh century B.C.E., Assyria dominated Babylonia. In 652/651 B.C.E., after many years of submission to his younger half-brother, King Shamash-shum-ukin of Babylonia revolted against Assurbanipal of Assyria. Shamash-shum-ukin allied himself with the kings of Phoenicia, Judah, Elam, Egypt, and Lydia and with the neighboring Arab and Chaldean tribes. This revolt ended in the capture of Babylon by Assurbanipal, the slaughter of many of its inhabitants, and the suicide of Shamash-shum-ukin in his burning palace (648 B.C.E.). It is likely that King Manasseh of Judah supported the tragic revolt of Shamash-shum-ukin against Assyria. Manasseh may also have joined some other revolt against the oppressive Assyrian rule. Indeed, Manasseh reinforced the walls of Jerusalem and the other walled cities of Judah in anticipation of Assyrian punishment (2 Chron. 33:14). The Chronicles story has Manasseh repent and follow Yahweh again, in contrast to the Kings version, which has him an evil idolater throughout his life.

King Manasseh was succeeded in 642 B.C.E. by his twenty-two-year-old son Amon (2 Kings 21:18–19; 2 Chron. 33:20–21). The name Amon, Amen, or Amun was that of the chief Egyptian deity (Kramer 1961:45), which reinforces the theory about Manasseh's involvement with Egypt. Since Manasseh was sixty-seven years old at his death, being twelve years old when he became king and reigning for fifty-five years, his son Amon must have been born when Manasseh was forty-five years old.

Amon's elder brothers had not become kings because they were no longer alive. Manasseh had sacrificed them to the fire god Moloch (2 Kings 21:6, 2 Chron. 33:6). Amon himself was assassinated after barely two years on the throne (2 Kings 21:23; 2 Chron. 33:24). A tragic fate, a psychological tragedy, seems to have haunted this royal family, as well as the tiny kingdom of Judah that it ruled. King Amon, who died at the young age of twenty-four, was succeeded by his eight-year-old son Yoshiyahu (Josiah) (2 Kings 21:24–22:1; 2 Chron. 33:25–34:1), which means that Amon had become a father at age sixteen. The name Josiah means "Yahweh shall give" or "Yahweh shall make strong" (Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 3:417).

Josiah reigned for thirty-one years, from 640/639 to 609/608 B.C.E. (Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 3:417; Bright 1981:316). He instituted profound religious reforms in Judah. The biblical chroniclers relate these reforms in detail (2 Kings 22–23; 2 Chron. 34–35) but give us no psychological clue to Josiah's personal motivations. Luckily for Josiah, his father Amon was killed before he could sacrifice Josiah himself to the fire god Moloch. This, however, the tender prince did not know. Losing his father when he was only eight years old must have marked Josiah for life. Was he enraged? Did he feel terrible grief? Was he able to mourn his loss? Did he feel guilty?

The child king Josiah had to ascend the throne of Judah and perform the ceremonies of his great office right away, with no time to mourn his loss properly. He was soon filled with religious zeal. In the eighth year of his reign, at age sixteen, his father's age when Josiah was born, the adolescent king "began to seek after the God of David his father: and in the twelfth year (of his reign, when he was twenty) he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved images, and the molten images" (2 Chron. 34:3).

Bright (1981:317) believed that Josiah's reforms were a matter of political opportunity. They came in 629–628 B.C.E., when King Assurbanipal of Assyria had grown old and his son Sin-shar-ishkun came to the Assyrian throne as coregent. Another son, Ashur-etel-ilani, fought his brother for the throne and Assyrian control had begun to weaken. Bright (1981) thought that Josiah used this opportunity both to launch a sweeping religious reform and to seize large sections of northern Israel from Assyria.

Josiah's religious reforms, however, were not politically significant for Assyria and could not have upset his Assyrian overlords. The young Josiah's quest for Yahweh could well have sprung from his unconscious quest for his lost father, whose death he could not mourn. Josiah's reforms were violent. He had the idols of Asherah, Baal, and the other Canaanite gods destroyed, broken, burnt, cut to pieces, ground up into dust, and strewn upon the graves of their worshippers. The young king, we are told, was filled with murderous righteous rage. Josiah

commanded Hilkiah the High Priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the Temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the grove [Asherah], and for the host of heaven: and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them unto Bethel. And he put down the idolatrous priests . . . them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the host of heaven. And he brought out the grove from the house of the Lord . . . unto the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder . . . and he brake down the houses of the sodomites [kedeshim] . . . and he defiled Topheth . . . that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech . . . and burned the chariots of the sun [Shamash] with fire. . . . And he slew all the priests of the high places. (2 Kings 23:4–20)

The reformer king's fury was not spent until he had “burned the bones of the priests upon their altars, and cleansed Judah and Jerusalem” (2 Chron. 34:5). He waded out into Israel to “cleanse” its cities as well. Josiah's personal rage at being deprived of his father as a child may have been converted into reformist zeal. We have no information on Josiah's relationship with his mother, but the fury he vented on the mother goddess Asherah may be a clue to his feelings, as had been the case with his ancestor Asa.

During the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign, the prophet Jeremiah became active in Jerusalem (Jer. 1:1). In the eighteenth year of his reign the twenty-six-year-old King Josiah dispatched his officials to Hilkiah, the High Priest at the Temple of Yahweh, to coordinate their religious moves. The Kings version of the story dates all of Josiah's reforms to that year (2 Kings 22:3–23:25). The Chronicles version, however, dates Josiah's violent reforms to his earlier youth and his rebuilding of the Temple of Yahweh to the eighteenth year of his reign (2 Chron. 34:3–35:18). This is a more likely story, psychologically: Josiah may have spent his fury in his early reforms, destroying the Canaanite gods, and then became a more reparative leader (Volkan 1980).

12

Psychotic Prophets?

The Egyptian pharaoh Psamtik, who founded the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty with its capital at Sais in the seventh century B.C.E., pushed back the Assyrians from Egypt by exploiting the fratricidal war in Assyria. Assurbanipal, the last king of Assyria, fought his older half-brother Shamash-shum-ukin, the crown prince of Babylonia, who was enraged because he felt deprived of the Assyrian crown. In 648 B.C.E. the furious Assurbanipal seized the rebellious Babylon and slaughtered its people. Psamtik expelled the Assyrian forces from Egypt and made his country "independent." He invited Greek soldiers and traders to settle in Egypt, and they introduced Hellenic civilization into Egypt.

Injury to one's pride is always very painful. The humiliated Babylonian kings remained bitter, plotting revenge on Assyria. Around 630 B.C.E. a Chaldean named Nabu-apal-usur (Nabopolassar, or Nebopalassar, d. 605 B.C.E.), whose name means "Nabu preserve the son," became king of the Chaldeans in southern Babylonia. In 626 B.C.E. there were violent upheavals and savage wars in the Near East. Babylon was taken by Nabu-apal-usur, who made himself king of Babylonia, founding the Chaldean Babylonian dynasty. The Scythians (Sacae), fierce warriors who had migrated from Central Asia to the northern shores of the Caspian Sea and Black Sea, plundered Aramaea and Canaan.

In 625 B.C.E. King Nabu-apal-usur of Babylonia allied himself with the Median King Huyakshtara (in Greek, Cyaxares; in Babylonian, Umakishtar; in Assyrian, Uvakhshatra), whose capital was Ecbatana. Media was an ancient kingdom in what are now northwestern Iran, southern Azerbaijan, and northern Iraq. The Medes were an Indo-Aryan people who spoke a Persian dialect. They may have been Aryanized people from Turan in what is now western Turkistan. The Medes were the first people subject to Assyria to secure their freedom. After invading and annexing Persia they were a natural ally for the Babylonians. Khshathrita or Kashtariti (in Greek, Phraortes) was the first known Median king. The Greek historian Herodotus, living in the fifth century B.C.E., believed that Media had been founded by "Deiokes son of Phraortes" (around 715 B.C.E.).

King Huyakshtara (Cyaxares) of Media, whom Herodotus called the son of "Phraortes" (Khshathrita II, r. 675–653 B.C.E.), son of Deiokes, united many Persian-speaking Median tribes and helped Babylonia fight Assyria. Nabu-apal-usur allied

himself with Huyakshtara, who had just ascended the throne of Media, and with the Scythians, who had invaded upper Mesopotamia and Syria, greatly weakening Assyria. The ensuing war lasted over a decade. In 614 B.C.E. Cyaxares captured Ashur, the ancient royal city of Assyria. In 612 Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, fell to the allied Babylonian, Median-Persian, and Scythian forces. The great Assyrian empire was dissolved. Babylonia, which had been defeated and conquered by Assyria, once again became a great power. Assyria was reduced to a second-rate kingdom fighting for its very survival against superior forces.

The aging King Josiah of Judah had to deal with old and new enemies, the Babylonians and the Egyptians. In 609 B.C.E. Pharaoh Psamtik of Egypt died and his son Necho II became pharaoh. He lost no time in making war on his chief rival, Babylonia. The Babylonian king Nabu-apal-usur and his son Nebuchadnezzar were besieging the Assyrian forces at Harran. We are told by the Deuteronomists that Necho II "went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates: and king Josiah went against him; and he [Necho] slew him [Josiah] at Megiddo" (2 Kings 23:29). This account contradicts historical fact: Necho II was fighting *for* the Assyrians and against the Babylonians (Bright 1981:324). Did our Deuteronomist historians not know the facts? Let us compare their story with that of the writers of Chronicles. The Chronicles version (2 Chron. 35:20–22) says that Pharaoh Necho

came up to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates: and Josiah went out against him. But [Necho] sent ambassadors to [Josiah] saying, What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war: for God [Yahweh] commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not. Nevertheless Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God.

We are told that Josiah was then killed by the Egyptians at Megiddo. But is this what really happened? Why did Josiah attempt to stop Necho II? It was sheer folly on Josiah's part to fight the mighty Egyptians. Moreover, the Egyptian pharaoh Necho II could not have spoken to Josiah in the name of Yahweh (which the Authorized Version renders as "the Lord" or "God"). Necho worshipped other gods entirely, such as Ra, Horus, Osiris, Isis, Amon, and Thoth (Kramer 1961:15–92). Sukenik et al. (1950–82, 3:421) believed that Josiah feared Egyptian domination of his land in case of an Egyptian victory over Babylonia, and was an ally of Babylonia.

To avoid injury to their grandiose self-image, the kings of Babylonia and Egypt fought never-ending wars. In 609 B.C.E. the Battle of Harran was fought between Pharaoh Necho II of Egypt and King Nabu-apal-usur of Babylonia. The biblical chroniclers may have conflated the accounts of two separate Egyptian military campaigns (2 Kings 23:33; 2 Chron. 36:4). Necho killed Josiah of Judah at Megiddo, went on to defeat the Babylonians at Harran, returned to Jerusalem, removed Josiah's son Jehoahaz from the throne, and deported him to Egypt. In 605 B.C.E. Nabu-apal-usur died and was succeeded by his son, Nebuchadnezzar (Nabu-kudurri-usur, or Nebuchadnezzar

II, 630–562 B.C.E.), whose name means “Nabu preserve the firstborn son.” Nebuchadnezzar fought the Battle of Carchemish with Necho of Egypt, defeating Necho at both Carchemish and Hamath, and conquering all of Syria.

Josiah's action against Egypt was clearly suicidal. As we have seen, several explanations are offered for his folly. One is that Josiah feared an Egyptian victory over Babylonia, which would once more place him at the mercy of Egypt and Assyria. Another is that Josiah had a mutual defense treaty with Babylonia. The truly psychological explanation is that Josiah could not abide an Egyptian victory any more than his great-grandfather Hezekiah could abide an Assyrian one. Josiah's narcissism was his own undoing. He was killed, and Crown Prince Jehoahaz was removed from the throne after only three months in office and carried off to Egypt, where he died (2 Kings 23:31–34; 2 Chron. 36:1–4). Necho II of Egypt installed Jehoahaz's twenty-five-year-old brother Eliakim as the new king of Judah.

We are told that Necho II changed Eliakim's name to Jehoiakim (2 Kings 23:34; 2 Chron. 36:4). Why would an Egyptian pharaoh bother to change the first part of a Judaeen king's theophorous name from the Canaanite *El* to the Judaic *Jeho* (Yahweh)? It was customary for kings to change their own names upon their accession to the throne. Biblical scholars think this was an act expressing the new king's vassal status and tutelage to Egypt; the same thing was done to Mattaniah by King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia, who made him king of Judah and changed his name to Zedekiah (2 Kings 24:17; cf. Sukenik et al. 1950–82, 3:527; Bright 1981:327). The Chronicles version, however, says nothing of a name change in this case (2 Chron. 36:10). Moreover, the Kings version identifies Mattaniah as Jehoiakim's brother, whereas the Chronicles version calls him the brother of Jehoiakim's son Jehoiachin (Jechaniah).

Jehoiakim reigned from 609 to 598 B.C.E. During the first five years of his reign the kingdom of Judah was under Egyptian domination (Bright 1981:328). In 605 B.C.E. the young Nebuchadnezzar succeeded his father Nabu-apal-usur (Nabopolassar) as the new king of Babylonia, now the great power of the world. Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Egypt at Carchemish, followed by another crushing blow he dealt the retreating Egyptian forces at Hamath, had made Nebuchadnezzar great and famous even before his father's death. In 603–602 B.C.E. he subjected Judah and made Jehoiakim his vassal. Jehoiakim paid Nebuchadnezzar tribute for three years, but his narcissistic injury got the better of him and he rebelled against his overlord.

The Babylonian monarch raided Judah, as did the armies of Aramaea, Moab, and Ammon (2 Kings 24:1–2). Finally, in 598 B.C.E., the Babylonian forces entered Jerusalem, captured Jehoiakim and carried him to Babylon in chains (2 Chron. 36:6). The Kings version says nothing of this (2 Kings 24:1–8). Jehoiakim may have been assassinated: Jeremiah had prophesied an ignominious death for him (Jer. 22:18, 36:30).

Nebuchadnezzar became king of Babylonia in 605 B.C.E. In the year of his accession to the throne, before the death of his father, the young Nebuchadnezzar defeated the Egyptians at Carchemish (Wiseman 1956). His father died while Nebuchadnezzar was pursuing the retreating Egyptian forces. As mentioned, war may well spring from the inability to mourn and the “paranoid elaboration of mourning” (Fornari 1975:xiv–

xv). The young king's reaction to his father's death was to begin an expansionist campaign bent on making Babylonia the greatest and largest empire of the earth.

In 598 B.C.E. Jehoiakim's son Jehoiachin (Jechaniah) became king of Judah. How old was he then? One version says he was eighteen (2 Kings 24:8), another says he was only eight years old (2 Chron. 36:9). Be that as it may, he only reigned for three months before Nebuchadnezzar seized him too and brought him to Babylon in chains. Jerusalem had fallen. The Babylonian monarch placed the twenty-one-year-old Mattaniah, who was either Jehoiachin's brother or his uncle, on the throne of Judah and changed his name to Zedekiah. The name Mattaniah means "Yahweh's gift," whereas Zedekiah means "Yahweh is my justice." Did the name change signify Zedekiah's tutelage to Babylonia? In addition to removing their king, the Babylonians exiled many of the people of Judah. This was, indeed, justice of sorts.

Zedekiah was the last king of Judah, and a vassal king at that. He reigned from 598 to 587 B.C.E. After about four years of domination by Babylonia, the proud young monarch lost patience with his vassal status. His advisers were able to talk him into rebellion. Agitation against foreign rule by local hotheads was fanatical and unrelenting. Zedekiah's own status as king was shaky. In 595–594 B.C.E. fanatical Jewish elements in Babylon rose up against Nebuchadnezzar, who was able to put down their revolt (Jer. 29). Finally, in 589 B.C.E. Zedekiah himself rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, refusing to pay him tribute (2 Kings 24:20; 2 Chron. 36:13).

As Bright (1981:329) put it, this was the fatal step. The Babylonian army soon arrived, besieged Jerusalem, and called upon the people to surrender. Jeremiah, who had prophesied the dire end of Judah, was thrown in jail by the king (Jer. 32:1–5). The siege lasted two to three years (588 to 586 B.C.E.). Many people in Jerusalem died of starvation. Some ate the flesh of their dead kith and kin. The situation was horrible. The Chaldean Babylonians finally penetrated the city, seized Zedekiah, and brought him before Nebuchadnezzar. The young king's sons were slaughtered before his eyes, after which Zedekiah himself was blinded and brought to Babylon in chains. Jerusalem was destroyed and burned down. The Temple of Yahweh was ransacked. The Babylonians showed no mercy. Their murderous fury was vented on the cities of Judah; the people were exiled (2 Kings 25:1–22; Jer. 39:1–14; 2 Chron. 36:11–21). It was the end of the tragic kingdom of Judah.

THE CRISIS OF FAITH

From 586 B.C.E. Jewish history no longer involves one land. The Jews were now scattered in Egypt, in Babylonia, in Assyria—in fact, all over the Middle East and North Africa. The tragic fate of the Jews, life in exile as a persecuted minority, had begun. The disaster that befell Judah in 586 B.C.E. was a profound threat to the Yahweh religion of the Jews. Their national faith had held Yahweh to be the Man of War, the Lord of Hosts, the invincible god of Israel, the Great Father jealously protecting his temple, his holy city, and his chosen people. How could the great Yahweh let his

people be defeated and exiled, his temple be destroyed, his holy city burnt down? How could the Jews reconcile their beliefs with their reality? The prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel lived at the time of the great Assyrian and Babylonian invasions, witnessing the destruction of Judah. They deeply felt the threat to Yahweh's standing among their people. Bright (1981:332-33) felt that

Judah's national theology . . . was thrown into crisis by the Assyrian invasions . . . Isaiah, by injecting into it a profound moral note and stressing the possibility of divine chastisement inherent in it, had reinterpreted it and enabled it to survive. . . . The disaster of 597 [B.C.E.] revived the problems raised by the Assyrian invasions, but with heightened intensity. Never before had Judah known such humiliation. Yahweh's Temple looted of its treasures, and the legitimate Davidide ignominiously removed from his throne and taken captive to a far land! . . . The events of Judah's last years in fact contradicted the affirmations of the official theology at every step and made it inevitable that Yahweh's ability to control events, and his faithfulness to his promises, should be thrown into question.

The prophet Jeremiah, by railing against the idolatry and other transgressions of his fellow Jews, sought to convince them that their impending calamity was precisely the expression of Yahweh's wrath. Jeremiah had personal reasons for fulminating against evil and injustice. We know little about his early personal life, but his fiery oratory and prophecies of doom bear the mark of personal rage carried over from his infancy and childhood. Jeremiah often wished that he had never been born (Jer. 20:14-18):

Cursed be the day wherein I was born: let not the day wherein my mother bare me be blessed. Cursed be the man who brought tidings to my father, saying, a man child is born unto thee; making him very glad. And let that man be as the cities which the Lord overthrew, and repented not: And let him hear the cry in the morning, and the shouting at noontide; Because he slew me not from the womb; or that my mother might have been my grave, and her womb be always great with me. Wherefore came I forth out of the womb to see labour and sorrow, that my days should be consumed with shame?

Jeremiah refused to marry and have children, another indication of emotional conflicts; but his refusal was rationalized in terms of the public good (Jer. 16:1-4). His deepest personal feelings and conflicts, originally directed at his parents, were displaced onto Yahweh and Judah and Zion, which unconsciously may have stood for his father and mother. The dire conflict that beset him was clear when he yearned to quit his office and his mission (Jer. 9:2, 17:14-18, 20:9), but Yahweh's word "was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay" (Jer. 20:9).

Merkur (1985:35) called Jeremiah a depressive personality with a harsh conscience. Merkur interpreted prophetic initiation in Israel and Judah as an oedipal ritual in which a younger prophet was initiated by an older mentor. He believed that the vision of the divine council that was the hallmark of such initiation was the product of

a hypnotic trance induced by sensory deprivation or hallucinogens. Merkur (1988:39) believed that the act of entering an inner chamber to hide oneself (1 Kings 22:25) was the means by which this vision was attained. The biblical text, however, tells us that this "chamber within a chamber" was also a hiding place against one's enemies (1 Kings 20:30). Merkur traced the archaic maternal and oral roots of prophetic activity. For example, both Jeremiah and Ezekiel had to "eat the Word of Yahweh," which filled them with great joy and tasted like honey (Jer. 1:9, 15:16; Ezek. 3:3). Merkur pointed out that the symbols of the rock, the rod, the edible word of Yahweh, water, and honey are often interwoven in the Old Testament. Honey is an unconscious symbol of the mother's milk. Merkur (1988:43) introduced Asherah, the immensely popular mother goddess of the ancient Canaanites, into his interpretation of prophetic initiation:

I suggest that the esoteric allusions of the [prophetic] symbolism pertained to the religious complex surrounding the goddess Asherah, who is best known as the great mother goddess of Canaanite religion. The consort of the high god El, she was depicted as a nude woman, standing on a lion, holding one or more serpents in her hands. Her epithets included "She who treads on the sea," "the Lady of the Lion," and "the Lady of the Serpent" (Cross 1973). Olyan (1984) established that in non-Deuteronomist circles in the northern kingdom of Israel, Asherah was an integral part of the religion of Yahweh [Olyan 1985, 1988]. In both Israel and Judah, the Canaanite high god El was syncretized with Yahweh, and Asherah was regarded as Yahweh's consort in at least some northern circles. The Deuteronomist reform abolished her cult in the late 7th century [B.C.E.]. With the exception of the sacred trees and poles that were her cult objects (James 1966), biblical references to Asherah were largely suppressed. However, Israelite sculptures depicting mother goddesses (Albright 1957), sometimes in conjunction with serpents (Joines 1968), are common archaeological finds and attest to her popularity.

Ezekiel, who was younger than Jeremiah, was decidedly one of the most eccentric of all the Israelite prophets. Some scholars have considered Ezekiel mad. Bright (1981:336–37) made the following assessment of Ezekiel's bizarre personality:

No stranger figure can be found in all the goodly fellowship of the prophets than Ezekiel. His was a stern personality and not very winsome, in which one senses contradictions. A harsh demeanor concealed passionate and, one suspects, profoundly repressed emotion. . . . Though rigid self-control forbade outbursts such as Jeremiah's, the doom that he felt compelled to announce evoked severe internal tensions and, at times, left him physically incapacitated. . . . In moments of ecstasy . . . he would deliver his message through symbolic acts that must have seemed even to his contemporaries decidedly peculiar. . . . When, shortly before Jerusalem fell, his wife was taken from him, he refrained from any sign of grief, indicating the coming of a disaster too deep for tears. . . . Ezekiel was scarcely what one would call a normal man.

Indeed, Ezekiel had hallucinatory visions (Ezek. 1:1–28, 8:1–10:22). He employed concrete symbolism of the most bizarre, if not psychotic, kind (Ezek. 2:8–5:17). He was so obsessed with sexuality that he used very powerful and provocative

sexual imagery to describe Judah's "sexual" deviations and unfaithfulness to Yahweh. His sexual imagery was displaced from profound personal concerns. His thoughts were so bizarre they might be labeled delusions.

Was Ezekiel psychotic? Buittenwieser (1930) believed that Ezekiel never prophesied before 586 B.C.E., so that all his "prophecies" came after the fact. Accepting this theory, Broome (1946) thought that Ezekiel suffered from psychotic illness, i.e., paranoid or catatonic schizophrenia. Broome assumed that the thirtieth year of Ezek. 1:1 was the prophet's age at the time of the outbreak of his psychosis, and that Ezek. 1:3 should be read in a way that proves Ezekiel's delusions of grandeur (megalomania). Broome thought that Ezekiel's bizarre experience of eating Yahweh's scroll and of being carried by the spirit or wind amid voices and noises (Ezek. 3:1-14) was a full-fledged psychotic hallucination. Ezekiel's dwelling "astonished" or "overwhelmed" among the Babylonian exiles for seven days was interpreted by Broome as a catatonic stupor. Broome rearranged selected verses of the Book of Ezekiel to read as follows:

Then I came upon them to the captivity of Tel-abib [Tel Aviv] that dwelt by the river of Chebar, and I sat where they sat, and remained there astonished among them seven days (Ezek. 3:15). Then the spirit entered into me, and set me upon my feet, and spake with me, and said unto me, Go, shut thyself within thine house. But thou, O son of man, behold, they shall put bands upon thee, and shall bind thee with them, and thou shalt not go out among them (3:24-25). Lie thou also on thy left side, and lay the iniquity of the house of Israel upon it: according to the number of days that thou shalt lie upon it thou shalt bear their iniquity. For I have laid upon thee the years of their iniquity, according to the number of the days, three hundred and ninety days: so shalt thou bear the iniquity of the house of Israel (4:4-5). And behold, I will lay bands upon thee, and thou shalt not turn thee from one side to another, till thou hast ended the days of thy siege (4:8). And I will make thy tongue cleave to the roof of thy mouth, and thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be to them a reprover: for they are a rebellious house. (3:26)

From this arbitrary sequence of verses Broome (1946:279-81) concluded that either Ezekiel had become so violent and dangerous as to necessitate forced binding or that he believed himself in bands, so that in either case he was psychotic. Broome believed that the acts and visions in Ezek. 4-5 occurred when the prophet was in a catatonic stupor. Broome also stressed the regressive nature of Ezekiel's preoccupation with human and animal excrement (Ezek. 4:12-15). Broome believed that Ezekiel had paranoid delusions of grandeur: he thought that Yahweh spoke to him alone. Broome interpreted the hallucinatory visions of monstrous animals, faces, and fire in Ezek. 1 as symbols of unbearable anxiety. He believed that Ezekiel's psychosis was a reaction to his unbearable inner conflict between his narcissistic delusions of grandeur and his masochistic delusions of persecution. Both kinds of delusions are defenses against inner conflict rather than part of the conflict itself. Broome thought that Ezekiel felt haunted by many pursuing and accusing eyes because he felt guilty. The sound of "great rushing" in Ezek. 3:14 was that of rushing water and symbolized

Ezekiel's infantile wish to regress to the womb. The *merkabah* (chariot) of Ezek. 1 was equated by Broome with the paranoid schizophrenic's "influencing machine." Broome went so far as to argue that Ezekiel had tactile hallucinations and that the sharp sword in Ezek. 5 symbolized the prophet's wish to castrate himself.

Broome's interpretation of Ezekiel as a full-fledged psychotic came under savage attack from Howie (1950): "It is most remarkable," he wrote, "that a non-professional student of psychiatry and psychology should claim success in psychoanalyzing an individual who has been dead for 2,500 years" (Howie 1950:74). Howie voiced the familiar arguments of psychobiography's opponents: the absence of personal and family records, Ezekiel's unavailability for interviewing, and the normalcy of Ezekiel's behavior within his social context (cf. Falk 1985b). He went on to argue that Broome's rearrangement of the biblical text was "without any real objective basis" and that Ezekiel may have so angered his fellow exiles that they may well have shackled him or put him in bands. "As for the bands that Yahweh put on the prophet," wrote Howie, "there is nothing so psychopathic about this concept when it is interpreted in the particular religious and social milieu of which Ezekiel was a part."

Howie sought to demolish Broome's interpretations one by one. He believed that Ezekiel's being "overwhelmed" or "astonished" for seven days would be a normal reaction to the destruction of his country, the exiling of his people, and his own captivity. "Small wonder that a sensitive soul should feel desolate amid such terrible conditions," wrote Howie (1950:75). Howie agreed with Broome that chapters 4 and 5 of Ezekiel were visionary, "but whether the prophet carried out any or all the divine visionary directives is not known." Howie's most devastating attack on Broome was that Broome's critical technique was a circular argument (Howie 1950:75):

Beginning with the assumption that the prophet did have delusions of grandeur, Broome forces "the thirtieth year" to fit the pattern, testimony to the contrary notwithstanding. Then without textual evidence he alters it in order to further his hypothesis. But to our utter amazement, when the text calls for a change in reading, he rejects the evidence in order not to damage his case. Having tailored the text to fit his theory, the emended reading is then used to prove the original assumption which led to emendation in the first place.

Some scholars have split psychiatric hairs with Broome. Arlow (1951), using heavy psychoanalytic lingo, diagnosed Ezekiel's visions as "a temporary schizophrenoid abandonment of reality and withdrawal of object libido . . . fusion of ego and superego cathexes . . . the hypomanic state." Van Nuys (1953) called Ezekiel a "catatonic schizophrenic" who recovered sufficiently to put his psychotic ideas to creative, theological use. Merkur (1988:51) thought that such interpretations created a new psychiatric diagnostic category—"socially functional psychosis"—whose existence was otherwise undemonstrated. Merkur believed that his concept of a religious use of the hypnotic trance better explained Ezekiel's visions. As for Ezekiel's visions of eyes in the wheels of the *merkabah*, Merkur thought they were nothing but the ancient conceptions of celestial bodies.

Merkur further interpreted Ezekiel's feminine symbolism as alluding to the mother goddess Asherah (Merkur 1988:55) and his vision of Yahweh's loins amid fire as the child's awe in beholding his father's penis, an interpretation already made by Arlow (1951). Ezekiel's vision of the enclosure or house in which the Man dwelt (Ezek. 1:26-28) was interpreted by Merkur as the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem "conceived as [a] female in coitus with the indwelling Glory" (Merkur 1988:58). This interpretation echoes my studies of the symbolism of the Temple (Falk 1974, 1983, 1987). Broome (1946) and Arlow (1951) interpreted Ezekiel's eating of the scroll (Ezek. 2:8-3:3) as "an oral incorporation of the father's phallus." Merkur (1988:60-61) thought it had to do with more archaic longings for the mother's breast.

Bright (1981:337 n. 70) felt that "attempts to psychoanalyze Ezekiel at this great distance are futile." Are they? Broome's effort may have been worthwhile, for all his errors. It may well be that Ezekiel was not psychotic, yet his emotional pathology, which I shall attempt to define, may well have been displaced to the public realm, becoming a vehicle for the expression of religious and political exhortations. Ezekiel's personal tragedy found its expression through the catastrophe of the people of Judah without the prophet being aware of this displacement.

This emotional displacement is a basic process in political and religious life. Lasswell (1930:75) thought that personal conflicts were displaced to the public realm and then rationalized in terms of the public good. As for the clinical diagnosis, Ezekiel may have suffered from what we now call a borderline personality disorder. This disorder is characterized by the instability of behavior, a pattern of intense but unstable personal relationships, inappropriate intense anger, rage, or lack of its control, disturbances of the sense of identity or self, affective instability, intolerance of being alone, and physically self-damaging acts (Spitzer 1980:182-83). One need only read the first few chapters of the Book of Ezekiel to see that all of these applied to our prophet.

The borderline patient may be quite intelligent, eloquent, and even creative, yet he suffers from a severe emotional disorder, arising from pathological early mother-infant relations (Kernberg 1975; Masterson 1981). His diffuse identity and sense of self may give way to psychotic delusions and even hallucinations under stress. The destruction of Judah and the exile of its people was a great trauma even for normal, healthy Jews. Ezekiel's psychotic-like imagery becomes intelligible in the context of his borderline personality disorder as well as the profound shocks suffered by his people and by himself "in the thirtieth year."

The Hebrew prophets at the end of the First Temple period were probably not psychotic, but their severe personal emotional conflicts found their expression via displacement through the medium of religious and political "jeremiads." The catastrophe that befell their people required a new interpretation of their religion, which they offered their people with righteous rage. This new interpretation stated that the destruction of Judah and the exile of its people were Yahweh's punishment of the Jews for their transgressions, for their "whoring" after the Canaanite gods and goddesses. Judah became a fallen woman, and the "foreign" gods were her lovers. The sexual metaphors in the prophets' language are very explicit. Obviously, such an

interpretation of the Yahweh religion required the denigration of the Canaanite cults. Whether it comforted the exiled Jews, saved their religion, or kept alive their sense of nationhood in exile is another question.

MESSIANISM AND REBIRTH FANTASIES

The expulsion of the Jews from Judah in 586 B.C.E. marked the irreparable and irreversible loss of their political and cultural independence. Henceforth, even when born in other lands, speaking other languages, and constituting part of the culture of those lands, the Jews thought of themselves as a people exiled and dispersed. Bright (1981: 347) felt that

a trend had begun which would never permanently be reversed. Israel had begun to be scattered among the nations. . . . Never again would she be coterminous with any political entity or geographical area. Whatever the future might hold for her, there could be no full return to the pattern of the past.

Bright's imagery of Israel as a woman, and of the restoration of that Magna Mater to her past greatness, which I alluded to in the preface to this book, is striking. The nation (and motherland) has the same psychological function for the individual as the early mother for the infant (Stein and Niederland 1989).

One may wish to take issue with Bright's statement. Does not the modern state of Israel, after all, prove him wrong? Have not the Jews finally "returned" to full political independence in their ancestral land? The answer, I fear, is far from clear. Of the fourteen million Jews in our present-day world, less than four million live in Israel. The rest are still scattered among the nations. The Jews of Israel, though a majority in their own land, must share it with a sizable minority of Israeli Arabs, as well as with a much larger group of Palestinian Arabs in their occupied territories, most of whom are hostile to their Israeli Jewish occupiers. Most of the Arab countries surrounding Israel, especially Syria, ardently desire Israel's destruction. Moreover, the Jews of Western Europe, North America, South Africa, Latin America, and Australia are highly assimilated into their respective cultures. A restoration of the ancient kingdom of Judah is impossible, and the Jews are destined to remain a minority ethnic group wherever they live.

Yet it is precisely such a restoration that has preoccupied the Jews over the past twenty-five centuries. Mourning the terrible losses of their kingdom, their independence and their motherland was too painful for the Jews. They were unable to mourn their losses. Fantasies of restoration and rebirth in their ancient homeland became powerful. The Jews wished to repair their damaged mother, the land of Judah. "That hope never died," as Bright (1981:350) put it. He went on to say that

the hard core of the exile community refused to accept the situation as final . . . their prophets, for all their dooming of the nation, had nevertheless continued to assure

them that Yahweh's purpose was the ultimate restoration of his people—and that precisely in the Promised Land . . . most desired no more than the re-establishment of the nation on the old pattern. . . . Others, meanwhile . . . were drawing grandiose plans for the reconstitution of the nation . . . following an idealized adaptation of the older pattern of the tribal league. . . . It was a utopian program . . . and one that little corresponded to reality. (Bright 1981:350–51)

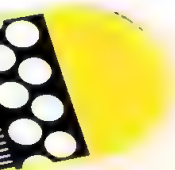
Why did this “hard core” of exiles persist in their unrealistic fantasies? Why was their nation such an important emotional object to them? What were the emotional forces that fueled such unrelenting wishes and fantasies in the face of all reality? Why did they crave restoration so?

A person who has lost a precious emotional object, animate or inanimate, must go through a very painful process of mourning, which involves grief, sadness, weeping, and an inner acceptance of the irreversibility of the loss (Volkan 1981; Pollock 1989). The same is true of a group of people, whether a family, tribe, nation, military unit, or religious group, which must collectively mourn its losses (Mitscherlich 1975). The difference is that group mourning is more complicated and difficult, because the group needs to hang on to its myths of past glory. This psychological process of mourning is essential in order to go on with the business of living, yet it can be very painful. Some people never fully mourn and accept their losses. Here are the famous verses describing the mourning of the Jewish exiles (Ps. 137:1–6):

By the rivers of Babylon,
There we sat down, yea, we wept,
When we remembered Zion.
We hanged our harps
Upon the willows in the midst thereof.
For there they that carried us captive required of us a song;
And they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying
Sing us one of the songs of Zion.
How shall we sing the Lord's song
In a strange land?
If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand forget her cunning.
If I do not remember thee,
Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.

This was not mourning one's losses but a longing to recover those losses, a refusal to mourn, a denial of the finality of the loss. Mourning was so painful that many Jews avoided it by denying the reality of their losses. They wished to restore the glories of their mother nation. One's nation is an emotional object of powerful unconscious maternal connotations. The Latin word *natio* means “birth.” The Hebrew-Arabic *ummah* (nation) derives from *em*, *um*, or *umm* (mother). Our nation may well represent an idealized Great Mother in our unconscious mind. The more “stuck” we are in our early symbiotic and idealized ties to our own mothers, the more we are likely to displace or transfer such feelings to our nation (Group for the Advancement

of Psychiatry 1987). The inability to mourn, to give up, to resign ourselves to our losses, comes from an earlier inability to give up our fusion with our mother, to separate and to individuate from her (Mahler et al. 1975). The "hard core" of exiles who persisted in their fantasies of restoration were displaying a craving for rebirth, as well as for a return to their early Great Mother, symbolized by the Jewish nation and by the land of Judah. Their fantasies of restoration and reparation sprang from their inability to mourn. Many of the exiles did mourn their loss of their motherland and went on to build a new life for themselves in the lands of their exile.



13

Family versus Nation

FROM BABYLONIA TO PERSIA

The rebirth fantasies of the Babylonian Jewish exiles who could not mourn their losses were fueled by the momentous political events of the sixth century B.C.E. The Median, Persian, Babylonian, and Assyrian empires were undergoing sea changes. In 585–584 B.C.E. the Median king Cyaxares (Huyakshtara) was succeeded by his son Astyages (in Akkadian, Ishtumegu; his original Median or Persian name is not known). Around 562 B.C.E. the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (Nabu-kudurri-usur) was succeeded by his son Evilmerodach (Amel-Marduk), who reigned for only two years (562–560 B.C.E.), being assassinated by his brother-in-law Nergal-shar-usur (“Nergal preserve the king”), also known as Nergalsharezer or Neriglissar. The regicide’s name became him: Nergal was the Akkadian god of the midsummer sun, war, hunting, and the underworld, an evil god who brought the plague, pestilence, and death.

Nebuchadnezzar’s successors gradually lost their vast empire to various enemies and invaders. Nergal-shar-usur himself reigned only four years (560–556 B.C.E.), pushing back revolts and attacks on his kingdom from various quarters before he was killed or died. He was succeeded by his son Labashi-Marduk, who was soon removed by Nabonidus (Nabu-naid, r. 556/555 to 539 B.C.E.), the last king of the Chaldean dynasty of Babylonia. Nabonidus’s name, like Nebuchadnezzar’s, derived from that of the Akkadian wisdom god Nabu, yet he was not wise when it came to ruling his people.

Nabonidus was a devotee of the Akkadian moon god Sin, his mother’s favorite idol. Nabonidus’s attachment to his mother and to her god cost him his kingdom and his life. Nabonidus was given to historical, religious, and mystical speculation. He rebuilt Sin’s temple in Harran and made Sin the chief god in the Babylonian pantheon, displacing Belu Marduk, the traditional chief god. This naturally earned him the enmity of the priests of Marduk. King Nabonidus put down revolts in Cilicia and in Syria, but his own people in Babylon and in several other cities rose up in arms against him. Nabonidus moved to Teima in the Arabian desert to meditate, leaving his son and heir Belshazzar (Belu-shar-usur, “Belu [Marduk] preserve the king”) to rule Babylon. With Nabonidus away from Babylon, the great New Year festival celebrating the death and resurrection of the god Tammuz was suppressed. This was a sacrilege

that only further incensed the Babylonians. Nabonidus returned from Teima to Babylon in 543 B.C.E. and vigorously pursued his religious reforms. He was able to quell the revolts of various subject peoples and extend Babylonian control to the Arabian desert.

Media was an ancient kingdom in northwestern Iran. Like the names of the Persian kings, those of the Median kings were reported by Greek historians, who corrupted them. The first king of Media was Phraortes (Khshathrita Shah, the Assyrian Kashtariti) in the mid-eighth century B.C.E. In the fifth century B.C.E. Herodotus, the Greek historian, reported that the Median kingdom and its capital of Ecbatana (now Hamadan, Iran) were founded by Deiokes (Deioces, r. 728–675 B.C.E.), son of Phraortes. Deiokes was succeeded by his son Phraortes (Khshathrita Shah or Phraortes II, r. 675–653 B.C.E.), who defeated and subjugated the Persians and fought Assyria. Herodotus reported that Phraortes was slain in battle with the Assyrians. Herodotus also reported that, while Phraortes was besieging the Assyrian capital of Nineveh, his successor Cyaxares (Huyakshtara Shah, d. 585 B.C.E.) was attacked and defeated by a great Scythian army, and that there followed thirty-two years of Scythian rule in Media (653–625 B.C.E.). Herodotus called Cyaxares the son of Phraortes. This would have made Cyaxares very, very old.

In 625 B.C.E. Cyaxares defeated and deposed the Scythians. Herodotus wrote that Cyaxares took his revenge on the Scythians by having their chieftains drink themselves into a stupor at a banquet and then slaying them. Cyaxares fought both the Assyrians and the Scythians. Herodotus believed that Phraortes united the Iranian tribes, but scholars think it was Cyaxares who reorganized the Median army into spearmen, bowmen, and cavalry. Cyaxares again renewed his war with Assyria, sacking Ashur (614 B.C.E.) and Nineveh (612 B.C.E.). He conquered Mannai in what is now Azerbaijan and Urartu (Ararat) in what is now Turkey (609 B.C.E.). The empire of Assyria was divided between Media and Babylonia. Media took Assyria and Haran, and Babylonia took the rest of the Assyrian empire. Cyaxares also fought Lydia from 590 to 585 B.C.E., when the Halys River (now the Kizil River in Turkey) became the border between Media and Lydia.

In 585/584 B.C.E. Cyaxares was succeeded by his son Astyages (in Akkadian, Ishtumegu), the last Median king. Astyages was deposed by Cyrus the Great (Kurash Shah, or Cyrus II, 590/580–529 B.C.E.), a chieftain from Anshan (Anzan) province in southwest Persia. The province of Anshan, northeast of Susa, in southwestern Iran, had paid tribute to Media. In 559–553 B.C.E. Cyrus rebelled against Astyages of Media. A cuneiform Babylonian inscription says that Cyrus the Great was the son of Cambyses (Kambujia) I, king of Anshan, son of Cyrus I, son of Teispes. Cambyses had been a vassal of Astyages. Cyrus himself was a vassal of Astyages, whose rule was harsh and unpopular. In 550 B.C.E., encouraged by Cyrus's revolt, the Median troops themselves rebelled against Astyages, who was taken prisoner.

Herodotus said that Cambyses married the daughter of Astyages, which made Cyrus the Great a grandson of Astyages. The Greek-Persian physician-historian Ctesias (born 416 B.C.E.), disputed this tale. Cyrus the Great came from a long line of Anshan chiefs. He claimed descent from Achaemenes (Hakhamanesh), founder of the Persian

Achaemenid dynasty. By 549 B.C.E. Astyages had been deposed and Cyrus had seized the Median capital of Ecbatana, ending the Median kingdom, which was absorbed into Persia. Cyrus began to expand his kingdom westward and to build a Persian empire modeled on Assyria.

Cyrus rapidly extended his power over Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor. Lydia, which had fought Media, was a prosperous kingdom in northwest Asia Minor. Its last king, Croesus (Kroisos, r. 560–546 B.C.E.), was of legendary wealth. In 546 B.C.E. Cyrus the Great captured the Lydian capital of Sardis. The enemies of King Nabonidus of Babylonia, especially the priests of Belu Marduk, had invited Cyrus to take over Babylon. Nabonidus and his son Belshazzar, fearing Cyrus, joined with Ahmose (Amasis, Amosis) II of Egypt and with Croesus of Lydia against Cyrus.

In 546 B.C.E. Cyrus the Great captured Asia Minor, defeating and conquering Lydia, which was absorbed into the Persian empire. Herodotus reported that King Croesus of Lydia was condemned by Cyrus to be burned alive but was saved by the god Apollo. The more reliable Ctesias wrote that Croesus remained in the court of Cyrus and was made governor of Barene province in Media. Nabonidus and Belshazzar fought on. In 539/538 B.C.E. Cyrus the Great defeated the unpopular Babylonian rulers, capturing northern Mesopotamia and Syria from Babylonia. Nabonidus and Belshazzar were reduced to ruling a truncated Babylonian kingdom in southern Mesopotamia, whose end was near.

By 538 B.C.E. Cyrus the Great had conquered Babylonia as well, seizing its capital of Babylon and annexing Babylonia to Persia. Although its language and religion persisted for a while, deeply affecting the Jews, Babylonia ceased to exist as a geopolitical entity. During the next twenty-five hundred years it became successively Persian, Macedonian Greek, Seleucid Greek, Parthian, Neo-Persian, Muslim Arab, Ottoman Turkish and finally Iraqi Arab. Yet for the next twenty-five hundred years its Jews, who spoke Aramaic, Persian, or Arabic, kept calling it Babylonia, and themselves the "Babylonian" Jews. To this day the Iraqi Jewish community of Israel calls itself "the Babylonian Jewish community." This is an obvious denial of reality, a psychohistorical fantasy whose function is to avoid the pain of mourning and to live in a blissful, glorified past.

A BABYLONIAN JEWISH PROPHET

Around the time of the Persian conquest of Babylonia, a new Jewish prophet began to deliver sermons and exhortations to the Israelite exiles in Babylonia. His words, so familiar to the Christian world from Handel's oratorio *Messiah*, rang in their ears, fueling their rebirth fantasies (Isa. 40:1–5):

Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins. The voice of him that

crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain: and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

The chronology, language, content, and other aspects of Isa. 40–66 make it plain that these were not words of the prophet Isaiah who lived in the late eighth and early seventh century B.C.E., but of one who lived in the sixth century B.C.E. Hence the name Deutero-Isaiah or Isaiah II for this other prophet. The text of this new prophet called Cyrus of Persia the Messiah of the Jews, Yahweh's Messiah or the Lord's Anointed (Isa. 45:1). This was sheer fantasy. Cyrus the Great did not even know Yahweh, let alone believe in him.

By now two generations of Jews had been born in Babylonia. They were Babylonian Jews, not Judaeans. They spoke Babylonian and Aramaic rather than the Hebrew language of their grandfathers. Aramaic gradually became the lingua franca of the Jewish world. The Jews outside Judah could no longer speak Hebrew. While their Yahweh religion set them apart from their neighbors, many Jews had no trouble worshipping Belu Marduk, Ishtar, and Tammuz at the same time. Most of the young Babylonian-born Jews had no great desire to leave their great empire and "return" to tiny, desolate Judah. Only the "hard core" of the Jews, as Bright called them, unable to mourn their losses, still yearned for restoration and rebirth in their ancestral motherland.

Cyrus the Great was an enlightened ruler who preferred to let every people in his realm worship their own gods and do things their own way. He installed his son Cambyses (Kambujia) II, whom he named after his father, on the throne of Babylon and proclaimed the freedom of worship throughout his realm. Cyrus had an inner need to restore the past and to repair the damage wrought by his predecessors. The following year, in 538 B.C.E., Cyrus the Great issued a proclamation to the Jews of his empire. The Hebrew version of this so-called Edict of Restoration was translated in the King James Version as follows:

Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The Lord [Yahweh] God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel, he is the God, which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the freewill offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem. (Ezra 1:2–4; cf. 2 Chron. 36:23)

The language of this decree, far from calling upon all Jews to "return" to Judah, asks them whether there might be any among them willing to leave everything behind and go up to Jerusalem. Cyrus's offer must not have had many takers.

The authenticity of the above version of Cyrus's proclamation has been questioned by many scholars. Bright (1981:361) thought that "it contains no intrinsic im-

probability that might cast doubt upon its essential historicity." The Aramaic version of the proclamation (Ezra 6:3-5) speaks only of the restoration of the house of Yahweh in Jerusalem but not of any mass "return" of Jews there. Yet the Jews mythologized Cyrus as their Messiah and savior, Yahweh's anointed king (Isa. 45:1). Did Cyrus actually call upon the Jews of his empire to "return" to Judah or did he just promise them the restoration of their temple in Jerusalem? If the latter is true, then the grand proclamation of Cyrus to the Jews as we have it in the biblical text was more in line with the wishful thinking of that "hard core" of Jews than with Cyrus the Great's own policies. To Cyrus, the Jews were just another small ethnic group of his realm (cf. Bright 1981:362). Potok (1978:150) romanticized the Babylonian Jews who "returned" to Judah:

They selected elements from the periphery and core of Babylonian culture that would ease and enhance their lives; but nothing pagan from the world of Babylonia touched them. This small group from Judah reached sufficient critical mass to begin a process of transformation from which a new civilization would one day emerge. There, in Babylon, in the midst of a thousand pagan temples and the power of Marduk, in the world that was the birthplace of civilization for our species, paganism died for the people of YHWH.

Did it? We can get some idea of the Babylonization of the Jewish exiles from the fact that Sheshbazzar, the "Prince of Judah" who led the "return" of the Jews to Jerusalem (Ezra 1:7), is identified by most scholars with Shenazar, the fourth son of King Jeconiah (Jehoiachin), the last king of Judah, who was exiled to Babylon (1 Chron. 3:18). Since Sin was the Akkadian moon god, Shenazar may be the truncated form of Shenabbazar, the Hebrew rendering of the Babylonian name Sin-abba-usur (Sin preserve the father) (cf. Bright 1981:362).

Other signs of the thorough Babylonization of the Jews were the new Hebrew script and the new names of the Hebrew months, which the "returning" Babylonian-born "exiles" imported to Judah. The old Hebrew script had been the cursive Canaanite alphabet. The returnees imported the square Aramaic script that, centuries later, during talmudic times, became known among the Jews as the "Assyrian" script. This new alphabet had nothing to do with the cuneiform Assyrian script. The term "Assyrian script" derived from the "Assyrian text" of the Torah that Ezra the Scribe brought with him from Babylonia to Judah in the fifth century B.C.E. The traditional date for Ezra's "return" from Babylon to Jerusalem is 458 B.C.E., but it may have been as late as 398 B.C.E. The text of Ezra was no more "Assyrian" than its Aramaic script.

The new names of the Hebrew months were Babylonian: Nissan, Iyar, Sivan, Tammuz, Ab, Elul, Tishri, Marheshvan, Kislev, Teveth, Shebat, and Adar. They had previously been known as the First Month, the Second Month, and so on, as well as by names of seasons or natural events occurring in them. The first month of the lunar Hebrew year eventually became Tishri. The new names, which appear in the later Old Testament books of Zechariah, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, were Hebrew versions of Babylonian names, some of which were names of Babylonian gods. They replaced

the old Hebrew names. To this day, the square "Assyrian" Hebrew script and the Babylonian names of the Hebrew months are used in Israel.

Cyrus the Great wisely appointed the Babylonian Jewish prince Sheshbazzar to head his magnanimous temple restoration project in Jerusalem. The prince of Judah was accompanied by some noblemen of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, by priests, and by Levites (Ezra 1:5). The biblical account puts the number of Jews who left Babylonia to "return" to Judah at 42,360 (Ezra 2:64). Bright (1981:362–63) thought that the number was much smaller—that Ezra's list belongs to a later wave of migration under Zerubbabel, Sheshbazzar's nephew and successor, and that the chronicler had "telescoped" the two migrations.

As Bright put it, "[M]any Jews were by this time well established in Babylon. . . . Many such Jews, having become well-to-do, were willing to assist the venture financially . . . but not to participate personally" (Bright 1981:362–63). This is similar to the modern American Jew's attitude to Israel and to Zionism. The fact that the chronicler in the book of Ezra fused the stories of the two migrations or "returns" to Zion is fascinating. Was he trying to conceal the insignificant number of Jews who followed Sheshbazzar to Jerusalem? There are inconsistencies in the text of Ezra. The Hebrew text credits Zerubbabel with rebuilding the altar and with laying the foundations for the new Temple of Yahweh (Ezra 3) but the Aramaic text assigns this work to Sheshbazzar (5:14–17). These inconsistencies derive from an effort to conceal unpleasant facts. Only a small minority of Babylonian Jews followed Prince Sheshbazzar from Babylonia to Jerusalem in 538 B.C.E. The prince himself, a son of King Jehoiachin of Judah, who had been exiled fifty years earlier, was quite old. He died a few years later and was succeeded by his son (or nephew) Zerubbabel. The name Zerubbabel may be the Hebrew rendering of the Akkadian Zerbabili, meaning "the seed of Babel."

FROM CYRUS TO DARIUS

The Persian title of Shah (king) came from the Old Persian title of "Khshayathiya." Cyrus the Great called himself "Shahanshah" (King of Kings). In 529 B.C.E. Cyrus the Great died and was succeeded by his son Cambyses II, the founder of the Achaemenid Persian dynasty. Cambyses II was a destroyer. Within a year of his accession he had his brother Bardiya (Smerdis) murdered, keeping the assassination secret. Did Cambyses feel guilty for his fratricide? If war is the paranoid elaboration of mourning, Cambyses II would be a case in point. He was soon invading and plundering Egypt. Herodotus thought that Cambyses was insane. When Cambyses was in Egypt, the custodian of his palace, the Zoroastrian magus Pathizithes, seized the opportunity, deposed Cambyses, and enthroned in the Persian capital of Susa his own brother Guamata, an impostor who claimed to be Bardiya. The Egyptian pharaoh Ahmose II died just as Cambyses II was invading Egypt. He was succeeded by his son Psamtik (Psammethicus) III. In 525 Cambyses II of Persia defeated Psamtik at Pelusium, leveling Memphis, the capital of the old Egyptian kingdom. Cambyses II returned to

Persia to regain his throne, putting down the revolt against him. In 522/521 B.C.E. the impostor Guamata was killed, yet Cambyses reportedly killed himself. Did he go mad as Herodotus believed? Did he feel guilty for the killing of his second "brother"?

In 521 B.C.E. Darius the Great (Daryavaush Shah, or Darius I, 550–486 B.C.E.) succeeded to the throne of Susa. By the second year of Darius's reign, 520 B.C.E., Zerubbabel was already the governor of Judah (Haggai 1:1). Some of the Jews who "returned" with Zerubbabel had "Hebrew" names clearly deriving from those of Babylonian gods, such as Mordecai (Ezra 2:2), which derived from Marduk, the chief god of Babylon. This name was to play a key role in the book of Esther, whose name derived from that of Ishtar, the Babylonian mother goddess. The victory of Mordecai and Esther over Haman and Zeresh in Esther may have been a Hebrew elaboration of a Babylonian myth about the victory of the Babylonian gods Marduk and Ishtar over the Elamite-Persian gods Hoyman (Humbna or Homayun) and Ziris (Kiririsha).

Most of the Jews who "returned" to Judah in the late sixth century B.C.E. had been born in Babylonia and bore Babylonian names, many deriving from Akkadian gods' names. They spoke Babylonian and Aramaic rather than Hebrew. They wished to restore the temple of their god Yahweh. Restoring the political independence of Judah was out of the question. It was a minor district in the Persian satrapy known in Aramaic as Abar-nahara (Trans-River), west of the Euphrates. The life of the "returning" Babylonian Jews in Judah was harsh: "[T]he early years of the restoration venture proved bitterly disappointing, bringing little but frustration and discouragement" (Bright 1981:364). Why did the Babylonian Jewish migrants stay in Judah? Did some of them "return" again to Babylonia? What sort of people were they? Can they be compared to present-day Israelis? I shall attempt to answer these questions both historically and psychologically.

Sheshbazzar's rule in Judah did not last very long, and his realm was tiny both in area and population. The prince of Judah was an old man by 538 B.C.E. and died a few years after arriving in Judah. His successor, Zerubbabel, who was either his nephew or his son, had already been in power for some time by 520 B.C.E. Zerubbabel, whose Babylonian name meant "seed of Babel," had to contend with both Jeshua, the High Priest-designate, and the neighboring peoples who feared the reestablishment of the kingdom of Judah. The prophets Haggai and Zechariah wanted Zerubbabel to be the new king of Judah. Zerubbabel's full-scale rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem made enemies of Jeshua, who wanted the Temple of Yahweh built first, and of the Samaritan nobles of Shomron, whom Zerubbabel rudely rebuffed when they offered to join in the rebuilding of the Temple (Ezra 4:1–5; Bright 1981:371). Zerubbabel's enemies spread rumors and wrote letters to the Persian authorities denouncing him as a potential rebel against the Shah of Iran.

The Sanskrit word *arya* means "noble." The Aryans were a group of nomadic tribes who during the second millennium B.C.E. spread in successive waves from southern Russia and Turkestan into Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Persia, and India. The Persians like to think of themselves as Aryans. Iran means "land of the noble." The Persian empire was ruled by the Shah, known grandiosely as "Shahenshah" and

"Aryamehr" (Protector of the Aryans). His empire was divided into several satrapies, each comprising several provinces. The word "satrap" comes from the Greek *satrapes*, which derives from the Persian *khshadrapan*, which appears in the Hebrew-Aramaic Bible as *akhashdarpan* and was rendered in English as "the king's lieutenant" (Esther 3:12).

The tiny province of Judah, as mentioned, was part of the Persian satrapy west of the Euphrates known in Aramaic as Abar-nahara (Trans-River). Tattenai, the satrap of Abar-nahara, investigated the matter of Zerubbabel and reported to the Shah (Ezra 5:1–6:12). Finally, sometime between 520 and 515 B.C.E., Zerubbabel disappeared from the political scene in Judah. We do not know what happened to him. Grayzel (1969:23–24) thought that Zerubbabel had been removed by the Persians. Ben-Sasson (1976:172) assumed that "he was summoned back to Persia, since one of his descendants returned with Ezra." Bright (1981:372) believed that "it is likely that the Persians did strip the Davidic house of its political prerogatives." Some of these may have been transferred to the High Priest Jeshua (Joshua), who proceeded to rebuild the Temple of Yahweh as well as to consolidate the authority of the priests in Judah.

By 515 B.C.E. the Second Temple was completed and dedicated amid great rejoicing. It was a tiny, modest, almost insignificant temple compared with its glorious predecessor, Solomon's Temple. The Babylonian Jewish migrants idealized it greatly. Moreover, sacrifices and prayers to the Shah of Persia were now part of the ritual in the Temple. A High Priest of Yahweh was much less of a political threat to the Persian crown than was a prince of Judah. From now on High Priests rather than kings ruled the people of Judah.

In 522/521 B.C.E. Darius the Great, whose wife was Atossa, daughter of Cyrus the Great, became Shah of Persia. Darius consolidated the Persian empire, waging many wars against the Greeks. In 519 B.C.E. Darius crucified three thousand political "rebels" in Babylon. He died in 486 B.C.E. and was succeeded by his son Xerxes I (Khshayarsha Shah, d. 465 B.C.E.). The biblical texts of Ezra and Esther were written centuries after Xerxes; he may or may not have been the mythical Ahasuerus (Ezra 4:6), whose empire comprised "127 provinces" (Esther 1:1). Esther reports that during King Ahasuerus's reign an anti-Jewish plot was foiled by the Jews' leader Mordechai. Over two thousand years later the name Ahasuerus was given by Christians to the mythical Wandering Jew who had taunted Jesus Christ on his way to the crucifixion and was condemned by him to wander the earth until he (Christ) returned (Trachtenberg 1983:16–17, 40). In 465 B.C.E. Xerxes was assassinated by the captain of his bodyguard. He was succeeded by his son Ardashir (Artakhshayarsha) I, known to the Jews as Artakhshashta (Ezra 4:7–8) and to the Western world as Artaxerxes I Longimanus (of the long hand). Artaxerxes reigned until 424 B.C.E.

SCRIPTOCRACY IN JUDAH

Sometime during the fifth century B.C.E., a new Jewish leader appeared on the Persian political scene. His Hebrew name was Ezra, later hellenized as Esdras, and he was a

priest and a scribe among the Jews of Babylon. Having heard of the declining Jewish community of Judah, he was filled with sorrow, revolt, pity, and fantasies of rescue. He would come to the Jews of his homeland, teach them their holy history and laws, purify them of the foreign and pagan elements into which they had intermarried, and give new birth to the Jewish nation. Ezra set out to realize these fantasies.

In 465 B.C.E. Ardaban (Artabanus), the Persian minister of Xerxes, and a man whom Herodotus named Megabyzos murdered Xerxes and his son, Daryavaush. A Greek historian wrote that Ardaban got the king's other son, Artaxerxes, to kill Daryavaush on the pretense that the latter had killed his own father. Ardaban Shah ruled Persia for seven months before being himself killed by Artaxerxes (464 B.C.E.). The biblical chronicler (Ezra 7:7) tells us that in the seventh year of "King Artakhshastha" (Artaxerxes), that is, in 459/458 B.C.E., Ezra the Scribe received a commission from the Shah to reform the religious affairs of the Jews in Judah. The Greek version of Ezra known as 1 Esdras and the work of Josephus, however, suggest that Ezra's mission actually occurred at least one generation later (Bright 1981:379-80). When did Ezra actually arrive in Judah? Did the biblical editors once more telescope two different events into one?

Ezra proceeded to Judah to enforce his visionary religious reforms. We do not know the exact date of Ezra's arrival in Judah. Grayzel (1969:26) believed that Ezra came to Judah "about a generation after the rebuilding of the Temple," which would place his arrival early in the fifth century B.C.E. Margolis and Marx (1985:122), following Jewish tradition, dated Ezra's arrival at the head of eighteen hundred men, plus women and children, in 458 B.C.E., the year he received his commission from the Shah. Bright (1981:379) admitted there are few problems more perplexing and difficult than the dating of Ezra's arrival in Judah. This problem is related to the career of Nehemiah, the Jewish cupbearer to the Shah of Persia, who governed Judah from 445 to 433 B.C.E. and from 431 to 424 B.C.E. Did Ezra arrive in Judah before, during, or after the tenure of Nehemiah in Judah? After much scholarly soul-searching, Bright (1981:385) speculated that Ezra arrived in Judah "late in Nehemiah's tenure of office," around 428 B.C.E. Some scholars date Ezra's arrival as late as 398 B.C.E. (Bright 1981:391-402).

ETHNOCENTRISM AND GROUP NARCISSISM

Ezra the Scribe made extreme demands upon the returning Jews. Not only did he want them to return to the sources of their history and religion, but he also desired all intermarried male Jews to break up their families and send away their beloved wives and children back to their "pagan" homes. This was a draconian measure, and a fanatical one at that. What could have motivated such extremism? Grayzel (1969:27) thought that Ezra "demanded this supreme sacrifice because he believed that the nation and its ideals were more important than the feelings of individual men and women. He was serving as a general in a war for the preservation of the Jews, and

like every general [sic] he considered his objective of greater importance than the lives of his soldiers." Dixon (1979) believed that such generals as Grayzel referred to are the most incompetent and cause the worst military disasters in their nations' histories.

Why was the Jewish nation so very important? Bright (1981:389) observed that "Israel was no longer a nation, and had little immediate hope of becoming one." What, then, was the deeper motive of Ezra's ethnic zeal? Why was he so fanatically opposed to mixed marriages? Ezra's ultranationalism may have been motivated by his fear of loss of boundaries of his own and his group's self (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry 1987; Stein 1987). He had an ally in Nehemiah, a high official of the court of Artakhshayarsha, and a Jew, who in 445 B.C.E. received a commission from his Shah to become governor of Judah. Nehemiah spent twelve years governing Judah, but intermarriage and idol worship were rife among the Jews during his tenure as governor.

By his own account, Nehemiah became so furious with the foreign wives and non-Hebrew-speaking children of his people that he swore, beat them up, cursed them, and plucked their beards in his rage (Neh. 13:22-31). This was quite extreme. The rage of Ezra and Nehemiah was, to say the least, not fully rational. What might have been the origin of such righteous rage? As a child does its mother, they had elevated their nonexistent nation to an abstract, holy, supreme value. Nehemiah and Ezra's perception that the Jews had destroyed their nation by marrying foreign wives must have provoked in the two leaders the kind of rage that a little child feels when the life of its mother is threatened.

Ezra and Nehemiah were fanatics. When Nehemiah discovered that a grandson of the High Priest of Judah had married a daughter of the Samaritan governor Sanballat (Sin-uballit), whose Babylonian name derived from that of the moon god Sin, he had this man expelled from Judah. This brought upon him the wrath of the Samaritans, and upon Judah a permanent rift between Jews and Samaritans. It would seem that neither Ezra nor Nehemiah could mourn the loss of Judah as a nation and reconcile themselves to that loss. Most Jewish historians have credited them with saving the Jewish people from extinction. In reality, their rigid and fanatical nationalism brought about the irreversible loss of the Samaritans to the Jews.

Indeed, the Samaritans could have been reintegrated into the Jewish people had Nehemiah and Ezra not insisted on the supremacy of the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem and rebuffed the Samaritans' overtures to join them. The Samaritans accepted the Pentateuch as their own law. Yet, as Bright (1981:409) put it,

Though the Samaritans accepted the Pentateuch as the law of Moses, strict Jews of the stamp of Nehemiah regarded them as aliens and enemies (which they often enough had been), and did not welcome them into the Temple community. And the Samaritans, being proud northern Israelites, could hardly acquiesce in the notion classically expressed by the Chronicler that the true Israel was the restored remnant of Judah, nor could they long concede that the only place where their God might legitimately be worshipped lay across provincial frontiers in Jerusalem.

The Samaritans had built their own Temple of Yahweh at Mount Gerizim, the Mount of the Blessing, either as a reaction to the expulsion of their leader's son-in-law by Nehemiah (Neh. 13:28) or, which is more likely, during the late Persian period in the fourth century B.C.E. (Bright 1981:410).

Ezra and Nehemiah began the obsessional process of turning the Jewish people into a community of law. The Torah (Pentateuch) became the most sacred institution of this community. As mentioned, Ezra brought with him from Babylonia an "Assyrian text" of the Torah, meaning a version written in the square Aramaic script. Strict observance of the Law became a paramount value. The maintenance of the boundaries of the Jewish group self became all-important (cf. Stein 1987, Stein and Niederland 1989). This "strict constructionism" of Jewish tradition was to lead three centuries later to a mighty clash between the Hellenic rulers of Syria and the Jewish community of Judah. It was opposed, however, by the more liberal, open-minded, assimilationist, and cosmopolitan elements of Jewish society. The Hebrew language, for which Nehemiah was a zealot, gave way among the Jews to Aramaic, the language of their ancestors Abraham and Isaac, who had come from "Aram Naharayim" (Mesopotamia). Aramaic was spoken by large groups of people and had become the official language of the western portion of the Persian empire as well as the *lingua franca* of that part of the world (Bright 1981:411). The Hebrew language had been adopted from the Canaanites and now its new script was adopted from the Aramaic. By the fourth century B.C.E. more Jews were speaking Aramaic than Hebrew. Nehemiah's fight to preserve the glories of the past had failed.

A SILENT CENTURY?

From 450 to 350 B.C.E. the Jews outside Palestine, especially in Egypt and in the Persian empire, became more numerous than in Palestine itself. This demography has persisted: there are more than twice as many Jews outside Israel as in it. Because there are few documents dating from that time, Grayzel (1969:33-40) called the years 450-350 B.C.E. "the silent century" in Jewish history. He listed its major events:

1. Slow, quiet changes of an intellectual and religious nature.
2. The Jewish lady Hadassah (Esther) becoming queen of Persia.
3. The High Priest displacing the king as the ruler of Judah.
4. Scribes and men of the Law displacing the prophets as spiritual leaders.
5. A new alphabet, the Assyrian (Aramaen), replacing the ancient Canaanite Hebrew alphabet.
6. Knowledge, character, literature, and the Law displacing national identity as the essence of Judaism.
7. The Sabbath being made a holy day and a day of rest.
8. The development of the house of congregation (synagogue) as the center of community religious life.

9. The development of missionary Judaism; it sought to convert "pagans" to Yahwism as a middle road between fanatical exclusion of non-Jews and widespread Jewish assimilation through intermarriage.

The century from 450 to 350 B.C.E. was not altogether silent. We have a body of textual evidence from Elephantine (Yeb), an Egyptian Jewish military community founded in the sixth century B.C.E. (Bright 1981:346f.). This community had its ups and downs during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E., until its temple was destroyed by the Egyptians during a riot incited by the priests of the Egyptian gods in 410 B.C.E. (Grayzel 1969:34; Bright 1981:406). Bagoas, the Persian governor of Judah, intervened at their request three years later. Josephus reported that Bagoas punished the Jews of Jerusalem severely for the murder by the High Priest Johanan of his brother and rival Joshua in the Temple, but some scholars dispute the accuracy of this account. We have very few actual documents from that time.

Grayzel observed that the territory of Judah had grown during this "silent century," which he interpreted as evidence that "the influence of Judaism had spread" and that "the Jewish people became stronger, while the surrounding people were losing their identity" (1969:40). This rosy view of the "silent century" seems idealized. Aramaic was slowly but surely displacing Hebrew among the Jews, who were under Persian rule, without any hope of national independence or sovereignty. Their relations with their Samaritan brethren kept worsening (Bright 1981:409). Most Jews were living outside their own land. By the end of the Persian period the rift between Jews and Samaritans was irreparable. The minority of Jews who still lived in Judah and in the Galilee eked out a meager existence in a difficult land. Ezra and Nehemiah's breaking up of the Jewish families that included foreign wives had been a severe trauma to the people of Judah, causing considerable emigration and demoralization. Soon Hellenic culture was to overwhelm the Jews, a momentous process that was to affect all aspects of Jewish life for centuries to come.

GREEK GODS IN JUDAH

The Greek alphabet had its origins in the Hebrew-Phoenician one. Gordon (1965) thought that both the Greek and Hebrew cultures originated in the early Ugaritic culture of the third and second millennia B.C.E. that flourished in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.E. Hellenic civilization can be traced back to the ancient culture of Minoan Crete, and Ugarit was the most important center of Minoan trade in Syria. We know this primarily from the Ugaritic alphabetic cuneiform tablets of the fourteenth century B.C.E., whose Canaanite Hebrew myths parallel the Homeric and Hesiodic myths of Greece, as well as from many facets of Ugaritic civilization that survived in both Greek and Hebrew culture.

The bull was very important and popular in Minoan culture, as it was in Ugaritic,

Canaanite, and early Hebrew culture. The Canaanite father god El was known as Bull-El (Cross 1973). The Greek word for bull, *tauros*, is similar to the old Hebrew word for bull, *thoru*. The most prominent ancient symbol of male power and sexuality, the bull unconsciously stood for the father. Greek myth tells of Zeus in the shape of a bull swimming from Tyre to Crete and carrying Europa, the daughter of the king of Tyre, upon his back. Once in Crete, Zeus made love to Europa; she became pregnant and bore him Minos, and the name became the dynastic name of the kings of Crete.

This myth relates that King Minos and his wife Pasiphae had two sons, Androgeus and Glaukos, and two daughters, Ariadne and Phaedra. Minos prayed to Poseidon, the god of the sea, to send him a most beautiful white bull, promising to sacrifice it to the god. The bull so delighted Minos that he failed to keep his word, sacrificing an inferior beast instead. Poseidon became angry and caused Pasiphae to "conceive an unnatural lust for the bull" (Rose 1959:183), which made love to her. She in turn gave birth to the Minotaur (Minotauros: Minos's Bull), a monster half man and half bull. Crete and Athens were at war. Daedalos (Daedalus), the master builder of Crete whom King Aegeus had exiled from Athens, built the labyrinthos (labyrinth) of Knossos, where the Minotaur was kept. When Aegeus killed Minos's son Androgeus, Minos vengefully forced Athens to pay Crete an annual tribute of seven youths and seven maidens, whom he fed to the monster. Finally the Athenian hero Theseus joined the group of Athenian victims at his own insistence.

Minos's daughter Ariadne fell in love with Theseus and gave him a magic ball of thread with which he could mark his way into the labyrinth and find his way out again. Theseus killed the Minotaur, came out alive, and took Ariadne with him, but then abandoned Ariadne on the isle of Naxos. There she was rescued by the wine god Dionysos, son of Zeus and the mortal beauty Semele. Dionysos consoled her and wed her. When Theseus returned home he forgot to hoist his ship's white sails, as he had told his father he would do if he came back alive. The sight of his ship's black sails made his father Aegeus think that Theseus had died. The grief-stricken Aegeus killed himself by throwing himself into the sea, which was henceforth known as the Aegean.

The classical psychoanalytic view of this striking myth is as an oedipal tale of murderous father-son conflict. Pasiphae's making love to the bull is not only evidence of widespread bestiality in the ancient world but also an acting out of unconscious incestuous wishes. The bull symbolizes the powerful and sexual father. The Minotaur is also a symbol of the devouring father. Unconsciously, each king wishes to kill his own son. Aegeus kills the son of Minos by displacement. Theseus is the avenging son who kills the bad father. His forgetfulness, which kills his father, is by no means accidental. Unconsciously, he wishes to kill his own father.

The Canaanite (Phoenician) city of Tyre flourished by the fourteenth century B.C.E.; by the eleventh century B.C.E. it was a great maritime power. The Canaanite alphabet greatly influenced the Hellenic one: the Hebrew letters Aleph, Beth and Gimmel became the Greek letters Alpha, Beta, and Gamma. Greek and Hebrew culture

similarly influenced each other. By the fourth century B.C.E., however, there were crucial differences between the Greek and Hebrew civilizations. The favorable Greek attitude to pederasty, for example, was the reverse of the Jewish one (Gonzalez-Reigosa and Kaminsky 1989). Greece violently entered Jewish civilization, forcing the Jews to adopt her ways.

14

Egyptians, Greeks, and Other Jews

Human cultures develop their specificity by a twofold process of differentiation and assimilation. Ancient Macedonia was a region in northern Greece inhabited by various tribes from Asia Minor and Greece. During the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E. it absorbed Greek cultural influences, and by the fifth it began to imitate Greek political civilization. Philip II (Philippos) of Macedon (382–336 B.C.E.), the eighteenth Macedonian king, was crowned at the age of twenty-three (359 B.C.E.) and made Macedonia into a great Greek power. In 352, at age thirty, Philip became *archon* (chief) of the Thessalian league of Greek *poleis* (city-states). Philip neglected his unloved wife Olympias (d. 316 B.C.E.) for another wife. This aroused the rage and hatred of Olympias herself as well as of their son Alexander III (356–323 B.C.E.), later known as Alexander the Great. The name Alexandros means “defending man.”

The young prince was caught in both an “oedipal” and an individuation struggle. Alexander was raised as a model Hellenic prince. His mother Olympias, ambitious and narcissistic, invested her ambitions in her son. She instructed him personally in magic, mysticism, and the arts and had no lesser a man than Aristotle tutor him from age fourteen to age seventeen (342 to 339 B.C.E.). Was it because of Olympias’s meddling that Aristotle left Philip’s court? Olympias’s relationship to her son Alexander was possessive, symbiotic, and narcissistic. She saw her self magnified in him. She told him that he was not only a king but also a god. She expected him to become the greatest man that ever lived. Olympias was a hard-driving woman who quarreled with anyone who stood in the way of her ambitions. Alexander’s rage at her for making impossible demands on him and for “strangling” him with her symbiotic “love” was denied and displaced to political objects. He never loved women very much, not even his own wives.

CASTRATION AND REGICIDE

In 338 B.C.E. Philip of Macedonia brought most of the Greek *poleis* under his control by his victory over Athens and the Delian League at Chaironeia. He became *hegemon*

(leader) of the Greek League of *poleis*. Regicide is an unconscious form of parricide. Castration was the father's extreme way of preventing his son from overthrowing him and taking his wife. Kings kept eunuchs to guard their wives and concubines. The Shahs of Persia often appointed eunuchs as their confidential advisers and ministers: they did not need to fear that the eunuch would seduce one of their wives or concubines. Unfortunately, being castrated may leave permanent feelings of narcissistic injury, inferiority, envy, and rage in the eunuch. Some eunuchs wound up killing their own kings. One such eunuch was the Persian minister Bagoas (d. 336 B.C.E.).

Bagoas was the Greek corruption of the Persian name for eunuchs. In 343 B.C.E. Bagoas commanded the Persian forces of Artakshayarsha Shah (Artakshathra Shah, Artaxerxes Ochus, or Artaxerxes III) that invaded and conquered Egypt. Bagoas became wealthy by selling back to the Egyptian priests at exorbitant prices the sacred writings he had looted from Egyptian tombs. He allied himself with Mentor of Rhodes, becoming the de facto ruler of the Persian empire. In 338 B.C.E., like his predecessor Ardaban Shah in 465 B.C.E., Bagoas poisoned his master and all of the Shah's sons except Arses, who became Arses Shah. Bagoas and Arses tried to poison each other. In 337 B.C.E. Philip of Macedonia formed the League of Corinth to free the Greek cities from Persian rule.

In 336 B.C.E. Bagoas murdered Arses Shah. The childless Arses was succeeded by a collateral heir, Darius III (Daryavaush Shah, or Darius Codommanus, d. 330 B.C.E.). That year King Philip of Macedonia was killed during the wedding feast of his daughter, Cleopatra. Philip's wife Olympias was accused of his murder, but historians believe that the assassination was engineered by Darius III. Bagoas tried to poison Darius as well, but the king had been forewarned and forced Bagoas to drink the poisoned chalice himself. Philip and Olympias's twenty-year-old son Alexander became king of Macedonia and *hegemon* of Greece. This reinforced his grandiose self. He asserted his control over the Greek *poleis*, harshly quelling revolts in Thrace, Illyria, and Thebes. His unconscious infantile wishes to destroy, transform, and repair his mother were acted out psychogeographically, with Gaia, the Earth herself, representing the early mother in his unconscious mind.

By 334 B.C.E. Alexander had secured Greece and the Balkan Peninsula, facing Persia, which ruled most of Asia Minor (now Turkey). Many formerly Greek kingdoms in Asia Minor had become Persian satrapies. These Greco-Persian kingdoms included Bithynia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Paphlagonia. Alexander crossed the Hellespont (now the Dardanelles) at the head of the League of Corinth to fight Persia on her own turf in Asia Minor. His ostensible mission was to "liberate" the Greeks of Asia from the Persian "yoke," yet many Greeks were happy with Persian rule. During the winter of 334–333 B.C.E. Alexander conquered all of Asia Minor. Alexander defeated the Persians and their Greek mercenaries on the Granicus River (now the Kocabaş River in Turkey), near the Sea of Marmara (334 B.C.E.). He deposed the Greco-Persian tyrants, replacing them with local democracies.

Caria (Karia), on the Gulf of Kerameikos, was one of the Greco-Persian satrapies

in what is now southwestern Turkey. The Carian satraps followed the Egyptian pharaonic custom of incestuous marriage to their own sisters. The Carian capital had been Mylasa, but was transferred by the satrap Mausolus (d. 353 B.C.E.) to Halikarnassos (now Bodrum, Turkey). Halikarnassos was the site of the Mausoleum, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, built by Artemisia, the sister-widow of Mausolus, in 353–351 B.C.E. At Halikarnassos the twenty-three-year-old Alexander found a warm mother to replace the cold and proud Olympias. She was Ada, the incestuous sister-widow of the satrap Idreius. Ada adopted Alexander as her own son. He in turn expelled her other brother Pixodaros, who had seized her throne, and restored Ada to her Carian satrapy. This “minor” incident illustrates one of the unconscious motives behind Alexander’s wars and conquests. He was forever trying to satisfy an inner mother who could not be satisfied.

In 333 B.C.E., having conquered Anatolia, Alexander invaded northwestern Syria, which was part of the Persian empire. He routed the Persian forces of Darius III at Issus, at the northeastern edge of the Mediterranean Sea, now on the Gulf of Iskenderun in Turkey. The Shah fled, leaving behind his mother, wife, children, baggage, and booty. The women were treated chivalrously by Alexander. Darius twice pleaded with Alexander, offering to pay a huge ransom for his family, to cede all of his empire west of the Euphrates River, and to give Alexander the hand of his daughter in marriage, if the Macedonian king agreed to an alliance with Persia. Alexander’s old general Parmenion said, “I would accept, were I Alexander.” The proud Alexander replied, “So would I, were I Parmenion.” Alexander turned down the Shah’s offers. His victory temporarily made him feel great, but his grandiose self, and the internalized imago of his mother, required him to take the entire Persian empire, if not the whole world.

With his conquests, Alexander had created a Panhellenic Macedonian empire. The proud, ambitious, and domineering Olympias had quarreled with Antipatros (Antipater, “Toward the Father,” 397–319 B.C.E.), the general her son had left behind as regent of Macedonia. In 333–332 B.C.E. Alexander captured all the cities of Phoenicia in one fell swoop, except Tyre, which withstood his siege for seven months before it fell in July 332 B.C.E. Alexander moved on to capture the entire Mediterranean coast and Egypt (332–330 B.C.E.). During the winter of 333–332 B.C.E. the Persians counter-attacked in Asia Minor but were defeated by Antigonos Monophthalmos, the Macedonian satrap of Greater Phrygia. During the year 333–332 B.C.E. Alexander took all of Syria and Palestine. Gaza was the only city that resisted his invasion. In 332 B.C.E. Alexander’s forces marched through Palestine on their way to Egypt. At Memphis, Alexander offered sacrifices to Hapi (Apsis), the sacred Egyptian bull god. He was welcomed as the pharaoh of Egypt and son of Amun-Ra (Amon-Re), the Egyptian sun god and king of the gods. This only served to reinforce his grandiose self and his belief in his own divinity. The twenty-four-year-old Alexander founded the city of Alexandria on the Mediterranean coast of Egypt. It was to become one of the greatest cities of the Hellenic world and the royal capital of Ptolemaic Egypt.

Judaea and Samaria became part of the new Greek province of Coele-Syria along

the Orontes and Leontes rivers (now the Beqaa valley of Lebanon); Ben-Sasson (1976:189) thought that Coele-Syria was the name given later by the Seleucid rulers of Syria to the territories they had seized from Ptolemaic Egypt. Rather than seek to impose Hellenism at once upon the Jews, Alexander tried to assimilate them slowly into Greek culture, as he did with the other peoples he had conquered. Jewish legend has it that when Alexander the Great was besieging Tyre he sent to Jedua, the High Priest of Judah in Jerusalem, demanding military assistance and tribute. The High Priest, fearful of Persian vengeance, refused. When Alexander had captured Tyre and Gaza, he marched on Jerusalem to punish the High Priest and the Jewish people. Jedua left the city and went out to greet Alexander at Antipatris (named after Antipatros, the regent of Macedonia), accompanied by the Jewish noblemen and notables. This changed the heart of Alexander, who dismounted and bowed before the High Priest, explaining to his generals that this would help him win his wars. He annexed Judah to his empire, calling it Ioudaia, which was latinized as Judaea.

Many Jews were quick to embrace the attractive Hellenic culture of their new rulers. The High Priest assumed the role of *ethnarchos* (ruler of the people), adopted a Greek name, and ruled Judaea, assisted by a council of elders called the Gerousia. Some of the more extreme Samaritans rose up in arms against their Greek rulers, burning to death Alexander's prefect Andromachos. The "divine" king's narcissistic injury and rage were overwhelming. He took horrible vengeance, utterly destroying Samaria, massacring its people, and resettling it with Greeks from his native Macedonia.

Bactria (Bactriana, or Zariaspa) was an ancient Persian kingdom between the Hindu Kush (Paropamisos) mountains and the Oxus River (Amu Darya), in what are now Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Tadzhikistan. Sogdiana was another ancient Persian kingdom in what is now Uzbekistan. Bactria's capital was variously called Bactra, Bactra-Zariaspa, and Vahlka (now Balkh, Afghanistan). In 331 B.C.E. Alexander returned to Syria, and then proceeded to Mesopotamia (now Iraq) to take on the Persian empire at its heartland. Darius III met Alexander at the fatal battle of the Plain of Guagamela, between Nineveh and Arbela (east of modern Mosul, Iraq). The Persian army was decimated and scattered. Darius III fled to Media with his Bactrian cavalry and Greek mercenaries.

Alexander invaded Persian "Babylonia," which had ceased to exist as a political entity two centuries earlier (538 B.C.E.). He proceeded to Babylon, Susa, Persepolis, and Pasargadae. At Persepolis he burned down the palace of Xerxes the Great (Khshayarsha Shah, 519–465 B.C.E.). Later myth ascribed this burning to a drunken orgy inspired by an Athenian courtesan named Thaïs. Alexander had himself proclaimed the Shah of Persia. In 330 B.C.E. the Median capital of Ecbatana (now Hamadan, Iran) fell to Alexander. Darius III fled to Bactria, which was ruled by his cousin and satrap, Bessus. This was a fatal error. The treacherous Bessus had Darius assassinated, proclaiming himself Great King.

Alexander had grandiose fantasies of merging the Macedonian Greeks and the Aryan Persians into a new master race. This was an unconscious defense against his

deepest feelings of helplessness and worthlessness. Perhaps it unconsciously symbolized his own wish to merge with his mother. His intentions were misunderstood by his people. By 330 B.C.E. there was deep discontent among Alexander's men. For four years he had driven them very hard to capture the entire Persian empire. They were far away from home in Bactria, beyond the Oxus River. Deeply narcissistic and egocentric, Alexander the Great behaved like the divine King of Kings. He wore Persian dress and acted like an oriental despot, executing people and taking their property at his whim. Many of his men now hated him. Alexander left the old general Parmenion in charge of communications in Media, antagonizing others. Media was divided into two parts. The northern part went to General Atropates and became known as Media Atropatene (now Azerbaijan). Southern Media was given to General Peithon, who later yielded it to the Seleucids of Syria.

The first plot to assassinate Alexander was initiated by Parmenion's son, Philotas, commander of the Companion cavalry (330 B.C.E.). In his narcissistic rage the twenty-six-year-old Divine King had his army condemn and execute the guilty Philotas; Alexander also had Kleandros (Cleander), Parmenion's deputy, murder the innocent father, Parmenion, which further horrified and alienated his soldiers. Parmenion's followers were replaced with Alexander's. The Companion cavalry was divided into two sections, each consisting of four hipparchies (squadrons). One section was commanded by Hephaestion, Alexander's oldest and best friend, the other by an older man named Kleitos (Cleitus). Two years later, at the Sogdian capital of Maracanda (now Samarkand, Uzbekistan), which he took and destroyed in 329 B.C.E., Alexander killed Kleitos in a drunken quarrel (328 B.C.E.). His excessive display of grief when he came to his senses led his army to convict Kleitos posthumously of treason.

Alexander could be very chivalrous to his royal captives and equally ruthless in killing the soldiers of the armies that fought against him. He had a Jekyll-and-Hyde personality. Alexander's grandiose self demanded ever greater conquests. His ambition was boundless. From Maracanda he went to Kyropolis in farthest Sogdiana (Cyreschata, or Kyreschate, the Farthest Cyrus, now in Uzbekistan) and on to the Jaxartes River, the northeastern boundary of the Persian empire (now the Syr Darya in Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, and Kazakhstan). Using his awesome catapults, Alexander defeated the fierce nomadic Scythians, driving them northward. Having taken all of Persia, he moved into India. Not content with *one* Alexandria, in Egypt, Alexander founded *four* others: Alexandria on the Tigris (now in Iraq), Alexandria in the Caucasus Mountains (Alexandria Kapisu, now Bagram or Baghlan, Afghanistan), Alexandria eschate (the Farthest Alexandria) on the Jaxartes River (now Khodzhen on the Syr Darya in Tadzhikistan), and Alexandria Nicaea (the Victorious) on the Hydaspes River (now the Jhelum River in Pakistan).

From 330 to 327 B.C.E. Alexander went on with his Asian conquests while leading a growing army of malcontents. In Bactria, the Persian satrap Bessus had deposed and killed his uncle, Darius III, proclaiming himself Great King. In 329 B.C.E., crossing the "Paropamisos" (Hindu Kush) mountains northward over the Khawak Pass into "the country of the Paropamisadae" (Afghanistan), Alexander's army invaded Bactria.

Bessus fled across the Oxus River into Sogdiana (Uzbekistan), but was overthrown by King "Spitamenes" of Sogdiana. Alexander's general Ptolemaios (later Ptolemy I of Egypt) crossed the Oxus River, defeated Bessus and captured him. Bessus was flogged, mutilated after the Persian manner (his nose and ears were cut off), and executed.

It took Alexander until the fall of 328 B.C.E. to subdue the revolt of Sogdiana and Bactria under Spitamenes and the nobleman Oxyartes. Alexander married Roxana, the latter's daughter. It was a political marriage. Alexander did not love Roxana any more than he did his other wives. He only loved himself, his homosexual lover and friend Hephaestion—a mirror image of himself—and his faithful horse, Bucephalus. At the Bactrian capital of Bactra (now Balkh), Alexander attempted to impose the Persian custom of prostration before the Shah upon his Greek and Macedonian men, to whom this was only permissible before the image of a god. Even his official historian Callisthenes, whose ostentatious flattery had compared Alexander to a god, finally decried the orientalizing manners of Alexander's court. Alexander's narcissistic injury and fury were unbearable. Callisthenes, a nephew of Alexander's former tutor, Aristotle, was accused of treason and executed. Callisthenes probably never wrote the biography of Alexander attributed to him during the Middle Ages. The Peripatetics, Aristotle's followers, turned against Alexander. Bactria was converted from a Persian kingdom to a Greco-Persian satrapy.

In 327 B.C.E. Alexander the Great, who needed ever greater accomplishments to sustain his grandiose self, left Bactria for India. Alexander divided his huge army into two. The first half, commanded by Hephaestion and by his loyal general Perdikkas, traveled southward with the baggage through the Khyber Pass. The second half, commanded by Alexander himself, went with the siege train through the hills to the north. The vast country of India consisted of many kingdoms great and small, ruled by rajahs (kings). The larger ones were ruled by maharajahs (great kings). Some of them welcomed Alexander. He advanced through Swat and Gandhara, storming the nearly impregnable fortress of Avarana (now the Pir-Sar or Pir-Sarai ridge in Pakistan). The Indians who held the fortress were massacred.

In 326 B.C.E. Alexander crossed the Indus River into Takshasila (Taxila, northwest of modern Rawalpindi, Pakistan), the city of hewn stone, where, according to tradition, the great Indian epic *Mahabharata* was composed. Ambhi, the ruler of Takshasila, was variously called Omphis and Taxiles by the Greek historians. His rival, a border rajah whom the Greeks called Porus, ruled the lands between the Hydaspes River and the Acesines River (now the Jhelum River and Chenab River in Pakistan). Ambhi surrendered to Alexander and put his troops and treasure at the Macedonian's disposal. Porus raised an army and fought Alexander on the left bank of the Hydaspes River. Porus was defeated and Alexander overran the Punjab. He founded the cities of Alexandria Nicaea (the Victorious) and Bucephalia, the latter named after his beloved horse, whose death in battle Alexander could not mourn. Porus became Alexander's ally, but his run-down men refused to go any further. Alexander sailed his fleet down the Indus River to its delta, then sent his admiral

Nearchos to lead this fleet to the head of the Persian Gulf. Nehru (1946:105) thought that

Alexander's invasion of India . . . was, from a military point of view, a minor affair. It was more of raid across the border, and not a very successful raid for him. He met with such stout resistance from a border chieftain that the contemplated advance into the heart of India had to be reconsidered. If a small ruler on the frontier could fight thus, what of the larger and more powerful kingdoms farther south? Probably this was the main reason why his army refused to march farther and insisted on returning.

Alexander's narcissistic grandiosity and his lack of empathy for his men's feelings provoked their revolt. He was said to have wept because "there were no more worlds to conquer." If this is a myth, it contains a deep psychological truth. With his grandiose self, Alexander could never be content with his achievements. The more he conquered, the more his internalized early mother demanded he conquer. From 326 to 324 B.C.E. Alexander led his troops back to Susa, the Persian capital. The march through the deserts of India and Persia lasted two years and brought untold suffering to his men. Later myth had Alexander, dressed as the Greek god Dionysos, journey through Carmania (now Kerman in southeastern Iran) in a drunken revel. This myth betrays the depths of anger and hatred that his narcissistic conduct aroused in his men. The satraps Alexander had installed in the conquered lands were often corrupt, and misrule was the rule. Many Greeks, especially the Peripatetics, hated Alexander for having executed Callisthenes. The Greek *poleis* chafed under Alexander's decree that he be worshipped as a god. His attempt to make his Greek officers marry Persian girls led to a mutiny, which he put down brutally.

In the spring of 324 B.C.E. Alexander held a great feast at Susa to celebrate his seizure of the Persian empire. Acting out his grandiose fantasy of creating a new Greco-Persian master race, he and eighty of his senior officers took Persian wives. Alexander married "Barsine" (Stateira), daughter of the dead Darius III; his best friend, Hephaestion, married her sister "Drypetis," whose Persian name recalls Draupadi, the Indian heroine of the *Mahabharata*. Alexander gave generous dowries to ten thousand Greek soldiers who took native wives. But many Macedonians hated his policy of racial fusion. Vast numbers of Persian youths entered the Macedonian army, provoking the hatred of the older generals. When Alexander ordered the Macedonian veterans under Krateros to go home, an open mutiny broke out. Alexander dismissed his entire army and created a new one made up of Persians. The mutiny collapsed, and an emotional reconciliation was celebrated by a huge banquet for nine thousand men feasting the Macedonian-Persian partnership.

In the fall of 324 B.C.E. Alexander's oldest and best friend, Hephaestion, died. Alexander was disconsolate. His grief was immense. He had loved Hephaestion more than he did any woman. He could not mourn his great loss. The royal funeral he gave Hephaestion in Babylon cost him ten thousand talents, a vast sum. Hephaestion's post of *chiliarchos* (commander of one thousand men) was left unfilled. Alexander issued orders to all Greeks to honor Hephaestion as a hero like Herakles and himself

as a god like Dionysos. Sparta complied ironically, issuing a decree that said, "Since Alexander wishes to be a god, let him be one." The inconsolable Alexander carried out a savage punitive raid on the Cossaeans in the Luristan hills.

Suddenly, in 323 B.C.E., the thirty-three-year-old Alexander the Great caught "a fever" and died in Babylon. Had he been poisoned by those who hated him so? Darius Shah's mother killed herself upon learning of Alexander's death. Perhaps she had not been able to mourn the death of her own son. There is a well-known myth about Alexander's meeting with Diogenes (412–323 B.C.E.), the Cynic philosopher who taught the virtues of the simple life. Diogenes had discarded all material comforts and lived in a tub. When he saw a peasant cup his hands to drink water from the river, Diogenes discarded his drinking cup as well. Alexander heard that Diogenes was the wisest man in all Greece. His vanity impelled him to seek out the philosopher. When Alexander arrived at Diogenes' tub, he asked the philosopher what he might do for him. Diogenes asked Alexander to step out of the sunlight. In his narcissistic rage, Alexander cast Diogenes in a dark dungeon. Another version has Alexander saying, "Were I not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." When he was set free upon the death of Alexander, Diogenes went about carrying an oil lantern on a daylight quest "for an honest man," thus showing his contempt for his fellow men. He died that same year with no honest man in sight. The third-century Greek historian Diogenes Laërtius omitted the word "honest" from this story, making the statement that much sharper. Alexander's narcissism is evident in the first version, if Diogenes' is not. Narcissism, and the relative lack of separation and individuation, may have been one reason why these ancient Greek kings named their sons and daughters after themselves, their mothers, and their wives.

GREEKS AND JEWS

Alexander the Great had appointed his top generals as satraps of his various conquered provinces. They included Antipatros (Antipater, 397–319 B.C.E.), Antigonos Monophthalmos (382–301 B.C.E.), Krateros (Craterus, c. 370–321 B.C.E.), Perdikkas (Perdiccas, 365–321 B.C.E.), Ptolemaios Soter (Ptolemy I of Egypt, 367/364–283/282 B.C.E.), Eumenes (362–316 B.C.E.), Seleukos Nicator (Seleucus the Victor, or Seleucus I of Syria, 358/354–281 B.C.E.), and Lysimachos (355–281 B.C.E.). After Alexander's death in 323 B.C.E., Perdikkas, the former *chiliarchos* of the Asian part of the Macedonian empire, became regent of Macedonia and of the entire Macedonian empire. Antipatros had quarreled with Alexander's mother, Olympias, and became Perdikkas's enemy. Alexander's *diadochoi* (successors) fought it out for his disintegrating empire. Some of them joined in a coalition against the others.

Ptolemaios, ten years older than Alexander, had been a boyhood friend and *somatophylax* (bodyguard) of the dead king. Ptolemaios had captured Darius III's assassin, Bessus (329 B.C.E.), and became the satrap of Egypt. After Alexander's death in 323 B.C.E., the *diadochoi* met at Babylon, dividing the satrapies among them. But

the *diadochoi* were also narcissistic. Each wanted to make himself great. War soon broke out between the more ambitious and greedy ones, who wanted to rule the entire empire. In 322–321 B.C.E. Ptolemaios fought Perdikkas. Antipatros supported Antigonos, Seleukos, and Ptolemaios against Perdikkas. When Perdikkas failed to cross the Nile, he was assassinated by his own rebel officers (321 B.C.E.). Perdikkas was replaced as regent of the Macedonian empire by Antipatros, the former regent of Macedonia.

Antipatros concluded a settlement with his rivals at Triparadisos (now in Syria). While Antipatros himself ruled Macedonia, Ptolemaios got Egypt, Seleukos received "Babylonia," and Lysimachos became ruler of Thrace. Antipatros became regent for the mentally retarded king Philip III (Philippos Arrhidaeus) and for Alexander's son, the infant Alexandros (Alexander IV). Antipatros's death (319 B.C.E.) marked the end of a "unified" Macedonian empire.

Rather than mourn the loss of his father, Antipatros's son Kassandros (Cassander, 358–297 B.C.E.) engaged in perpetual warfare. Kassandros refused to accept Polyperchon, his father's successor, as regent; he murdered Alexander's Bactrian widow, Roxana, and her son, Alexandros. Allying himself with Antigonos, now the king of Phrygia, Kassandros made war on Polyperchon, seizing Macedonia and most of Greece (319–317 B.C.E.). In 316 B.C.E. Kassandros also murdered Olympias, the bereaved mother of Alexander the Great. Antigonos founded the city of Nicaea (the Victorious) in Phrygia (now Iznik in northwestern Turkey), site of the church councils of 325 and 787 C.E. He fought Persia, returned from the East, and intended to make himself king of the entire Macedonian empire. Kassandros now allied himself with Ptolemaios of Egypt, Seleukos of Babylonia, and Lysimachos of Thrace against Antigonos of Phrygia. There were several fratricidal wars from 315 to 301 B.C.E. In 307 Kassandros lost Athens to Antigonos. In 306 Antigonos became king of Macedonia. In 305 Kassandros had himself crowned king of Macedonia. In 303–2 he lost his territories south of Thessaly to Antigonos. In 301, however, Antigonos the One-Eyed was defeated and killed at the Battle of Ipsus, in Phrygia.

Ptolemaios Soter was now king of Egypt and Kyrene (now in Libya). In 317 B.C.E. Ptolemaios married Berenike (Berenice), granddaughter of Kassandros. For four years (315–311 B.C.E.) a long, bloody war was fought among the *diadochi*. Ptolemaios and Seleukos fought it out over Palestine. In 312 B.C.E. Ptolemaios won the battle near Gaza, and Alexander's empire was partitioned among the *diadochi*. Ptolemaios received Egypt, which he ruled from Alexandria, and Seleukos received Mesopotamia, which he ruled from his new capital of Seleucia. Judaea fell within the Egyptian territories. The Jewish lands and cities were given Greek names. Acre became Ptolemais, Judah became Ioudaia, Shomron became Samaria, Shechem became Neapolis, Beth-Shean became Scythopolis, Rabbath-Ammon (Amman) became Philadelphia, and Jerusalem became Hierosolyma.

The wars of succession went on until 304 B.C.E. Ptolemaios of Egypt was the son of Lagos the Macedonian and his wife Arsinoë. After he became king of Egypt he was known as Ptolemaios Soter (Ptolemy the Savior). Ptolemaios's rival Seleukos Nikator

(Seleucus the Victor) conquered Syria, Mesopotamia, Media, Susiana, and other Asian parts of the Macedonian empire, all the way to India. His territories became known as the Seleucid empire. The founding of the Seleucid empire became a milestone in Jewish history, the beginning of the Greek era. An entire chronological system, known as the Contract Era, was set up dating events from the beginning of the Seleucid era. Historians, however, are divided on the date of the founding of the Seleucid empire. Some put it at 312 B.C.E., others at 311 B.C.E. As a result, Greek era dates in Jewish history are given in slashed form, e.g., 275/274 B.C.E.

The new Hellenic rulers of Egypt adopted many of the ways of their subject peoples, who considered their kings divine. The Greek rulers of Syria resisted oriental customs but could not entirely avoid them. The kings' names often reflected their heroism, victories, and supposed divinity. Seleukos Nikator ruled his realm from two capitals. The western one was Antioch (Antiochia) on the Orontes River, near the Mediterranean Sea, which Seleukos founded around 300 B.C.E. and named after his father Antiochos. Antioch is now the Turkish city of Antakya, on the Asi River, in Hatay province, on the Syrian border.

The eastern capital of the Seleucid empire was the new city of Seleucia on the Tigris River, south of modern Baghdad, Iraq. Seleucia gradually displaced Babylon, the ancient capital on the Euphrates River, as the political, cultural, and commercial center of the Hellenic Syrian empire. Between 310 and 301 B.C.E. both Seleukos Nikator of Syria and Ptolemaios Soter of Egypt attempted to seize Palestine and Phoenicia. Ptolemaios Soter finally captured Palestine after the Battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C.E. Ptolemaic Egypt ruled Palestine from Alexandria during the third century B.C.E., losing it to the Seleucids of Syria in 200–198 B.C.E.

Judaea was now part of Hellenic Egypt. The Jews of Egypt, including Judaea, were hellenized by the Ptolemies. While the High Priest of Yahweh was the temporal ruler of Judaea, he bore a Greek name. Judaea was a province of Egypt, which was a Greek country. The Jewish population of Egypt grew rapidly, and the Jews outside Palestine far outnumbered those at home (Bright 1981:414–15). Greek became the native language of most Jews. Much like modern New York, Hellenic Alexandria had the largest Jewish community in the world. Seleucid Syria and Ptolemaic Egypt were hellenized oriental kingdoms, a curious blend of east and west. Hellenic Egypt preserved the customs of the pharaohs while absorbing Greek culture. The ancient Egyptian language, including its demotic, hieratic, and hieroglyphic scripts, was preserved alongside the Greek language. The Egyptian Greek kings were all named Ptolemaios (Ptolemy), after the founder of their dynasty, with the addition of a byname.

As in ancient Egypt, royal incest was common. The Ptolemies succeeded each other, marrying their own sisters, who were named Arsinoë, Berenike (Berenice), or Cleopatra. By contrast, the Seleucids preserved Greek customs in Hellenic Syria, resisting oriental culture. In 317 B.C.E. King Ptolemaios Soter of Egypt repudiated his wife Eurydice to marry her niece and half-sister Berenike. In Syria the kingdom was ruled by Seleukos Nikator and his son Antiochos Soter, who ruled the eastern part of

the kingdom since 292 B.C.E. Ptolemaios Soter of Egypt died in 283/282 B.C.E. His successor, Ptolemais Philadelphos, built the lighthouse on Pharos Island in Alexandria in 280 B.C.E. It was one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Seleukos Nikator of Syria was assassinated in 281 B.C.E. and was succeeded by his son and coruler Antiochos Soter (Antiochos I, 324–261 B.C.E.). The “Barbarian” people whom the Greeks called “Celts” and the Romans called Galli (Gauls) had sacked Rome around 390 B.C.E. and attacked Delphi in 279 B.C.E. In 275 B.C.E. Antiochos Soter used Indian elephants to defeat the invading Gauls. The ancient city of Babylon on the Euphrates lost its importance, most of its inhabitants being resettled in Seleucia on the Tigris. This was the end of Babylon as a great city of the ancient world.

Just as in modern America most Jews use English rather than Hebrew in their religious services and rituals, so Greek was used by the Jews of Egypt, including Judaea, in their religion. During the reign of Ptolemaios Philadelphos (Ptolemy II, 308–246 B.C.E.), the Torah and other Jewish holy scriptures were translated into Greek by a synod of scholars. The Phoenician city of Byblos (Geba) exported paper, and from its name came the masculine Greek words *byblos*, *byblion*, and *biblion*, meaning “paper” or “book.” These Greek words gave rise to the feminine Latin words *biblia* and *bibliotheca* and the English word *Bible*. Myth put the number of translators at seventy, and the Greek version of the Bible became known as the Septuagint from the Latin word *septuaginta*, meaning seven decades or seventy. The Septuagint is an invaluable source for the original pronunciation of Hebrew names, which were transliterated into Greek and which were corrupted twelve centuries later by the Hebrew grammarians in Tiberias who vocalized the Hebrew Bible along Arabic lines.

By the third century B.C.E. the Jews of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt had become thoroughly hellenized. They worshipped Zeus, Hera, and the rest of the Greek pantheon. There were images of the Greek sun god Helios, the wine god Dionysos, and the demigod Heracles on Jewish synagogue floor mosaics at Sepphoris and other Galilean cities as late as the sixth century C.E. But the Orthodox Jews violently resisted Hellenism. The conflict between Hellenism and Judaism, or rather between hellenized and Orthodox Jews, was to lead to major trouble in the second century B.C.E., after Palestine was captured from Egypt by the Seleucid Greeks of Syria.

THE PARTHIAN SHOT

In the middle of the third century B.C.E. a seminomadic warrior people, the Parthians, appeared on the world political scene in Persia. The name Parthia means “exiled.” The Parthians had migrated from Central Asia into Persia. Having lost their motherland, they felt “exiled.” The Indo-Aryan Parthians spoke a Middle Iranian language akin to Scythian and Median, and may have been of Scythian descent. They were agile horsemen and archers who lived in the eastern Seleucid empire, in northeastern Persia. Their land, Parthia, roughly corresponds to the province of Khorassan in northeastern

Iran. Fierce fighters, the Parthians could shoot their arrows at their enemies while riding their horses in the opposite direction, hence the phrase "Parthian shot," which later became "parting shot."

The Dahae was the collective Roman name for three seminomadic Asian tribes on the southeastern coast of the Caspian Sea (now Turkmenistan). One of these tribes was the Parni (Aparni). The Persian province of Parthia had been conquered, along with all of Persia, by Alexander the Great. During the reigns of the *diadochos* Seleukos Nikator and of his successor Antiochos Soter in Syria, Greco-Persian Parthia and Bactria were the easternmost provinces of the Seleucid empire. During the reign of Antiochos Theos ("Antiochos the God," or Antiochos II, r. 261–246 B.C.E.), a nobleman named Diodotos (Diodotos Soter or Diodotus I, d. 234 B.C.E.) ruled Bactria, while Parthia was ruled by a Greek satrap named Andragoras.

Arshakun Shah (Arsaces I, d. 217–211 B.C.E.) was the chief of the Parni, serving under Diodotos of Bactria. Around 250 B.C.E., when Antiochos Theos's grip on power weakened, Diodotos rebelled against Seleucid rule, proclaimed Bactrian independence, and set himself up as king of Greek Bactria. Arshakun in turn rebelled against both Antiochos and Diodotos. The Parni moved south into Parthia, defeated Andragoras, seized Parthia, and annexed Hyrcania, joining their Parthian cousins. Arshakun set up his own kingdom in Parthia and had himself crowned Shah at Asaak on the Atrak River (near Quchan in northeastern Iran). Diodotos prepared a military campaign to seize Parthia from Arshakun, but died in 234 B.C.E. His successor, Diodotos II, made peace with Arshakun, allying Bactria with Parthia.

In 232/231 B.C.E. Arshakun Shah changed from nomad chieftain to Greek-style king, complete with crown, throne, and fortified cities. Seleukos Kallinikos (Seleucus II of Syria, r. 246–225 B.C.E.), unable to mourn the loss of Parthia and Bactria, arrived in the east to subdue Arshakun. Arshakun fled north to his nomadic Scythian cousins on the northern shores of the Caspian Sea. Seleukos tried to cross the Jaxartes River (Syr Darya), suffered serious losses at the hands of the nomads, received bad news of revolts in the west, made peace with Arshakun, recognized his sovereignty, and returned to Syria. Arshakun's successors defeated the Seleucids, seizing their eastern capital of Seleucia on the Tigris (141 B.C.E.) along with all the lands east of the Tigris River, and their "Babylonian" Jews. The Seleucids retreated west of the Tigris and moved their eastern capital to Ctesiphon.

Thus began the Parthian era in Jewish and world history. Hoping to repeat Arshakun's successes, each Parthian king used the throne name of Arshakun (Arsaces). Refusing to let go of Parthia and Bactria, the Seleucid king Antiochos the Great (Antiochus III, r. 223–187 B.C.E.) only recognized Parthian and Bactrian independence after protracted wars during which the Parthians massacred all the Greek inhabitants of Syrinx in Hyrcania (Varkana), the "Land of the Wolf," southeast of the Caspian Sea (now in northeastern Iran).

Back in Egypt, in keeping with royal tradition, Ptolemaios Soter named his son Ptolemaios, after himself, and his daughter Arsinoë, after his mother. Ptolemaios Soter

was succeeded in 283/282 B.C.E. by his son Ptolemaios Philadelphos (Ptolemy II, "the Brother Lover," 308–246 B.C.E.), a great promoter of Hellenic culture. It was under his reign that the Septuagint Greek translation of the Hebrew-Aramaic Bible was carried out. Ptolemaios Philadelphos married a woman named Arsinoë, his sister's namesake. Like his father, not content with this quasi incest, he repudiated his wife to marry his own sister Arsinoë. Royal incest had been the prerogative of the "divine" pharaohs of Egypt. Ptolemaios Philadelphos named his daughter Berenike (Berenice II) after his mother.

The city of Pergamon (now Bergama in Turkey) was the capital of the Greek kingdom of Mysia in Asia Minor. Pergamon became important in the third century B.C.E. as the residence of the Greek Attalids, who first ruled as vassals of the Greek Seleucids of Syria. In 263 B.C.E. King Eumenes of Mysia (Eumenes I, d. 241 B.C.E.) rebelled against Antiochos I of Syria and proclaimed Mysian independence. In 241 B.C.E. Eumenes was succeeded by his nephew Attalos Soter (Attalos the Preserver or Attalos I, 269–197 B.C.E.), who assumed the title of king in 230 B.C.E., allied Mysia with Rome, greatly expanded Mysian territory and power, and gave his name to the dynasty. Pergamon was to play an important role in Greco-Roman and Jewish affairs.

In 261 B.C.E. Antiochos Theos (Antiochus II, 287–246 B.C.E.) succeeded his father Antiochos Soter as ruler of Seleucid Syria. In 255–253 B.C.E. King Ptolemaios Philadelphos performed a political masterstroke. He gave his daughter Berenike in marriage, with a huge dowry, to his foe Antiochos Theos, who spurned his first wife Laodiki (Laodice) to marry Berenike. The perennial wars between Ptolemaic Egypt and Seleucid Syria over Palestine and Phoenicia were temporarily halted by this treaty. This idyll ended when both kings died. Ptolemaios Philadelphos of Egypt was succeeded by his son Ptolemaios Euergetes (Ptolemy III, "the Benefactor," d. 221 B.C.E.). Antiochos Theos, perhaps weary of his Egyptian wife Berenike, left her and joined his former wife Laodiki and his son Seleukos in Asia Minor. It was a suicidal move. As William Congreve put it, "Heaven has no rage like love to hatred turned, Nor hell a fury like a woman scorned" (*The Mourning Bride* 3.8). The ever-vengeful Laodice poisoned Antiochos Theos and had her son Seleukos Kallinikos (Seleucus Callinicus, or Seleucus II, d. 225 B.C.E.) proclaimed king of Syria. Another five-year war broke out between Syria and Egypt (246–241 B.C.E.). In 239 B.C.E. Seleukos Kallinikos's younger brother, Antiochos Hierax (263–226 B.C.E.) rebelled against him, setting up his own kingdom in Anatolia (now Turkey). He was expelled by the king of Pergamon after an eight-year war (236–228 B.C.E.), returned to Syria, was exiled by his brother to Thrace, and met a violent death.

The royal intrafamilial wars in Hellenic Seleucid Syria were furious and bloody. After the death of Antiochos Theos in 246 B.C.E., civil war broke out between the two queens, the former wife Laodice and the widow Berenike, each of whom wanted her son to be king. Laodiki's elder son, Seleukos Kallinikos, fought his stepmother Berenike, who tried to secure the throne for her own son. This led to the intervention of Egypt, whose new king, Ptolemaios Euergetes, was Berenike's brother. Before

Ptolemaios could come to her rescue, Berenike and her son were murdered by Seleukos Kallinikos, which led to a protracted war with Egypt. In the west Seleukos Kallinikos fought for Asia Minor against his younger brother, Antiochos Hierax (d. 226 B.C.E.), now supported by his mother Laodice. Seleukos Kallinikos lost Bactria and Parthia as well. He died in 226 B.C.E. and was succeeded by his son Seleukos Soter (Seleucus III, d. 223 B.C.E.).

Regicide, a form of unconscious parricide, was common in the ancient world, including Hellenic Syria and Egypt. In 223 B.C.E. Seleukos Soter of Syria was assassinated after a three-year reign by his younger brother Antiochos the Great (Antiochos III, 242–187 B.C.E.). The latter succeeded his brother and restored the eastern provinces to the empire, extending as far as India. In 221 B.C.E. Ptolemaios Euergetes of Egypt died and was succeeded by his son Ptolemaios Philopator (Ptolemy IV, “Loving the Father,” 238–205 B.C.E.), whereas Philip V (238–179 B.C.E.) became king of Macedonia. In 217 B.C.E. the twenty-five-year-old Antiochos the Great of Syria was defeated by the twenty-one-year-old Ptolemaios Philopator of Egypt at the Battle of Raphiah (now Rafa), south of Gaza, Palestine. This was a deep narcissistic blow to Antiochos.

The Egyptian victor, Ptolemaios Philopator, was described by Polybius (c. 200–118 B.C.E.) and other Greek historians as a corrupt, drunken, debauched reveler under the sway of disreputable associates (Goetz 1990:9:773). If that was the case, his infancy and childhood in an incestuous, symbiotic family may have been the cause. Ptolemaios Philopator married his sister, Arsinoë. It took her seven years (217–210 B.C.E.) to bear him a son, later called Ptolemaios Epiphanes (Ptolemy V, 210–180 B.C.E.). The Greek word *epiphanes* means “the manifest god,” while *epiphania* means “the manifestation of a god.” The name may have had to do with Ptolemaios Philopator’s grandiose self and his desperate quest for a son and heir. In 205 B.C.E. Ptolemaios Philopator died at age thirty-three. His inner clique, led by the corrupt Sosibius, kept his death a secret, and soon murdered the widowed queen Arsinoë, making her five-year-old son, the boy-king Ptolemaios Epiphanes, king of Egypt. Sosibius became the actual ruler, banishing all prominent officials from Egypt.

When Sosibius retired in 202 B.C.E., civil war broke out in Egypt between his successor, Agathocles, and the governor of Pelusium, Tlepolemos. Sensing Egypt’s weakness, the narcissistically vengeful Antiochos the Great of Syria allied himself with Philip V of Macedonia to fight Egypt and take away its Asian and Aegean lands. In 198 B.C.E., after several years of continual warfare, Antiochos the Great finally defeated an Egyptian army led by Scopas at the Battle of Paneas (Panium, now Banias), at the sources of the Jordan River in northern Palestine (southern Syria). Palestine and its Jews reverted to Seleucid Syria. Palestine, named after the ancient Philistines, remained part of Syria after it reverted to Roman rule and later came under Byzantine and Ottoman rule. This fact has contributed to the modern Arab-Israeli conflict. Despite the Israeli-Palestinian accords of 1993 and 1995, some Syrian Arabs still regard Israel, Lebanon, Jordan, and “Falastin” as parts of Syria.

In Egypt, Ptolemaios Epiphanes was kept busy suppressing internal revolts. In 196 B.C.E. he had a royal decree of his inscribed by the priests of Memphis on the so-called Rosetta Stone, discovered two millennia later during Napoleon's invasion of Egypt (1799). The decree was inscribed in two languages, Egyptian and Greek, and in three scripts, hieroglyphic, hieratic (demotic), and alphabetic. The Rosetta Stone served as the key to the deciphering of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. The British physicist Thomas Young (1773–1829) and the French Egyptologist Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832) discovered that the Egyptian text was a translation from the Greek, that the oval cartouches enclosing certain hieroglyphics were the names of Egyptian royalty, and that the Egyptians signs were partly alphabetic, partly syllabic, and partly determinative. The Rosetta Stone proved that even though Greek culture predominated, ancient Egyptian culture was still very powerful.

It took Roman intervention to halt the Syrian-Egyptian war. In 194/193 B.C.E. a Syrian-Egyptian peace treaty was concluded. Cleopatra Syra, a daughter of Antiochos the Great of Syria, was married to Ptolemaios Epiphanes of Egypt. They had three children: Ptolemaios Philometor (Ptolemy VI, "Loving the Mother," d. 145 B.C.E.), Ptolemaios Euergetes Physcon (Ptolemy VIII, "the Benefactor," or "the Pot-bellied"), and, yes, Cleopatra (II). But the boy-king died suddenly in 180 B.C.E., perhaps poisoned by his own courtiers. He was succeeded by his son Ptolemaios Philometor.

HELLENISM VERSUS JUDAISM

The Jewish family called the Tobiads (the sons of Tobias) traced their ancestry to Tobias the Ammonite, governor of the Persian province of Ammon (now Jordan), east of the Jordan River, during the tenure of Nehemiah in Judaea in the fifth century B.C.E. During the third century B.C.E. the Tobiads were the principal advocates of hellenization among the Jews (Grayzel 1969:49). One of them, Joseph ben Tobias, became very prominent during the second half of that century. By the beginning of the third century B.C.E. the Jews were being hellenized rapidly. They no longer spoke Hebrew or Aramaic, but Greek. Their religious services were conducted in Greek. Their personal Hebrew names were hellenized: Honio became Onias, Ezra became Esdras, Yeshua became Iesus (Jesus), and Joshua became Jason. Some Jews had Greek names only, such as Antigonos, Hyrkanos, Aristobulos, or Philon (Philo). The choice of such names by Jews for their children indicated the degree of their hellenization.

During the reign of Ptolemaios Euergetes Physcon in Egypt, the High Priest of Judaea, Onias II, supported Seleucid rule. Around 230 B.C.E. Onias refused to pay tribute to Egypt. Ptolemaios Euergetes Physcon was about to dispatch his army to punish Judaea when Onias's nephew, Joseph ben Tobias, talked his uncle into sending him to Alexandria on a pacification mission. Joseph sweet-talked Ptolemaios Euergetes Physcon into appointing him chief tax collector in Judaea, as well as in all

the other parts of Coele-Syria. He was practically viceroy of the province. But his sons fought a terrible fratricidal war. In addition to his seven sons by his first wife, Joseph had a son, Hyrkanos, by his beloved niece, who was his favorite. Hyrkanos was dispatched to the Egyptian court of Ptolemaios Epiphanes at Alexandria to represent his father, where he became a courtier. Hyrkanos's half-brothers were envious and enraged, plotting to kill him. Hyrkanos managed to have two of them murdered first. The remaining five half-brothers continued to fight Hyrkanos.

Upon the death of Joseph ben Tobias, his sons split into two camps. The one, led by Hyrkanos, favored Ptolemaic Egyptian rule, while the other camp, who called themselves the Tobiads, favored Seleucid Syrian rule. High Priest Simeon ben Onias (Simeon II), sided with the Tobiads. The two camps developed into full-fledged political parties. The Tobiads won in 198 B.C.E., when Antiochos the Great of Syria defeated Ptolemaios Epiphanes of Egypt at Paneas and annexed Judaea to the Seleucid empire. Hyrkanos fled east across the Jordan River, where he built a castle and fought the Nabataeans. Twenty-two years later, when Antiochos Epiphanes came to power in Syria, Hyrkanos killed himself. The Nabataeans were an ancient Arab group in Palestine and Trans-Jordan who in the fourth century B.C.E. established a kingdom with its capital at Petra (now in Jordan), whose Red Rock temples still attract many tourists. The Nabataeans spoke an Aramaic dialect. After the conquests of Alexander the Great they were superficially hellenized, adopting Greek names.

This brings us to the second century B.C.E. and the oft-glorified Hasmonean (Maccabean) revolt against Hellenic Seleucid rule. When Antiochos the Great captured Coele-Syria, including Judaea, in 200–198 B.C.E., his Seleucid empire had reached the zenith of its cultural and political development. It had succeeded in hellenizing many Asian peoples and jealously preserved and defended the Greek religion, in stark contrast to the Egyptianized Ptolemies, who had embraced many aspects of Egyptian religion and had merged the Greek gods with their Egyptian counterparts.

Hellenic culture was much more attractive to the young Jews of Judaea than the rigid strictures of their own religion. The Greek myths and deities, projections of the deepest infantile conflicts and family relations etched into the unconscious mind of every person, deeply appealed to the people, just as the Canaanites myths had to their ancestors. The Tobiads led the wave of hellenization among the Jews. The Hellenizers, who promoted nude outdoor sports, gymnasia, theaters, *ephebi*, fighting, and other aspects of Greek culture, were violently opposed by the Hassidim, the zealous adherents of orthodox Judaism. The Biblical Hebrew word *hassid* means "pious" or "loyal." The Hassidim were incensed by the hellenization of their people, especially by those aspects of Hellenism that directly contravened Judaism: the belief in many gods, pederasty, sculpture, worship of the king as divine, nude sports, and the violation of the Sabbath (Gonzalez-Reigosa and Kaminsky, 1989). The Jewish Zealots may have been enraged because of unconscious dissociation and projection: the Hellenizers were doing that which the Hassidim unconsciously wished to do but which their conscience and religion forbade them to do.

ROME VERSUS CARTHAGE

By the beginning of the second century B.C.E. the Roman Republic had greatly expanded its power and territory. Its chief rival was Carthage in North Africa (near modern Tunis). The name Carthage (Carthago) derives from the Aramaic Cartha Hadatha (the New City), the "old" city being Utica. The Carthaginians were sea-going Canaanites from Tyre (in Hebrew, Tsor; in Arabic, Sur, in Lebanon) who had migrated by sea to Utica, twenty-five miles northwest of Carthage, around 1100 B.C.E. In the ninth century B.C.E. there was a further wave of Tyrian migration to Carthage. Since the Tyrians used to dye their cloth purple, the Greek word for which was *phoenicia*, the Greeks called the Tyrians—and by extension all Canaanites who lived on the northeastern Mediterranean seacoast and traded with the Greeks—Phoenicians. The "Phoenician" Carthaginians spoke a northern Canaanite Hebrew dialect similar to Aramaic. They practiced the Canaanite cults of Baal and his consort Baalath as well as the sacrifice of the firstborn sons to Moloch (Melech). The Tyrian Baal Melqart, the king of the (Underworld) City, the chief god of Tyre, was transplanted to Carthage.

The Punic Wars was the name Rome gave its wars with Carthage. The name Punic comes from the Latin *Poeni* (Phoenicians). The First Punic War (264–241 B.C.E.) was brilliantly fought by the Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca (d. 228 B.C.E.), who was able to stop Rome from conquering North Africa. In 247 B.C.E. Hamilcar invaded Roman Sicily and fought the Romans for six years in what became known as the First Punic War. Rome never put up with this painful narcissistic injury and never gave up. Hamilcar had two famous sons, Hasdrubal (Hasdrubaal, d. 207 B.C.E.) and Hannibal (Hannibaal, 247–183/182 B.C.E.), both theophorous names derived from Baal. In 238 B.C.E. Hamilcar put down the revolt of his rivals, Spendius and Matho, becoming very powerful. From 237 to 228 B.C.E. Hamilcar conquered large portions of eastern and southern Hispania from Rome. The Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.E.) was just as brilliantly fought by Hannibal, the most famous of Carthaginians. An implacable and formidable foe of Rome, he crossed the Alps with his army and elephants and almost defeated the great republic.

Numidia, a divided North African kingdom west of Carthage (in what is now Algeria), played a key role in Hannibal's career. In 207 B.C.E. Masinissa (238–148 B.C.E.) succeeded his father as king of East Numidia, becoming an ally of Carthage. Masinissa's rival Syphax reigned in West Numidia. Flaubert's novel *Salammbô* notwithstanding, Hasdrubal's daughter was the Carthaginian princess Saphanbaal ("Baal has hidden or protected"), whose name was latinized as Sophonisba. Her father seems to have betrothed her to Masinissa, but then reneged and married her to Syphax. Masinissa was deeply hurt and enraged. Meanwhile, Hannibal's campaigns against Rome were thwarted by the fatal divisions among the leading families of Carthage, which prevented him from receiving vital supplies for his Italian campaigns. Hasdrubal's defeat and death on the Metaurus River in 207 B.C.E. was not only a blow to his

daughter Saphanbaal but also to his brother Hannibal, who could no longer receive supplies for his army, and he withdrew into the Brutium mountains.

In 206 B.C.E. Masinissa, bent on vengeance against Hasdrubal's Carthage, turned his coat and allied himself with Rome. In 203 B.C.E. Masinissa and his Roman allies defeated West Numidia. Syphax was slain, and Saphanbaal died. There are two versions of the tragic end of Saphanbaal. One says that after her husband Syphax was killed, she took poison and died. The other says that Masinissa, now king of all Numidia, married Saphanbaal, and that the Romans demanded that Masinissa display Saphanbaal in their triumph. To thwart this demand, Masinissa sent Saphanbaal a bowl of poison, which she drank and died. Hannibal was recalled to Carthage to check the advances of the Romans. But in 202 B.C.E. the Roman general Scipio Africanus Major (236–183 B.C.E.), aided by Masinissa, defeated Hannibal at the Battle of Zama. Carthage, which had been a mighty Afro-European empire, lost all its ships and all its possessions outside Africa and was reduced to a minor commercial power. Hannibal became the *suffete* (supreme magistrate; in Hebrew, *shofet*, judge) of Carthage, but did not give up his wish to restore her to her past glory. Unable to mourn his losses, he kept meditating vengeance.

Rome sought to expand its power eastward to Greece, Asia Minor, and Asia Major. Antiochos the Great of Syria dreamed of expanding his Seleucid empire to the size of the empire of Alexander the Great, of restoring the past glory of Greece in his own realm. Antiochos coveted the same territories which Rome was eyeing. The growing power of Rome was a profound threat to his grandiose ambitions. His grandiose self could brook no frustration. Antiochos struggled with himself. Should he or should he not take on mighty Rome? He sought the advice of kings and generals. Antiochos had captured all of Coele-Syria and Asia Minor and had formidable armies himself.

In 197 B.C.E. the Aetolian League of Greek *poleis* allied itself with Rome to fight its rivals, Philip V of Macedonia (238–179 B.C.E.) and the Achaean League. The Aetolians and Romans defeated the Macedonians and Achaeans at the Battle of Kynoskephalae. Philip V had been an ally of Antiochos the Great, who was very ambivalent. Should he not come to Philip's rescue? In 196 B.C.E. Antiochos seized the Thracian Chersonese. This alarmed many Greeks, who appealed to Rome for aid. The Seleucid empire of Syria and the Roman Republic were on a collision course, fueled by the narcissism of their leaders, whose grandiose selves demanded ever greater expansion.

In 195 B.C.E. Hannibal's Carthaginian rivals denounced him to the Romans for intriguing against them. Hannibal fled to the Syrian court of Antiochos the Great, Rome's chief rival, and urged his host to advance on mainland Greece and on Rome. Antiochos was ambivalent, fearful of Roman power. In the meantime the Aetolian League had become disenchanted with Rome and broken off its alliance with her. Rome had sought to dominate, not to aid or rescue. From 195 to 193 B.C.E. Hannibal urged Antiochos to fight Rome, but Antiochos demurred.

Finally, in 192 B.C.E. the Aetolian League invited Antiochos to fight Rome on its side. Egged on by Hannibal and by his own narcissism, Antiochos the Great made the

fatal error of accepting their offer. In 191 B.C.E. the Roman legions decimated the Seleucid forces at Thermopylae. Antiochos retreated to Asia Minor, pursued by the Roman legions, who dealt him another crushing defeat at Magnesia in 190 B.C.E. After losing several naval battles in the Mediterranean in 189 B.C.E., Antiochos the Great was forced in 188 B.C.E. to accept the humiliating terms of the Peace of Apamea: he promised to give up all his European territories as well as all Asia Minor except Cilicia, to surrender his war elephants and his navy, to hand over Hannibal and other political refugees (as well as twenty hostages, including his own son), and to pay a huge indemnity. Hannibal fled to Crete, then to Bithynia, where the Romans pursued him. When the Romans forced King Prusias of Bithynia to surrender Hannibal, the Carthaginian poisoned himself at Libyssa (183/182 B.C.E.).

Antiochos the Great's dreams of reviving Alexander the Great's empire were shattered, and his narcissistic injury was deep. The following year, 187 B.C.E., Antiochos the Great was murdered by enraged locals while looting a temple in Elam to pay his indemnity to Rome (Bevan 1966; Bright 1981:418). Some Jews believed that this had been prophesied by Daniel (Dan. 11:1–19). Antiochos's son, Seleukos Philopator (Seleucus IV) reigned in Syria from 187/186 to 175 B.C.E. During this time the king's younger brother, Antiochos Epiphanes (Antiochos IV), was held hostage in Rome. The looting of non-Hellenic temples to pay the Seleucid indemnity to Rome went on.

At this time a power struggle over control of the Temple of Yahweh arose between the High Priest of Judaea, Honio (Onias III), and the guardian of the Temple, Simeon ben Tobias, a member of the hellenizing Tobiads. Simeon took his case to the governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, telling him that the Temple held untold treasures. The governor in turn told King Seleukos Philopator, who sent his own treasurer and councillor, Heliodoros, to loot the Temple. For unknown reasons Heliodoros returned empty-handed. One Jewish legend has it that he was assaulted by a terrible-looking horseman and two lads who beat him up mercilessly; another says that Onias III was able to turn the tables on his rival in Antioch. It is not clear why Seleukos trusted Heliodoros, for it was this treacherous Heliodoros who murdered Seleukos Philopator in 175 B.C.E., probably at the instigation of his brother Antiochos Epiphanes, who acceded to the Seleucid throne. The Jews, counting the Greek era in their history from 312 B.C.E., called it "the year 137 of the Greek Era" (1 Macc. 1:10).

The accession of Antiochos Epiphanes as king of Seleucid Syria did not bode well for Judaea. This malignantly narcissistic king had a very grandiose self. He was addicted to luxury, pomp, and warfare. He adored Roman-style gladiator fights. He loved to build monuments and temples. As his name Epiphanes indicated, he thought of himself as the "god manifest." He was known among the Jews by his derogatory byname of Epimanes (the Mad). The outward splendor of his court concealed internal corruption. The external luxury and splendor of his monuments constituted a psychological defense against an inner feeling of helplessness, emptiness, or worthlessness, which his having been a hostage in Rome for many years may well have aggravated.

The Jewish Hassidim blamed the accession of Antiochos Epiphanes for the rise of a band of renegade Jews in Israel who concealed their shameful circumcision by a

wearing a foreskin on their penis (1 Macc. 1:11–15). The chief player in the drama that unfolded in Judaea was the Hellenist leader Jason, whose Hebrew name was Jeshua (Joshua). Jason was a brother of Jewish High Priest and ethnarch Onias III, who was in Antioch seeking an audience with the king when Seleukos Philopator was murdered. Jason bribed the new king, Antiochos Epiphanes, into appointing him High Priest of Judaea, usurping Onias's office. Hyrkanos ben Joseph ben Tobias, who had been defeated by his brothers, killed himself (Margolis and Marx 1985:135).

Antiochos Epiphanes was delighted to accept Jason's money as well as his promise of thorough hellenization of the Jews. Around 175 B.C.E., upon becoming ethnarch and High Priest of Yahweh, Jason at once instituted his policy of thorough hellenization in Judaea (2 Macc. 4:10–17). This included pederasty, an abomination to the authors of Leviticus (Gonzalez-Reigosa and Kaminsky 1989). Jason built gymnasias and *ephebeia* and sought to make his people citizens of Antioch. He made the finest of the young Jewish men wear the felt hat worn by the *ephebi*, the young Greek athletes (2 Macc. 4:12). Young Jews practiced nude outdoor sports and military discipline. This enraged the Jewish Zealots, for whom it was heretical blasphemy and sacrilege. What may have upset the Zealots so much was that the young hellenized Jews were doing all that the Hassidim unconsciously yearned to do themselves.

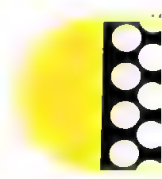
Greek and Hebrew cultures, both of which may have originated in Ugaritic civilization (Gordon 1965), were brought together by the Jewish Hellenists. It had been easier for the polytheistic Canaanites than for the supposedly monotheistic Jews. The Canaanite gods had already been syncretized with the Greek ones, as we know from the writings of Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea (263–339), who quoted Philo Byblius (late first and early second century C.E.) on this subject. The highest Canaanite god Elioun was fused with the Greek god Hypsistos, the Canaanite sky god Shamayim with the Greek god Uranos, the Canaanite father god El with the Greek god Kronos, and the Canaanite storm god Baal with the Greek storm god Zeus Demarous. The Greek demigod Herakles was fused with the Tyrian Baal Melqart (Ben-Sasson 1976:122, 203). The hellenization of Phoenicia was total. It was easy for the Phoenicians, whose gods and myths resembled those of the Greeks, and whose culture may have developed from that of Ugarit via Minoan Crete (Gordon 1965).

The Jews, however, had more or less given up the worship of Canaanite deities by the fifth century B.C.E., and their Yahweh religion had become strict and ritualized. During the years he was High Priest and ethnarch (175–171 B.C.E.), Jason promoted Greek sports at the expense of Temple worship. He sent a Jewish delegation to the Olympic Games at Tyre, which were presided over by Antiochos Epiphanes himself. Jason gave this delegation a large sum of money to buy offerings and sacrifices to Melqart-Herakles, the Tyrian demigod of the games, but the delegates gave the money to the royal treasury for the building of the royal navy. Antiochos Epiphanes traveled to Jaffa and Jerusalem, where he was royally received by Jason.

Jason did not last long in the office of High Priest. He was unseated in 171 B.C.E. by Menelaos, a member of the noble Jewish Tobiads and a more extreme Hellenizer than Jason himself. Menelaos had been charged by Jason with carrying the Judaeans


tribute to Antioch. He offered Antiochos Epiphanes a vast sum of money over and above Jason's payments. This bribe persuaded Antiochos Epiphanes to remove Jason and to make Menelaos the new High Priest. Menelaos proclaimed himself of priestly descent, even though he was fully hellenized. Menelaos was soon looting the Temple of Yahweh of its vessels, yet was unable to pay the required tribute to Antiochos Epiphanes. Menelaos was summoned to the Syrian court of Antioch to give an account. He left his brother Lysimachos in charge of Judaea and left for Antioch. At the same time Antiochos Epiphanes left Antioch to quell a rebellion in Cilicia, leaving his aide Andronikos in charge as regent.

Onias III, the legitimate High Priest who had been deposed by Jason, was now living in Daphnae, near Antioch. Daphnae was the site of the famous temples of Apollo and Artemis, which served as sanctuary. From here Onias upbraided High Priest Menelaos publicly. The furious Menelaos bribed the Syrian regent Andronikos into having Onias lured out of Daphnae by guile and assassinated (2 Macc. 4:27-38). Meanwhile riots had broken out in Jerusalem when Menelaos's brother Lysimachos went on looting the Temple to help his brother Menelaos pay the tribute in Antioch. Lysimachos's Greek troops were stoned and Lysimachos himself was killed by the mob. Menelaos returned to Jerusalem, while Antiochos Epiphanes executed three Jewish elders from Jerusalem who came to plead against Menelaos. This helped cement Jewish rage against Antiochos "Epimanes."



15

The Myth of Maccabean Independence



During the second century B.C.E. Seleucid Syria was increasingly besieged by the Romans from the west, by the Parthians from the east, and by the Egyptians from the south. The three powers gradually captured Seleucid territories. Egypt always had designs on Syrian territory. Egypt's king Ptolemaios Philometor (Ptolemy VI, d. 145 B.C.E.) was the son of Ptolemaios Epiphanes (Ptolemy V) and Cleopatra Syra, the daughter of Antiochos the Great of Syria. Ptolemaios Philometor was coregent with his mother until she died (176 B.C.E.) and must have loved his mother dearly to earn his byname of Philometor. Around 173 B.C.E., true to the ancient Egyptian practice of royal incest, he married his sister, also named Cleopatra (II). Their children were Ptolemaios Neos Philopator (Ptolemy VII, "the New Ptolemy, the Father Lover") and Cleopatra Thea (the Goddess). Unable to mourn his losses, Ptolemaios Philometor longed to invade Coele-Syria, the fertile province in what is now Lebanon, along the Orontes and Leontes Rivers, and restore it to Egypt. The province included Judaea.

In 170 B.C.E. Ptolemaios Philometor and his wife Cleopatra were joined on the Egyptian throne by the king's younger brother, Ptolemaios Euergetes Physcon (Ptolemy VIII). Feeling secure, the Egyptian king invaded Coele-Syria. He was repelled by Antiochos Epiphanes (Antiochus IV), who proceeded to Egypt and seized the Egyptian frontier city of Pelusium. The authors of the biblical story tell us that "once he was firmly established on his throne, Antiochos determined to become king of Egypt and so rule both kingdoms" and that he invaded Egypt "with a powerful force of chariots, elephants, and cavalry" (1 Macc. 1:16–17), capturing its fortified cities. The victorious Antiochos returned home in the year 143 of the Greek era (169 B.C.E.). But the following year the Romans checked his advance into Egypt. In 164 B.C.E. Seleucia was destroyed by the Romans, and in 129 B.C.E. the Parthians captured the eastern capital of Ctesiphon from the Seleucids.

The Greek-speaking Egyptian Jews produced a number of historians, from Demetrios at the end of the third century B.C.E. through Hekataios and Eupolemos (second century B.C.E.), Artapanos, Kleodemos (Malchus), and finally Jason of Cyrene (c. 100 B.C.E.). Ptolemaios Philometor's royal incest notwithstanding, the Jewish Hassidim supported him against the forced hellenizing by Antiochos Epiphanes of Syria, whom they hated. It was rumored in Judaea that Antiochos Epiphanes had lost his life fighting in Egypt; this was wishful thinking. Josephus says that Jason, who

had deposed Onias III as High Priest and had been deposed by Menelaos in his turn, seized the opportunity to march on Jerusalem at the head of a thousand men. He captured the holy city, forcing the High Priest Menelaos to take refuge in the citadel. Jason killed so many of his real or imagined enemies that the enraged and desperate people rose up in arms and drove him from Jerusalem. He finally died at Sparta, Greece. On his way back from his victory in Egypt the Seleucid king Antiochos Epiphanes plundered the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem and placed a royal commissioner to watch over the High Priest Menelaos.

In 168 B.C.E. Antiochos Epiphanes of Syria again invaded Egypt, won another victory, seized Memphis, and marched on Alexandria. But Rome had adopted a new, aggressive, and ruthless foreign policy, and no longer brooked Syrian expansion. The Roman legate Gaius Popillius Laenas, a leader of the aggressive Fulvian group in the Roman Senate, caught up with Antiochos and delivered an ultimatum from the Roman Senate threatening war if he did not at once leave Egypt. The king, who had been hostage in Rome in his youth and justly feared Roman power, wisely obeyed. By now the Orthodox Jews of Judaea were seething with rage at their enforced and extreme hellenization. The king, suffering from his humiliation by Rome, heard that his troops were unable to maintain order in Judaea. He was enraged and decided to take vengeance on the Jews. His narcissistic fury had unconsciously been displaced to a weaker adversary.

In 167 B.C.E. Antiochos Epiphanes sent a large force of Mysian mercenaries to Judaea, led by his general Apollonius, who cunningly invaded Jerusalem on the Sabbath, when the Jews were resting at home. Apollonius mercilessly had his men slaughter many of the people of Jerusalem, took many as slaves, and destroyed the city walls. Many Jews fled the city, their homes being occupied by Greeks. A new citadel (the Acra) was built west or south of the Temple Mount, on the site of the City of David. It became the chief fortress of the Seleucid Syrian empire in Judaea, holding a garrison of "impious foreigners and renegades" (1 Macc. 1:33–34) and constituting a colony of hellenized pagans for the next twenty-five years. Antiochos Epiphanes embarked on a policy of forced hellenization of the Jews. "His subjects were all to become one people and abandon their own customs" (1 Macc. 1:41–42). Antiochos instituted a new regime in Judaea. Jewish rituals, including circumcision, the Sabbath, and dietary laws, were outlawed on pain of death. The "renegade" priests led by the High Priest Menelaos wished to convert Judaism into a Syro-Hellenic cult in which Yahweh would be fused with Zeus, as Baal had been in Phoenicia (Bright 1981:422). Antiochos Epiphanes himself was to be worshipped as Zeus Epiphanes (Zeus manifest).

Many Jews reacted with shock, horror, and rage to these edicts, resisting them violently. This only drove the narcissistic Syrian king to issue a further edict annulling all the concessions his father had made to the Jews and outlawing the practice of Judaism altogether. Finally, on 15 Kislev (December) in the year 145 of the Greek era (167 B.C.E.), Antiochos had the cult of the Zeus Olympios introduced into the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem. An altar to Zeus was erected atop the altar of Yahweh in the Temple and animal sacrifices were made. "The abomination of desolation was set up

on the altar of the Lord . . . pagan altars were built; incense was offered. . . . Every scroll of the law that was found was torn up and consigned to the flames, and anyone discovered in possession of a Book of the Covenant or conforming to the [Jewish] law was by a sentence of the king condemned to die" (1 Macc. 1:54–57).

Bright (1981:423) thought that Antiochos Epiphanes could not understand why his policies provoked such rage among some Jews. All he wanted them to do was to identify their god with his, which other peoples in his empire had willingly done. The king had no empathy for the feelings of his Jewish subjects, and he reacted with narcissistic rage, otherwise known as "righteous indignation." Many hellenized Jews welcomed the king's edicts. Others accepted them out of fear. Many Jews were killed by Antiochos's Greek troops for circumcising their sons. Sabbath keepers were massacred. Other loyal Jews were tortured. This was the beginning of Jewish martyrdom. Their rigid adherence to religious precepts required of the Jewish believers to prefer death to transgression. The stricter one's conscience and personality structure, the more likely one was to die as a martyr at the hands of Antiochos's troops.

This was the stuff of Greek tragedy. The narcissism of the Divine King and that of the Zealot Jews brought about an inevitable clash, war, and massacre. Ben-Sasson (1976:205) believed that this was the first time in all human history when "the world witnessed a spectacle of mass martyrdom." The Jews thought of the ten horns of the fourth beast in Dan. 7–8 as symbolizing the ten Seleucid kings. The little horn of blasphemous pride that made itself greater than God was Antiochos Epiphanes. "There can be little doubt that Antiochos is intended [here], for he blasphemes the Most High, persecutes the saints, defiles the Temple, suspends the sacrifices, and abolishes the law" (Bright 1981:425). In 167/166 B.C.E. Mattathias ben Yohanan the Hasmonean, an elder of priestly descent in the Jewish village of Modiin, started the Zealot Jewish revolt against Antiochos Epiphanes after Syrian Greek officials attempted to force him to worship Zeus. Mattathias personally killed a Jew who attempted the sacrifice, and his five sons killed the royal officials.

The Greek text of Maccabees gives the names of Mattathias's five sons as John (Iohannes) called Gaddis, Simon (Simeon) called Thasis, Judas (Ioudas) called Maccabeus, Eleazar (Lazaros) called Avaran, and Jonathan (Ionas) called Apphus (1 Macc. 2:1–4). They fled their village with their aging father, who died within the year, commanding his five sons to continue the revolt. The most daring son, Judas Maccabeus (Yehudah Makkabee), became the leader. His name Maccabeus probably meant "hammer" (in Hebrew, *makkebeth*), but Jewish legend transformed Maccabee into the Hebrew acronym MCBY for *Mi Camocha BaElim Yhwh* (Who is like Thee among the gods, O Yahweh?), which probably never crossed Judas's mind.

Judas Maccabeus was courageous to the point of recklessness, warlike, and a great leader. He was able to keep changing his strategy in the face of enemy moves, and was fired with religious zeal. He is described as a roaring young lion seeking its prey (1 Macc. 3:4). Judas distinguished himself as the leader of a guerrilla band fighting against the Greeks. His burning desire to purify the Temple of Yahweh of its loathsome Greek idols may have sprung from deeper, unconscious wellsprings, such as an

early wish to clean, purify and restore his sexually “defiled” mother. As Judas’s father had “defiled” his mother sexually, so Antiochos Epiphanes had defiled Judas’s motherland of Judaea (in Hebrew, Yehudah = Judas). We shall never know for sure, because we do not have sufficient documentation on Judas’s early life and family relations. In quick succession Judas dealt crushing defeats to Antiochos’s generals. First came the murderous Apollonius, whom Judas killed and whose sword he expropriated, as David had done Goliath’s. Then came the turn of Seron, the Seleucid general of Palestine, whose army Judas routed in 166/165 B.C.E. at the Battle of Beth-Horon.

Judas Maccabeus was helped by the fact that the main bulk of Antiochos Epiphanes’ army was tied up in the east fighting the Parthians. The Seleucid king instructed the regent Lysias, his viceroy in the western part of the kingdom, to fight Judas with all the force at his disposal. Lysias assigned the anti-Jewish general Ptolemaios, son of Dorymenes, governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, to deal with the rebels. Ptolemaios in turn dispatched the generals Nicanor and Gorgias to fight Judaea. They led their troops, which greatly outnumbered those of Judas, to Emmaus, west of Jerusalem. The Greek forces were augmented by various foreign volunteers from neighboring peoples, and even by hellenized Jews (Grayzel 1969:61). The Jewish Zealots, encouraged by their victories over Apollonius and Seron, devised clever strategies to rout their enemies.

The Jewish forces had gathered at Mitzpah (Mizpeh), the holy city of the tribe of Benjamin, which served them as a place of worship in place of occupied Jerusalem. While part of Gorgias’s force was out searching for Judas, the fiery Jewish leader attacked the enemy camp, scoring a smashing victory over Gorgias, who had to retreat into Philistia. Ptolemaios and Nicanor were also routed. Lysias himself, the Syrian viceroy, led a still mightier force through Idumaea (Edom) to Judaea. Judas Maccabeus met Lysias at Beth-Tsour (Beth-Sur) on the Judaeian-Idumaeian border and dealt him another crushing blow. Lysias sought to appease the Jews by issuing a decree to the Jewish Gerousia that pardoned all Jewish rebels who returned home by a given date, and promising freedom of religion. Lysias also removed Ptolemaios, the son of Dorymenes, as *strategos* (commander or governor) of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, replacing him with the more conciliatory Ptolemaios Marcon. Yet Lysias left the hellenizing Jewish High Priest Menelaos in power in Judaea. Judas Maccabeus was determined to press his military advantage to Jerusalem.

HANUKKAH: FEAST OF LIGHTS?

In late 164 B.C.E. Antiochos Epiphanes of Syria died on his way home from another defeat at Elam, where he was said to have looted the shrine of the Nanai. He died at Tabae (Gabae) in Persis (near modern Isfahan, Iran). As with his father Antiochos the Great in 187 B.C.E., many Jews saw his death as divine punishment for his looting of the temple in Elam. Jewish legend had Antiochos Epiphanes die in agony, mad with guilt and repentant. In fact he died of physical illness at the age of fifty-one.

On 25 Kislev (December), shortly after the death of Antiochos Epiphanes, the Jews under Judas Maccabeus took Jerusalem. The Temple of Yahweh was purified and dedicated with great festivities and joy. The Book of Maccabees uses the Greek word *katharismos* for the purification and the Greek term *egkainia* for the dedication. This is the official origin of the feast of Hanukkah, also known in Jewish tradition as the Feast of Lights. Yet the Book of Maccabees says not a word about fires or lights. The Feast of Lights had been a week-long pagan Semitic solar feast, the feast of the annual rebirth of the Akkadian-Canaanite sun god Shamash-Ner at the time of the winter solstice, and had derived from the primitive fear of the devouring of the sun by darkness during the winter solstice (Wellhausen 1885; Beit-Hallahmi 1976). Shamash-Ner was associated with his brother, the Canaanite fire god Moloch, to whom child sacrifices were made until daylight seemed to return. Afterwards, on each successive night more fires were lit to celebrate its return.

The ancient solar Feast of Lights was gradually fused with the new Jewish feast of the Dedication of the Temple. The increasing number of fires lit each successive night had symbolized the once-more-increasing sunlight. With time the eight candles of the *hanukiah* came to symbolize the oil used to light the holy menorah, which was said to have lasted for eight days. At Hanukkah, with each successive sunset, one more candle is lit. It is no accident that the Hebrew names for these candles are still Shamash and Ner, the names of the Babylonian and Canaanite sun gods. As with every Jewish feast and ritual, ancient pagan rituals were transformed into or fused with Jewish ones (Reik 1964). It is easy to recognize the old pagan ritual in the lights of the Christmas Tree as well.

The Jewish victory over the Seleucid Greeks in 164 B.C.E. was short-lived. Soon the Romans captured Seleucia, the eastern capital of the Seleucid empire on the Tigris River, which had been taken over by the Parthians in 250 B.C.E. Antiochos Epiphanes was succeeded by his son Antiochos Eupator (Antiochos V, "the Good Father," d. 162 B.C.E.), who lasted only two years on the throne. Lysias, the Seleucid viceroy, was forced to fight Philippos, who had been named lord protector and regent in Antiochos Epiphanes' will. The following year, 163/162 B.C.E., Lysias again invaded Judaea at the head of a mighty army and with his royal ward, the boy-king Antiochos Eupator. This time Lysias defeated the Jewish defenders at Beth-Tsour. Judas Maccabeus was forced to lift his siege of the Greek Acra fortress in Jerusalem and rush his forces to Beth Zechariah, south of Jerusalem, where Lysias again routed the Jewish forces. Jewish myth has it that Judas's brother Eleazar (Lazarus) was killed while stabbing Antiochos Eupator's elephant to death.

The battlefield shifted to Jerusalem's Temple Mount. Fortunately for Judas, the Syrian regent Philippos led his forces on Antioch, forcing his rival Lysias to leave Judaea and return to Antioch in order to prevent Philippos from usurping the throne. Lysias offered terms of peace to Judas Maccabeus, including freedom of religious worship and internal political freedom from Syrian intervention, provided the Jews recognized the sovereignty of the Seleucids and pulled down the fortresses they had erected on the Temple Mount and at Beth Tsour. Lysias offered to remove High Priest

Menelaos and to install Alkimos (Alcimus; in Hebrew, Elyakim), a mild Hellenizer, as High Priest.

The Syrian peace offer threw the Jewish camp into disarray. The Council of the Jews, which included the senior officers in Judas's army, scribes, and elders of the Hassidim, voted to accept the offer. Judas Maccabeus and his men, who saw the offer as a Syrian ploy to revert to the old hellenizing government, were outvoted and left Jerusalem. Lysias acted unilaterally. Menelaos was removed as High Priest and executed, and Alkimos was appointed High Priest in his place. In 162 B.C.E., Demetrios (187–150 B.C.E.), son of the assassinated Syrian king Seleukos Philopator and nephew to the late king Antiochos Epiphanes, escaped from Rome and seized the Syrian throne from Antiochos Eupator and Lysias, executing both men and setting himself up as King Demetrios Soter (the Preserver or Savior). Alkimos, the new Jewish High Priest and ethnarch, was supported by Bacchides, the head of the Syrian army of King Demetrios Soter.

The "Peace of Lysias" had driven a wedge between the Hassidic Zealots, who welcomed Alkimos, and the Maccabean ones, who suspected him of plotting against them. The Maccabees were proven right. Alkimos had the city walls razed; the Maccabean soldiers were disarmed and sixty leaders of the Hassidic Zealots were executed for resisting his authority. Many embittered Zealots again flocked to Judas Maccabeus's banner. Bacchides left Jerusalem, and only part of his force was left behind to protect Alkimos. Judas's forces launched furious attacks on Alkimos's Hellenizers. Alkimos appealed to Demetrios Soter, who dispatched his general Nicanor to Judaea. In 161/160 B.C.E. the battle was joined between Judas and Nicanor at Beth-Horon. Judas routed the Greek forces, who lost their commander at the beginning of the battle.

The victorious Judas Maccabeus thought it wise to strike a deal with Rome, the ascendant power in the East. Rome's influence was increasing in Antioch, the capital of the Seleucid empire, where Rome-supported pretenders were seeking to unseat King Demetrios Soter. Judas sent a delegation to the Roman Senate headed by two of his nephews, the priest Eupolemos ben Iohannes (Yohanan) and Jason ben Eleazar. The Jewish envoys concluded a treaty of friendship with the Roman Senate that recognized the Jews as a nation and promised them freedom from Demetrios Soter's harassment.

Rome's word, however, was not worth the paper it was written on. In 159 B.C.E. Demetrios Soter of Syria, having quelled the rebellion of his subordinate Timarchos, the satrap of Media, dispatched Bacchides, his top general, with a force of twenty thousand men to march on Judaea. He knew that Rome would not intervene to rescue its Jewish "friends" because it had no special or compelling interest in tiny Judaea. This was the end of Judas Maccabeus, who had only three thousand men, most of whom urged him to retreat and to raise a larger army. Judas's grandiose self would not let him admit to any weakness. He insisted on fighting Bacchides at the head of a tiny force of eight hundred men who remained loyal to him to the very end. Judas was able to assail the right flank of Bacchides' army but was then surrounded by the left

flank's troops, who butchered the Jewish force, including Judas the Hammer himself. Thus ended the Greek tragedy in which the grandiose selves of Greek god-kings and Jewish lion-hammers demanded total sovereignty or death. The inability to mourn one's losses and the narcissism of the leaders brought about death and destruction.

THE MYTH OF JEWISH INDEPENDENCE

The tragic death of the Hasmonean leader Judas Maccabeus in his battle against the Seleucid Greek army in 159 B.C.E. was a milestone in Jewish history. His surviving brothers went on fighting their Seleucid rulers and secured a small measure of apparent freedom for their people by 142 B.C.E. It is fascinating to observe how Jewish historians differ in viewing the degree of freedom and independence the Hasmonean Jewish state really had. Some Jewish historians believe that after Judas Maccabeus's death the Jews regained their political and religious independence in Judaea for an entire century. Some thought that the Jews had achieved their religious freedom and had only to achieve their political independence. Sachar (1958a:104) believed that "the little Jewish state after centuries of servitude was again independent." Margolis and Marx (1985:149) thought that "practical independence" had been won. Yet Grayzel (1969:69) believed that "the heroic struggle of the Maccabees ended in only partial victory for the Jewish people and in total defeat for its heroic leaders . . . it was an historical tragedy." Biale (1986:11) went further:

The golden age of Jewish power in antiquity is largely a myth based on exceptions instead of the norm: the political status of the Jews throughout most of antiquity was not full sovereignty but a partial and tenuous independence in an imperial world.

Indeed, the political "independence" of Judaea was merely the intermittent difficulty of her Seleucid Syrian overlords to enforce their rule there.

The moderate Jews of Judaea were happy with the small measure of religious freedom they had achieved, and they realistically held political independence to be impossible. They supported the High Priest and ethnarch Alkimos (Alcimus), who ruled by the grace of Bacchides' Syrian Greek garrisons. The extremists, nationalists, fanatics, and Hasmoneans, however, could not rest before political freedom was achieved, which meant constant guerrilla warfare against the Seleucid Greeks. Grayzel (1969:65-68) believed that the Maccabean revolt yielded not political freedom but emotional achievements: the glory of the Hasmoneans, the memory of victory, a feeling for democracy, a strengthening of Jewish faith, and significant contributions to Jewish literature, such as the books of Psalms, Daniel, and Maccabees.

Bacchides' rule was heavy-handed. He executed the Jewish followers of Judas Maccabeus, took several prominent Jewish families hostage and jailed them in the Acra citadel at Jerusalem's Temple Mount, built Greek fortresses across Judaea, placed garrisons in them, and tortured or killed the rebels he captured. The rebels rallied

around Jonathan the Hasmonean, the youngest brother of Judas Maccabeus, who was more cautious than his fiery brother. Jonathan withdrew across the Jordan River. His brothers Judas and Lazarus had already been killed in battle. Now his eldest brother Johannes was killed by Arabs on his way to the friendly Nabataeans.

Jonathan may well have felt guilt as well as grief over the loss of his father and three brothers. He was now the undisputed leader of the Hasmoneans. Alkimos, the Seleucid-appointed Jewish High Priest and ethnarch, died in 159/158 B.C.E. Bacchides returned to Antioch, considering Judaea pacified and under his control. This gave Jonathan the Hasmonean and his elder brother Simeon an excellent opportunity to fight the Hellenizers and the supporters of King Demetrios Soter as well as to reinforce their own positions. When Bacchides returned to Judaea in 157 B.C.E. at the urging of the hellenizing party, the Hasmonean brothers had established strongholds all over the country and were now conducting guerrilla warfare against Bacchides' troops. The Seleucid general, who tired of trying to settle the affairs of the quarrelsome Jews, willingly accepted a peace offer from Jonathan that acknowledged the rule of Syria in return for Seleucid recognition of the Hasmonean party.

The hellenized Jewish notables ruled Jerusalem, while Jonathan and his Hasmoneans controlled the area north of Jerusalem. The moderate Jews, who were neither Hellenists nor Zealots, slowly rallied to the Hasmonean camp. From 157 to 153 B.C.E. there was relative peace in Judaea. No new High Priest or ethnarch was appointed. King Demetrios Soter of Syria, the Seleucid king who had killed his cousin Antiochos Eupator and the viceroy Lysias, had a lot of trouble on his hands beside Judaea. General Timarchos, the satrap of Media, had rebelled against Demetrios Soter in the east. In 153 B.C.E. Alexandros Balas (d. 145 B.C.E.), a native of Asia Minor, declared himself the true son of Antiochos Epiphanes and the rightful heir to the Seleucid throne. With the financial, political, and military aid of Rome, Egypt and Mysia (the Greek kingdom in northwest Asia Minor), and of Demetrios Soter's rivals and enemies, including the Hasmoneans of Judaea, Alexandros Balas raised an army of mercenaries and made war on Demetrios Soter.

To win over the Jews, Demetrios Soter empowered Jonathan the Hasmonean to recruit troops into his army, released the Jewish notables imprisoned in the Acra fortress, and handed the Temple Mount over to Jonathan. Alexandros Balas, for his part, bribed Jonathan with the High Priesthood and with the governorship of Judaea. Jonathan could tell a winner from a loser. He sided with Alexandros Balas, who made Jonathan High Priest and ethnarch of Judaea in 152 B.C.E. In 150 B.C.E. Alexandros Balas won the war. Demetrios Soter was killed in battle. Alexandros Balas became king of Syria and Pergamon (including Mysia) and was given as wife Cleopatra Thea (the Goddess), daughter of Ptolemaios Philometor of Egypt. Ptolemaios favored the Jews, whose numbers in Egypt grew rapidly, exceeding those in Judaea (Margolis and Marx 1985:147).

The Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.E.) was now being fought between Rome and Carthage in the central Mediterranean. The Roman censor Marcus Porcius Cato (Cato the Elder, 234–149 B.C.E.) had been consul with Lucius Valerius Flaccus in 195 B.C.E.

In 153 B.C.E. Cato was the Roman ambassador to Carthage. Its prosperity and power and its threat to Rome made Cato think that Carthage had to be destroyed. Cato agitated in the Roman Senate for many years, calling for the destruction of Carthage. Before Cato died, Rome finally charged Carthage with breaking its treaty with Rome by resisting the territorial encroachment of Rome's ally, King Masinissa of Numidia. Rome declared another war on Carthage. Utica, the old Phoenician city, sided with Rome against Carthage. The war spelled the end of Carthage. The Roman legions under Scipio Africanus Minor (184–129 B.C.E.) blockaded the city, conquered it, and sold the survivors into slavery. Carthage was razed and its site plowed up (146 B.C.E.). A new Roman province of Africa was created with Utica as its capital. Rome was now the mightiest power in the West.

Jonathan the Hasmonean of Judaea now had the support of both the Seleucid and the Ptolemaic rulers. The Hellenist Jewish party was unable to sway King Alexandros Balas of Syria against Jonathan. But in 147 B.C.E. Alexandros Balas's good life, including an ample harem of concubines in Antioch, was disturbed by his rival Demetrios Nicator (Demetrius II, 161–125 B.C.E.), the exiled surviving son of Demetrios Soter. Balas' ruthless acts against the friends of Demetrios Soter had alienated his people. Demetrios Nicator won over King Ptolemaios Philometor of Egypt, who gave him his daughter Cleopatra Thea (the Goddess) in marriage, even though she was already married to King Alexandros Balas. Was it only political expediency or did Ptolemaios Philometor hate his son-in-law Balas for having robbed him of his beloved daughter-goddess?

Demetrios Nicator raised an army of Cretan mercenaries, landed in Cilicia (Asia Minor), was crowned king of Syria, and declared war on Alexandros Balas. Jonathan the Hasmonean, whom Balas had appointed High Priest, and who was therefore loyal to him, fought Apollonius, the governor of Coele-Syria, who had switched his allegiance to Demetrios Nicator. Jonathan defeated Apollonius in Philistia. But winning a battle is not winning the war. Alexandros Balas was defeated by the joint forces of his rebellious citizens and some of his own generals. Balas was killed in battle by the troops of Demetrios Nicator and of Balas's father-in-law, Ptolemaios Philometor. Some historians believe that he fled to Arabia, where he was killed. The pretender met the same fate as the king he had deposed. The lust for power, deriving as it does from early feelings of powerlessness, had brought death and destruction to its addicts.

In 145 B.C.E. Demetrios Nicator became king of the Seleucid Syrian empire. His military, political, and economic position, however, was precarious. Jonathan the Hasmonean seized the opportunity of the king's weakness to lay siege to the Acra fort at the Temple Mount with its Seleucid garrison. King Demetrios Nicator summoned Jonathan to Ptolemais, previously known as Acre (Akko) and the capital of Coele-Syria. By offering the king his allegiance, his military support and a large sum of money, Jonathan induced Demetrios Nicator to promise to remove his garrisons from Judaea and let Jonathan annex parts of Samaria to it. Whether the Seleucid king would keep his word was another question.

Ptolemaios Philometor of Egypt died in 145 B.C.E., after falling off his horse and

fracturing his skull in the battle with Alexandros Balas of Syria. Ptolemaios Philometor's younger son, Ptolemaios Neos Philopator, and brother, Ptolemaios Euergetes Physcon, were rivals for the Egyptian throne. To establish his claim to the throne, Ptolemaios Euergetes Physcon married his brother's sister-widow, Cleopatra, who did not love him. The twice-incestuous widow and her potbellied brother-husband constantly quarreled and hated each other. Ptolemaios Euergetes Physcon finally repudiated his loved-hated wife Cleopatra to marry her daughter, also named Cleopatra, who became the mother of his son Ptolemy IX. In 131–129 B.C.E. the repudiated elder Cleopatra briefly succeeded in driving Ptolemaios Euergetes Physcon into exile. Demetrios Nicator of Syria fought Ptolemaios Euergetes Physcon of Egypt, who finally returned home. Demetrios Nicator was busy fighting a new pretender to his throne, Alexandros Zabinas. The war with Egypt finally led to Demetrios Nicator's death at Tyre in 125 B.C.E.

Demetrios Nicator was yet another malignantly narcissistic tyrant who soon had popular rebellions on his hands. In 145 B.C.E. Jonathan the Hasmonean sent Demetrios Nicator three thousand Jewish troops to help him quell an armed revolt in Antioch. The Seleucid king had promised to give Jonathan more self-rule for the Jews and to hand over to them the hated Greek-occupied Acra citadel at the Temple Mount as well as other Seleucid fortresses. Having won, the king did not keep his word. Diodotos Tryphon, the commander of the late Alexandros Balas's army, became guardian of his dead king's infant son, whom he crowned and proclaimed King Antiochos Dionysos (Antiochos VI). The war was now on between Demetrios Nicator and Diodotos Tryphon.

Diodotos Tryphon won Jonathan the Hasmonean and the Jews over to his side by conferring high honors upon Jonathan. Jonathan was not immune to such flattery, and he had become angry and disillusioned with Demetrios Nicator. Tryphon granted Jonathan, the High Priest and ethnarch of the Jews, all the titles and concessions he had received from Demetrios Nicator, and made Jonathan's brother Simeon his *strategos* for the coastal plain of Palestine. Before the end of the year Diodotos Tryphon had won over much of the Seleucid army and captured Antioch. Jonathan and Simeon were able to capture Jaffa, Ashkelon, and Gaza. They fortified the Temple Mount and built a high wall to block the Acra from it.

Jonathan sent a delegation to Rome to renew his dead brother's treaty of friendship with the great power of the West. This made Diodotos Tryphon suspicious. He believed that Jonathan and Simeon's conquests, though officially made for him, had actually expanded the political frontiers of Judaea itself, which they controlled. The Seleucid general used guile and treachery to trap Jonathan. In 143 B.C.E. Diodotos Tryphon led his troops into Palestine and camped near Scythopolis (Beth Shean), south of the Sea of Galilee. He had an audience with Jonathan in which he expressed his admiration and friendship for the Jewish leader. Diodotos Tryphon seduced Jonathan into dismissing his troops and following him with a small bodyguard to Ptolemais (Acre), where they would negotiate the handing over of that city to the Jews. His flattery worked. Jonathan followed Diodotos Tryphon to Ptolemais with a small company of troops. There Tryphon seized Jonathan, had his bodyguard executed,

and kept Jonathan prisoner. Simeon the Hasmonean, the sole surviving brother who remained free, now became the leader of the Jews. Enraged with Tryphon, he led his men against him. Tryphon attempted to surprise two thousand picked men of Jonathan's forces in the Plain of Esdraelon (Valley of Jezreel), but he failed. He used treachery once more, sending word to Simeon that he would release his brother Jonathan in exchange for a hundred talents of silver and Jonathan's two sons as hostages. Simeon did as he was bid, lest people say he had not tried to save his only surviving brother's life. Tryphon treacherously led his forces on Jerusalem from the south. He made two attempts to rescue his garrison in the Acra citadel but failed in both, partly because of Jonathan's forces and partly because of heavy snowfall. In his narcissistic rage he had Jonathan executed, breaking his word to Simeon. Diodotos Tryphon then returned to Antioch, had his ward, the Seleucid boy-king Antiochos Dionysos, murdered, and usurped the throne.

Simeon the Hasmonean, the *nasi* (prince) of Judaea, struck a deal with Demetrios Nicator of Syria, who desperately needed his help. In 142 B.C.E. Demetrios Nicator accepted Simeon's golden crown and palm branch in recognition of his sovereignty, and granted the Jews a complete immunity from taxes and tributes. In 142/141 B.C.E. Simeon's siege of the Acra citadel in Jerusalem led to the surrender of its Greek garrison, which had been there since the Acra was erected twenty-five years earlier. Meanwhile, the beleaguered Demetrios Nicator was fighting the Parthians in the east. The Parthians had freed themselves from Seleucid rule in 250 B.C.E., when their king Arshakun Shah (Arsaces I) captured Seleucia, the eastern capital of the Seleucid empire on the east bank of the Tigris River. The Seleucid kings moved their eastern capital across the river to Ctesiphon. Seleucia was destroyed by the Romans in 164 B.C.E.

Josephus reported that there were three "sects" among the Jews at that time: the traditional Pharisees, the progressive Sadducees, and the ascetic Essenes. In 141/140 B.C.E. a Great Council of the Jews composed of all political parties in Judaea elected Simeon the Hasmonean High Priest, ethnarch, and commander of the army of Judaea for ever and ever. His titles and offices would devolve upon his descendants. He was now the sole ruler of his people. The Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Ben Sira, and Daniel had already been composed. The Jews now had a whole corpus of historical and religious literature. Ironically, though, most Jews now lived in the Ptolemaic empire of Egypt, in the Seleucid empire of Asia, and in Asia Minor, rather than in Judaea. Their language and culture were Greek.

Most Jewish historians think that the Jews enjoyed a full century of political freedom in Judaea after the Hasmonean victory over the Seleucid Syrian Greeks in 165/164 B.C.E. Some have specified the end of this period of liberty as 63 B.C.E., the date of the Roman conquest of Jerusalem; others have designated it as 76 B.C.E., the end of the reign of Alexandros Iannaios, the last of the Hasmonean kings. This liberty was always, however, a restricted one. The Syrian Jews never escaped Seleucid Greek rule until they were taken over by the Parthians. Led by Arshakun Shah, the Parthians had seized Seleucia and the lands east of the Tigris River in 250 B.C.E. They established a Parthian empire as a successor to the Persian empire.

The Parthians assimilated and supplanted the Persians and Medians. Taking over Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, and the other Persian and Median cities, the Parthians assimilated the religion of Mithra, the Persian god of the sun, light, justice, contract, and war, and the Perso-Median culture. Ecbatana (now Hamadan, Iran), the former Median capital, became the Parthian capital. In 211 Arshakun Shah was succeeded by Ardavan Shah (Artabanus I or Arsaces II, r. 211–191 B.C.E.), who absorbed Hyrcania and allied himself with Bactria.

Farhad Shah of Parthia (Phraates I, or Arsaces IV, r. 176–171 B.C.E.) designated as his successor not one of his own sons but his brother Mithradad Shah (Mithradates Philhellene, Mithradates I, or Arsaces VI, r. 171–138 B.C.E.), whose name meant “Mithra’s gift,” after the Persian god of the sun, justice, and war. Mithradates Philhellene (Loving the Greeks) began the “philhellenic” period in Parthian history (171 B.C.E.–10 C.E.). The Greek language and culture were adopted, although native Parthian, Median, and Persian traditions persisted. Mithradates fought the Seleucid Syrian Greeks. Before 160 B.C.E. Mithradates had seized Media from the Seleucid king Timarchos. Mithradates won the Bactrian provinces of Tapuria and Triaxana from the Bactrian king Eucratides. Mithradates also took Elymais (Elam) from the Seleucids, invading “Babylonia” (142/141 B.C.E.) and seizing ancient Babylon, which had lost its inhabitants and importance to Seleucia on the Tigris. In 141/140 B.C.E. Demetrios Nicator of Syria recaptured Babylon from Mithradates, but in 139 B.C.E. Mithradates again defeated and captured Demetrios Nicator, holding the Seleucid monarch prisoner at the Parthian capital of Ecbatana for ten years (139–129 B.C.E.).

Antiochos Sidetes (Antiochos VII, 159–129 B.C.E.), brother of Demetrios Nicator, took up the war against the usurper Diodotos Tryphon. The Roman Senate gave Judaea a decree recognizing her political freedom and independence and proclaiming Rome’s friendship with her. This was a political act designed to undermine Seleucid Greek rule. Antiochos Sidetes did not see things that way. In 138 B.C.E. he defeated Diodotos Tryphon, and at once sent envoys to Simeon of Judaea demanding the return of Jaffa, Gezer, and the Acra citadel in Jerusalem or a thousand talents of silver, a vast amount of money. Simeon rejected the ultimatum.

Mithradad Shah of Parthia died in 138 B.C.E. and was succeeded by his son Farhad Shah (Phraates II, d. 128 B.C.E.). Farhad Shah was killed by the Greek prisoners that he had drafted into his army, as was his successor and uncle Ardavan Shah (Artabanus II, r. 128–124/123 B.C.E.). The Parthian empire achieved its greatest expansion under Mithradates II, son and successor of Ardavan Shah. By 92 B.C.E. Parthia was equal to Rome in power. The two empires sent ambassadors to the Euphrates River, their natural border, to talk peace. The Roman ambassador was Sulla, the Parthian one Orobaze. A peace treaty was signed, with the Euphrates as the common frontier. Orobaze, however, had accepted a seat lower than Sulla’s at the meeting, for which offense his master Mithradates II cut off his head. After Mithradates’ death there was a period of rivalry for the throne, followed by the reign of Godarz Shah (Gotarzes I), Orodes Shah (Orodes I), Arshakan Shah (Sanatruces, d. 70/69 B.C.E.), and Farhad Shah (Phraates III, d. 57 B.C.E.).

In 137 B.C.E. Antiochos Sidetes dispatched his general Kendebaios (Cendebaius) at the head of an army to invade and punish Judaea. Simeon's two sons, Judas and Johannes, routed the Seleucid army at Jamnia (Jabneh). Antiochos Sidetes, however, found a new ally in Simeon's treacherous son-in-law, Ptolemaios. Political assassination and regicide were unconsciously fueled by the lust for power, which sprang from early feelings of helplessness, as well as by the displacement of parricidal feelings. The young Ptolemaios, the *strategos* of Jericho, was married to a daughter of Simeon. He was ambitious and longed to take the place of his father-in-law, a wish in which he was supported by King Antiochos Sidetes. The treacherous *strategos* invited Simeon, his wife, and two sons to the Dok (Dagon) fortress near Jericho for a great feast, during which he had Simeon and his two sons murdered. Simeon's wife was kept hostage by Ptolemaios, who sought to kill Simeon's surviving son, Johannes Hyrkanos, and to take over the government in Jerusalem.

Johannes Hyrkanos, forewarned by a man who had escaped from Jericho, rushed to Jerusalem with his troops and seized the city. Leaving his men in charge, he led his troops to Jericho to take vengeance on his brother-in-law. His siege of Ptolemaios's fortress was thwarted by Ptolemaios's holding of Hyrkanos's mother, whom he produced on the walls of his fort. He had her beaten up in full view of Hyrkanos. Josephus reported that she screamed at her tormentors and entreated her son to attack anyway, but Hyrkanos could not bear to see her sufferings. When the Sabbatical year arrived, during which Jews are not allowed to farm the land, he no longer had regular supplies. This forced Hyrkanos to lift the siege and return to Jerusalem. Ptolemaios executed Hyrkanos's mother and fled across the Jordan River.

In 135 B.C.E. Hyrkanos assumed the offices of High Priest and *nasi* of Judaea. King Antiochos Sidetes, who had supported Ptolemaios of Jericho, invaded Judaea at the head of his own army. In 134 B.C.E. he besieged Jerusalem. The bloody war between the Seleucids and the Hasmoneans lasted two years (134–132 B.C.E.). Despite his war on the Parthians, who were holding his brother Demetrios Nicator captive, Antiochos Sidetes was able to force a peace treaty on the Jews that was really a treaty of surrender: the people of Jerusalem had to hand in their arms, pay the king five hundred talents of silver, surrender hostages to him, and pay him tribute for the cities they had annexed. The Acra citadel was left to them, but they had to tear down the city walls. Were these the political freedom and independence Jewish historians have vaunted? Defeated by Syria, Johannes Hyrkanos appealed to Rome, which had signed a treaty of friendship with Judaea. The duplicitous Roman policy, however, was to make alliances with any small nation that opposed its enemies and rivals, but not to honor such alliances militarily unless a major Roman interest was at stake. Judaea was not a major Roman interest and Rome left her to the mercy of the Syrian Greek Seleucids.

In the Seleucid-Parthian war of 130–129 B.C.E., the Parthians under Farhad Shah (Phraates II, d. 128 B.C.E.) defeated the Seleucids under Antiochos Sidetes. The Parthians captured all the Seleucid provinces east of the Tigris River and some provinces west of the Tigris. The Parthians seized the eastern Seleucid capital of Ctesiphon

on the left bank of the river, which became the winter residence of the Parthian kings. Johannes Hyrkanos of Judaea was forced to send troops to the army of Antiochos Sidetes of Syria in his war against Parthia. Antiochos Sidetes was killed by the Parthians (129 B.C.E.), who released Demetrios Nicator after ten years in captivity. The Seleucid empire had virtually collapsed. Mysia was incorporated into the Roman province of "Asia." The newly freed Demetrios Nicator returned to his much weakened Seleucid throne of Antioch and set out recovering his kingdom (Ben-Sasson 1976:218). He had to contend with a new pretender to his throne, Alexandros Zabinas, whom the Egyptian Ptolemies had set up. Johannes Hyrkanos seized the opportunity of Antiochos's death and of Demetrios's weakness to abrogate his treaty with the Seleucids. Judaea, however, was still ruled from Antioch. It was a province of the Seleucid empire, not an independent kingdom. Demetrios Nicator was finally killed fighting the Egyptian Ptolemies at Tyre in 125 B.C.E.

There followed a war of succession between the *diadochi* of Demetrios Nicator and those of Antiochos Sidetes for the throne of Antioch. The first to win was Demetrios Nicator's son, Antiochos Grypos (Antiochus VIII, r. 125–113 B.C.E. and again 111–96 B.C.E.), who in 113 B.C.E. was ousted by his cousin-stepbrother Antiochos Kyzikenos (Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, r. 113–95 B.C.E.). In 111 B.C.E. Antiochos Grypos recaptured the greater part of the empire from Antiochos Kyzikenos, but the latter retained the smaller part. The Seleucid empire was henceforth partitioned between their dynasties. Antiochos Kyzikenos ruled in Coele-Syria, including Judaea; Antiochos Grypos reigned over the rest of the Seleucid empire until 96 B.C.E. (Schürer 1961:72).

Johannes Hyrkanos was able to expand Judaea southward to incorporate Idumaea. The Idumaeans, the Greek name for the biblical Edomites, had been close cousins of the Canaanite Jews, speaking and writing a language close to Hebrew and worshipping their god Kos (Kaus). They were now a Greek province named Idumaea. Hyrkanos conquered and annexed Idumaea on both sides of the Jordan River. He forced the Idumaeans to convert to Judaism. Some of them were to become famous kings of Judaea, such as Herod the Great. In 120 B.C.E. Hyrkanos made war on the Samaritans, north of Judaea. He captured Neapolis (Shechem, now Nablus) and destroyed the Temple of Yahweh at nearby Mount Gerizim, the religious center of the Samaritans since the fifth century B.C.E. This made Hyrkanos and the Jews feel purified: they had destroyed the great inner evil that they had projected upon the Samaritans.

16

Civil War in Judaea

Our knowledge of Jewish life in the second century B.C.E. comes mainly from Flavius Josephus (37/38–95/100 C.E.), the great Jewish-Roman historian who wrote in Greek, the scholarly language of his time. The hellenization of the Jews had been thorough. The king of Judaea and the High Priest of Yahweh had Greek names. The Seleucid Syrians did not permit the Jews to have their own kingdom. Johannes Hyrkanos was High Priest and ethnarch of the Jews, but not king of Judaea. The Hasmoneans had been minting coins since the days of Simeon in 140/139 B.C.E., yet these coins did not signify political sovereignty. Hyrkanos's coins said, in Hebrew: "Yohanan the High Priest, Head of the Jewish Commonwealth." This was not political independence. The yearning for independence was uppermost in the minds of the members of a political and religious party that had arisen among the Jews: the Pharisees, a Greek rendering of the Hebrew *perushim* (separatists or isolationists).

Like the Puritans of seventeenth-century England, the Pharisees wished to separate the religious function of the High Priest from the secular political function of the ethnarch, as well as to isolate the Jews from all that was non-Jewish and, to them, impure. They rigidly adhered to the belief in the election of the Jews as Yahweh's chosen people and felt they had to save their suffering mother-nation. Stein and Nederland (1989) have explored the unconscious role of one's nation as early mother. Political separatism often conceals unresolved personal conflicts originating very early in life, when the issue of separation and individuation versus fusion and merger was paramount. The nationalism, extremism, rigidity, separatism, isolationism, yearning for independence, and group narcissism of the Pharisees expressed their early emotional conflicts and had tragic political consequences. The Pharisees were the heirs of the erstwhile Hassidim, who had been adamant in their Jewish nationalism and in their opposition to Hellenism. The Pharisees now made up the religious and political opposition to the Hasmonean rulers.

The ruling party in Judaea was the Sadducees, a Greek rendering of the Hebrew *tsedokim* (descendants of Zadok the Priest). They included the High Priest and ethnarch, other hellenized priests, military commanders, political leaders, and wealthy Jews. They were the party of Johannes Hyrkanos and his family, who ruled Judaea. The High Priest and ethnarch Johannes Hyrkanos ruled Judaea for thirty-one years (135–104 B.C.E.). To the end of his life he fought the Samaritans, whom he wished to force

into total submission. In 111 B.C.E. Hyrkanos's two sons, Aristobulos and Antigonos, besieged Samaria and Scythopolis, whose capture would cement Judean rule north and south of Jerusalem.

The bloody campaign lasted four years. The Samaritans appealed for help to Antiochos Kyzikenos, who was contesting the throne of Seleucid Syria, and to Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros of Cyprus, son of Queen Cleopatra of Egypt. Ptolemaios Lathyros had been thwarted from succeeding his father as king of Egypt. Both Hellenic kings wished to control Coele-Syria and Judaea, and fought the Jews. Antiochos Kyzikenos of Syria dispatched two of his generals, Kallimandros (Callimander) and Epikrates (Epicrates), to rescue the Samaritans. Kallimandros was defeated by the Jews, while Epikrates sold out to them. In 107 B.C.E. Hyrkanos finally seized and razed Samaria. Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros remained an implacable enemy of Judaea, vowing to avenge himself on the Jews.

The High Priest and ethnarch Johannes Hyrkanos died in 104 B.C.E., leaving a wife and five sons. Judas Aristobulos was the eldest. He was proud and not liked by the people. In his will, the ambivalent father Hyrkanos had made his wife "mistress of all . . . the governess of public affairs" (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 13.11.1; *The Jewish War* 1.3.1), designating his eldest son Aristobulos for the High Priesthood only. The new High Priest was enraged. Aristobulos, who loved his brother Antigonos but hated his other brothers, jailed his mother and three other brothers, and assumed the government as well. The mother died of hunger in prison. Aristobulos never got over his guilt feelings for his mother's death. The proud Aristobulos was not content with the titles of High Priest and ethnarch, but "put the diadem on his head," proclaimed himself king of Judaea, and made his brother Antigonos his coregent. Yet Aristobulos was careful not to provoke the Seleucid king of Syria and avoided the title of king (*basileos*) on his coins. He was called Aristobulos Philhellene (Lover of the Greeks) (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 13.11.3).

Aristobulos reigned for one year only, his life ending in tragedy. Aristobulos captured Ituraea, in the northern Galilee and Lebanon, annexed it to Judaea, and forced the Ituraeans to be circumcised and converted to Judaism. Aristobulos was torn by deeply ambivalent feelings about his brother Antigonos, whom he loved and envied at the same time. Believing the malicious rumors spread by jealous courtiers about his brother plotting to overthrow him, Aristobulos had his brother summoned to court. Aristobulos sent him word to come unarmed and commanded his bodyguards to slay Antigonos if he came armed. Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews* 13.11.2; *The Jewish War* 1.3.4) says that the popular Antigonos was tricked by his enemies, including Queen Salome Alexandra, who bribed Aristobulos's envoys to tell Antigonos that the king wished to see him in his shining new armor. Antigonos showed up in court fully armed and was killed by Aristobulos's bodyguards. The king felt unbearably guilty about his matricide and fratricide:

He also grew worse and worse and his soul was constantly disturbed at the thought of what he had done, till his very bowels being torn to pieces by the intolerable grief he was under, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And, as one of those servants that

attended him carried out that blood, he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonos had been slain; and so he spilt some of the murderer's blood upon the spots of blood of him that had been murdered, which still appeared . . . [when Aristobulos found that out] he burst into tears, and groaned, and said, "So I perceive I am not to escape the all-seeing eye of God, as to the great crimes I have committed; but the vengeance of the blood of my kinsman pursues me hastily. O thou impudent body! how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die, on account of that punishment it ought to suffer for a mother and a brother slain! . . ." As soon as he had said these words, he presently died, when he had reigned no longer than a year. (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 1.3.6)

If Jewish "independence" during the Hasmonean period was more illusory than real, why have Jewish historians made so much of this myth? The yearning for the political independence of one's country has to do with its unconscious role as the early mother. The infant strives to break away from its fusion with its mother and to develop a self or ego identity separate from her. These early personal struggles for separation, individuation, and independence later give rise to political struggles for national independence. The unconscious purpose of such struggles is twofold: to rescue the suffering mother from her oppressors and to achieve the individuation one has struggled for. One's earliest conflicts of feelings toward one's mother are displaced onto one's country. The fervent wish of the Pharisees to liberate Judaea from her Seleucid rulers, then, was like a child's wish to free its mother from her sufferings. Their wish to mend the government by separating the High Priesthood from it was like a child's wish to repair its bad mother.

THE PERSONAL ROOTS OF POLITICAL ACTION

The tragic death of Aristobulos Philhellene, the first Hasmonean king of Judaea, in 103 B.C.E. left his widow Salome Alexandra regent in Jerusalem. She had obviously disagreed with her husband's actions, for she at once set free his three brothers, whom her husband had jailed the year before. The eldest of these, whom Jewish law obliged to marry the widow, was Alexandros Iannaios (128–76 B.C.E.), whose Hebrew name was Yannai and whose Greek name was latinized as Alexander Jannaeus. Marrying Salome Alexandra, he became king, ethnarch, and High Priest of Judaea. Iannaios set off a bloody civil war in Judaea, which led to Roman intervention and the Roman takeover of the land of the Jews.

Like many kings' lives, Alexander Iannaios's life was traumatic and painful. As a child he had not been his father's favorite and had been sent away to the Galilee to study gymnastics and warfare. Alexander's grandfather, grandmother, and uncles were assassinated by his aunt's husband. His eldest brother, Judas Aristobulos, had imprisoned him together with his mother and younger brothers. The mother died in prison. Aristobulos killed his favorite brother Antigonos and then died himself. To ward off his emotional pain, Alexandros Iannaios became a warrior, which enabled him to

unconsciously displace his early personal rage at his parents and brother to political and military objects as well as to project all badness onto his enemies.

During the twenty-seven years of his reign in Judaea (103–76 B.C.E.) Alexandros Iannaios was chronically waging war. From 103 to 95 B.C.E. he gained control of the entire coast of Palestine from Mount Carmel to the Egyptian frontier. He wished to expand his rule to all of Palestine, including the coastal plain, Philistia, the Galilee, and the Negev. He first besieged Ptolemais (Acre). Its people appealed for help to King Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros of Cyprus, who had already helped them against Hyrkanos. Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros was the son of Ptolemaios Euergetes Physcon of Egypt (r. 145–116 B.C.E.) and of his sister-widow Cleopatra III. Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros felt cheated out of his patrimony by his mother, who preferred her younger son, Ptolemaios Alexandros. Popular Egyptian sentiment forced her to share her throne with her elder son. In 115 B.C.E. she compelled Ptolemaios Lathyros to divorce his strong-willed sister-wife, Cleopatra IV, and marry his more pliable younger sister, Cleopatra Selene.

In 110 B.C.E. a bitter quarrel erupted between mother and son. Cleopatra III forced Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros to accept his younger brother Ptolemaios Alexandros (Ptolemy X, d. 88 B.C.E.) as coregent. Ptolemaios Lathyros seethed with narcissistic injury and rage. In 107 B.C.E. Ptolemaios Alexandros drove his elder brother from the throne of Alexandria. It is tough to be an unwanted son. The humiliated Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros went to Cyprus, then to Syria, whence he returned with an army and seized the throne of Cyprus. Ptolemaios Lathyros vowed to recapture the throne of Egypt from his mother and brother. It took him almost twenty years, but he finally did succeed in regaining his throne.

In 103 B.C.E., eager to restore his losses, Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros sailed for Ptolemais, the capital of Coele-Syria, which he recaptured, as he did Gaza. Within a short time Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros had defeated Alexandros Iannaios and sent his mercenaries flying. While falsely concluding a peace treaty with the Egyptian Cypriot king, however, Alexandros Iannaios made a secret deal with his mother Cleopatra III, the *de facto* queen of Egypt, who dispatched a navy and an army led by two Jews, sons of the High Priest Onias IV, to assist the Judaeian king against her own son. Iannaios was able to capture some cities on the Mediterranean coast south of Ptolemais. Ptolemaios Lathyros had taken most of the Galilee but had failed to capture Sephphoris (Tsippori), a major Galilean stronghold. His mother's forces drove him from Palestine.

Josephus believed that Cleopatra III, ambitious and voracious, wished to annex Judaea and all Palestine to Egypt, but her Jewish general and adviser counseled her to desist from this plan. Instead, she came to Palestine and concluded a treaty of friendship with Alexandros Iannaios at Scythopolis (Beth Shean). Iannaios was now free to rule Judaea. He went on fighting, capturing the entire southern Mediterranean coastline from Jaffa to Gaza. By the year 96 B.C.E. Iannaios had annexed Philistia and parts of northern Trans-Jordan. Most of his conquests were carried out by Pisidian and Cilician mercenaries from what is now Turkey.

In 111 B.C.E. the Seleucid empire had been partitioned between Antiochos Grypos (141–96 B.C.E.) and his cousin-stepbrother, Antiochos Kyzikenos. The latter ruled Coele-Syria, including Judaea, and naturally he did not wish to have an independent Judaea within his realm. His power, however, was checked by that of his rival Antiochos Grypos, who reigned over most of the Seleucid empire, and by Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros of Cyprus. In 96 B.C.E. things came to a head with the death of Antiochos Grypos. He left five sons: Seleukos, Antiochos XI, Philippos, Demetrios Eukairos (Eucaerus), and Antiochos Dionysios. Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews* 13.13.4) said of Antiochos Grypos:

His son Seleucus succeeded him in the kingdom, and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus, and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him; but after a while Antiochos, the son of Cyzicenus, who was called Pius, came to Aradus, and put the diadem on his own head, and made war with Seleucus, and beat him and drove him out of all Syria.

These events occurred in 96–95 B.C.E. The enraged, humiliated Seleukos invaded and captured Mopsuestia (now in Turkey), named after the Greek hero Mopsus. Its people rose up in arms against him, burnt down his palace, and slew him. His brother Antiochos XI made war on King Antiochos Pius, only to be defeated and destroyed in his turn. Josephus (*ibid.*) wrote:

After him, his brother Philip put on the diadem, and reigned over some part of Syria; but Ptolemy Lathyrus sent for his fourth brother Demetrius, who was called Eucoerus, from Cnidus, and made him king of Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus [Pius] vehemently oppose, but presently died; for when he was come as an auxiliary to Laodice, queen of the Gileadites, when she was making war against the Parthians, and he was fighting courageously, he fell, while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as hath been elsewhere related.

The newly crowned kings were Demetrios Eukairos, Philippos, and Antiochos Dionysios. The first of these kings proved a serious threat to Alexandros Iannaïos.

While the Sadducees welcomed his conquests, the rift between King Alexandros Iannaïos and the Pharisee opposition leaders grew wider. The Great Sanhedrin (Council of State) supplanted the Gerousia (Elders' Council) of early Seleucid times. It became the scene of bitter power struggles between Sadducees and Pharisees. The word Sanhedrin was a corruption of the Greek *synhedrion* (common seat). The Great Sanhedrin was a seventy-one-member legislative and judicial institution. There were differences between the Great Sanhedrin and the common Sanhedrin. Some scholars believe the seventy-one-member Great Sanhedrin was a religious institution, while the common Sanhedrin had only twenty-three members and was a civil court (Büchler 1956). Other scholars think the Great Sanhedrin consisted of three ordinary twenty-three-member Sanhedria chaired by the *nasi* or ethnarch and by the chief justice (Hoenig 1953, Mantel 1961).

Language played a key role in the conflict. The Pharisees preferred Hebrew to Greek, fiercely opposing the hellenizing Sadducees. Queen Salome Alexandra's brother, Shimon ben Shatah, was a leader of the Pharisees, and the Queen Mother herself supported them. King Alexandros Iannaios enraged the Pharisees by appearing in his High Priest's robes and wearing a diadem bearing the ineffable name of Yahweh on his forehead. The Pharisees for their part enraged the king by charging that his mother had been a captive, making him unfit for the High Priest's office by Jewish law. Alexander's narcissistic rage, burning inside him since his early childhood, was rekindled.

The mutual fury of king and Pharisees erupted on the Feast of Tabernacles (Succoth) of 95 B.C.E. Alexandros Iannaios performed the rites of libation in his role of High Priest on the altar of Yahweh in the Temple. Rather than pour the holy water on the altar, which the Sadducees opposed and the Pharisees demanded, he poured it on his feet. The people pelted the king and High Priest with their *ethrogim* (citrons) and screamed at "the son of the captive woman." Iannaios's narcissistic rage was terrible. He threw his mercenaries at the people with orders to kill as many as they could. Josephus believed that six thousand Jews were slaughtered right then and there. The leaders of the Pharisees fled Jerusalem to Alexandria.

In Syria, from 95 to 83 B.C.E., the five sons of Antiochos Grypos fought it out for control of the Seleucid empire, paving the way for the Roman conquest. The first two sons, Seleukos and Antiochos XI, were killed within the first year. Demetrios Eukairos had been crowned in Damascus by Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros. His two surviving brothers, Philippos and Antiochos Dionysios, continued to vie with him for control of Syria. The Seleucid empire was riven by civil strife, which within thirty years led to its capture by Rome. From 95 to 81 B.C.E. civil war raged in Judaea as well. Alexandros Iannaios could stop warring on his neighbors, subduing the Nabataean Arab tribes of the desert across the Jordan River. His people fought each other. The king's incessant belligerence almost led to disaster and his own death in 94 B.C.E., when the Arab chieftain Shaikh Ubayid (Obedas) surrounded Iannaios's forces in the Golan and decimated them. Alexandros barely escaped with his life, only to face a popular revolt in Jerusalem, which lasted until 88 B.C.E. Iannaios quelled the rebellion ruthlessly, using his mercenaries to massacre his enemies. Josephus, the first-century Jewish historian, reported fifty thousand Jews killed. When Alexandros finally sued for peace, the Pharisee leaders replied that only his death would bring peace to Judaea.

In 88 B.C.E. the defeated Pharisees appealed to King Demetrios Eukairos, son of Antiochos Grypos, who had been ruling most of the divided Seleucid empire since 95 B.C.E. Demetrios led an army upon Iannaios, and the battle was joined near Neapolis. The Pharisees fought against their hated king, whose Greek mercenaries lost to those of the Seleucid monarch. The proud Alexandros Iannaios had to flee to the mountains. Six thousand rebels seem to have had a change of heart, switching over to Alexandros. He renewed his offensive on Demetrios, who then retreated and went home. That year Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros finally recaptured the throne of Egypt.

Alexandros Iannaios pursued the rebels with great ferocity. The tales of his

atrocities may be exaggerated, but they contain a kernel of truth that testifies to the king's narcissistic rage. Crucifixion was a common method of execution among the ancient Persians, Seleucids, Jews, Carthaginians, and Romans from the sixth century B.C.E. One story had Iannaios crucify eight hundred rebel leaders while he was "feasting" with the women of his harem, and then cut the throats of their wives and children before their own eyes while they were on the crosses (88 B.C.E.). Eight thousand Pharisees fled the country. Alexandros celebrated his victory by minting coins bearing the Greek words "Basileos Alexandrou" (King Alexander) and the Hebrew words "Yehonathan haMelech" (King Jonathan). He apparently no longer feared the power of the divided Seleucid empire. His inner conflict and anxiety were such, however, that he became addicted to alcohol and drank himself into fatal illness.

The Parthian-Roman conflict went on, with Armenia in Asia Minor as its chief battlefield. Armenia was a Parthian vassal kingdom that strove to free itself from Parthian rule. So did the nomadic Scythians, whom some scholars identify with the Saka (Sacae) tribesmen. Armenia was founded by Artashes Shah (Artaxias, r. 190–159 B.C.E.) and Zareh (Zariadres), two former satraps of Antiochos the Great of Seleucid Syria. After Antiochos the Great was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia (190 B.C.E.), Artashes and Zareh rebelled against Parthia, setting themselves up as kings of Armenia and Sophene. Artashes built his capital at Artashat (Artaxata) on the Araxes River (now the Aras or Araks River), near Yerevan on Lake Sevan in modern Armenia. The Greek historian-geographer Strabo reported that Zareh built his capital at Carcathiocerta (Karkathiokert).

The Armenians and Parthians were related linguistically and ethnically, which was why they fought each other so savagely. Around 165 B.C.E. a descendant of Artashes Shah tried to annex Sophene to Armenia. Half a century later, Mithradad Shah of Parthia (Mithradates II, r. 123–88/87 B.C.E.) defeated the rebel Ardavashta Shah of Armenia (Artavasdes I) and took hostage his son (or brother) Tigranes the Great of Armenia (Dirkan Shah, 140–55 B.C.E.). His ransom was seventy valleys bordering on Media. After gaining his freedom, Tigranes the Great began expanding Armenia by conquering Sophene, east of the Euphrates River, and marrying Cleopatra, daughter of Mithradates Eupator of Pontus. In 92 B.C.E. Mithradates of Pontus and Tigranes of Armenia invaded Cappadocia, a Roman province in Asia Minor. The Romans intervened and war ensued. Mithradates Shah concluded the first Parthian-Roman peace treaty and fought his vassal, Tigranes.

In 88/87 B.C.E. Mithradad Shah of Parthia died, and Parthia was weakened by internal wars and Scythian invasions. Tigranes the Great of Armenia took back the valleys he had ceded to Parthia for his ransom, devastating Media. He subdued the kings of Media Atropatene (now Azerbaijan), Gordyene (between Lake Van and Lake Urmia, now in Turkey and Iraq), and Adiabene (now Khdayeb in Iraq), who became his vassals. Tigranes conquered the lands around Armenia, northern Mesopotamia, and the Caucasian kingdoms of "Iberia" (now Georgia) and "Albania." In 83 B.C.E. he seized Roman Syria. Tigranes of Armenia became master of the Seleucid Syrian empire. After conquering Cappadocia (78–77 B.C.E.) Tigranes called himself Shahanshah

(King of Kings) and built his new capital of Tigranocerta (Tigranakert) in Asia Minor (now Siirt in eastern Turkey).

The gods of war were doing well in Palestine as well. From 83 to 80 B.C.E. King Alexandros Iannaios captured several of the Ten Cities (Decapolis), which, Pliny said, were Dion, Pella, Gadara, Hippos, Gerasa, Philadelphia, Damascus, Raphana, Kanatha, and Scythopolis. All but Scythopolis were east of the Jordan River. Alexandros expanded the frontiers of Judaea, becoming great in the eyes of his subjects. His grandiose self, however, always demanded further achievements. He had to compensate himself for all the hurts and feelings of helplessness he had suffered as a child by becoming ever greater and more powerful. His kingdom became almost as large as that of King David nine hundred years earlier.

Iannaios fought Antiochos Dionysios, the youngest son of Antiochos Grypos, who marched through Judaea, and the Nabataean king Haretath (Aretas III). He subdued the Nabataean Arabs and Edomites (Idumaeans), forcing them to convert to the Jewish faith. Haretath III fought and defeated Antiochos Dionysios, killing him in battle and becoming "the most powerful and most dangerous neighbour of the Jews" (Schürer 1961:88). It was only during the last years of his reign (81–76 B.C.E.) that Iannaios was able to reverse the balance. Ptolemaios Soter Lathyros of Cyprus and Egypt died in 80 B.C.E. In 79 B.C.E. Alexandros Iannaios became ill with "fever," an illness (possibly cirrhosis of the liver) brought about by his alcoholism. In 76 B.C.E. he died of this illness while besieging Ragab, near Gerasa (now Jerash, Jordan). Alexander Iannaios was fifty-two years old at his death. His life had been spent in compulsive warring, bloodletting, lovemaking, and drinking. This was the only way he knew how to fight his feelings of emptiness and to allay his anxiety. Now he was dead of these very activities.

The death of Alexandros Iannaios left his widow Salome Alexandra, who had lost two husbands, queen of Judaea. She had two sons: Johannes Hyrkanos (John Hyrcanus II), whom she made High Priest, and Aristobulos (Aristobulus II), to whom she gave no power, fearing his military prowess and his Sadducee leanings. The separation of powers between queen and High Priest perfectly suited the Pharisees, whom the queen favored. In the meantime the Jewish scriptures were sealed, assuming sacred status. They were mostly in Hebrew, except for the later books such as Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, parts of which were in Aramaic. The Sadducees insisted on the exclusive legal and religious status of these scriptures, while the Pharisees held that oral tradition and interpretation were no less valuable. They wanted self-rule in complete isolation from foreign peoples, while the Sadducees wished to integrate Judaea into the surrounding world.

The Pharisees had become the party in power. They held the majority in the Great Sanhedrin, and the queen was on their side. Their more extremist leaders, who had fled to Egypt, returned home. Shimon ben Shatah and Yehuda ben Tabbai now headed the Sanhedrin. This enraged the Sadducees, now led by Aristobulos II, the younger son of Queen Salome Alexandra, who plotted a coup d'état.

Like the former Persian satrapies of Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Commagene, Pontus

(now in northeastern Turkey) was a Greco-Persian kingdom in Asia Minor, complete with Mithra temples, priests, and feudal nobles. Its capital was Amaseia (now Amasya). During the third and second centuries B.C.E., Pontus gradually expanded its frontiers, annexing Sinope (183 B.C.E.) and other lands. Like the Shahs of Parthia, the Pontic kings took the name of Mithradates, after the Persian god Mithra. King Mithradates Eupator of Pontus (Mithradates the Good Father, Mithradates the Great, or Mithradates VI, r. 120–63 B.C.E.), brought the greatest expansion of his kingdom, along with its destruction by Rome. Tigranes the Great of Armenia captured Asia Minor and became the ruler of most of the Seleucid empire by marrying the daughter of Mithradates Eupator of Pontus and allying himself with that powerful king.

Allied with Rome, Aristobulos of Judaea led a Jewish army on Damascus, which was repelled by Tigranes' forces. Tigranes prepared to invade Judaea, but his extensive wars against Rome diverted his forces westward. From 74 to 66 B.C.E. the legions of the Roman general and former consul Lucius Licinius Lucullus (Lucullus Ponticus, 117–58/56 B.C.E.) fought Mithradates Eupator of Pontus and his son-in-law Tigranes the Great. In 69 B.C.E. Rome entered Jewish history. Lucius Licinius Lucullus Ponticus invaded Armenia and captured its capital of Tigranocerta, as well as Syria. Antiochos Asiaticus (Antiochos XIII) was made king of Seleucid Syria. The aging Queen Salome Alexandra fell ill. Her elder son, High Priest Johannes Hyrkanos II, expected to become king of Judaea, but his younger brother Aristobulos II rallied his forces and rebelled against his mother and elder brother. The queen died of illness and grief before she could quell her son's rebellion. The civil war that had ravaged Judaea during the reign of her late husband was now renewed with full vigor. The mercenary armies of Johannes Hyrkanos and of his younger brother Aristobulos fought a battle at Jericho, where the two brothers' great-grandparents and great-uncles had been slaughtered. Some of Hyrkanos's men switched over to Aristobulos, which helped the latter win the battle. Hyrkanos retreated to Jerusalem, taking his brother's wife and sons hostage.

In 68–67 B.C.E. there were several mutinies by the Roman troops of Lucius Licinius Lucullus Ponticus, who had to curtail his military operations and retreat. His enemy, Mithradates Eupator of Pontus, recovered much of his lost territory from Rome. In 66 B.C.E. Lucullus's enemies in Rome, led by the tribune Gaius Manilius, passed the *Lex Manilia*, which made Lucullus hand over his imperium to his rival Pompey the Great (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, 106–48 B.C.E.). Pompey soon defeated Mithradates Eupator of Pontus and Tigranes the Great of Armenia, who lost Syria to Rome. In Judaea, Aristobulos II, the younger and more capable brother, besieged Jerusalem until he had forced Johannes Hyrkanos II to surrender. The terms of peace, concluded three months after their mother's death (67 B.C.E.), gave Aristobulos II the offices of High Priest and king. His son Alexandros II married Hyrkanos's daughter Alexandra, and the Sadducees were once more in power.

In the meantime a Judaized Edomite named Antipas had become *strategos* of Idumaea, having converted to Judaism during the conquests of Alexandros Iannaios. His son Antipatros (Antipater, d. 43 B.C.E.) was ambitious, crafty, and wily. He had

become an important courtier in Jerusalem, where he schemed to unseat the king. Antipatros seduced his master, Johannes Hyrkanos II, into rebelling against his usurping brother Aristobulos II. Hyrkanos received the help of the Nabataeans in exchange for the return of fourteen cities in Trans-Jordan. In 66 B.C.E. the Nabataean king Haretath (Aretas III) and Johannes Hyrkanos II invaded Judaea at the head of several thousand troops. Many of Aristobulos II's troops defected to Hyrkanos, and Aristobulos lost the battle. The usurping king fled to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, where he was besieged by Aretas and Hyrkanos.

Aristobulos II controlled the Temple Mount itself and its Acra citadel. The siege lasted from 66 to 65 B.C.E. as the Jews and Nabataeans outside the Temple Mount sought to flush out the Jews and mercenaries within. It was a bad situation for the besieged, who not only lacked food and water but also animals to sacrifice to their god Yahweh. They bought those animals from their besiegers at one thousand drachmas apiece, a fantastic amount of money for that time. Onias the Rainmaker, whom the Jews called Honi the Circlemaker, and who was retained by the besiegers and who prayed to Yahweh to favor neither side, was stoned to death by the soldiers.

Pompey's attention was drawn to events in Jerusalem as well as in Antioch. It was Rome's chance of expanding its empire to Asia, beginning with Syria and Palestine. Aulus Gabinius, the former tribune, an ally of Pompey's, had arrived in Syria in 65 B.C.E. to attempt to settle the complicated political and military affairs in Judaea. Pompey, the new ruler of Roman Asia, dispatched his lieutenant Marcus Scaurus to Judaea to settle political affairs there. Scaurus's "justice" was clinched by Aristobulos's bribe of 300 talents of silver. He ordered Aretas and his Nabataean Arabs to lift their siege of the Temple Mount. Aretas III, fearful of Roman power, retreated to Philadelphia across the Jordan River. Aristobulos gave vent to his rage, pursuing the retreating Aretas and Hyrkanos and killing six thousand of their men (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 1.6.3). By the end of 64 B.C.E. Pompey had seized Antioch and Damascus, where he now set up his headquarters. Antioch became the capital of the new Roman province of Syria. Pompey became the lord of Roman Asia and abolished the Seleucid empire.

One of Pompey's first official acts was to annul Gabinius's and Scaurus's rulings. Three Jewish deputations arrived to see Pompey in Damascus: the first from Hyrkanos, the second from Aristobulos, the third from the Pharisees. The latter, numbering two hundred envoys, asked him to abolish royalty in Judaea. Pompey reinstated the High Priestly constitution, forcing the Jews to give up their political right of kingship and their conquests. Johannes Hyrkanos II and Antipatros came to entreat Pompey. The proud Aristobulos II sent Pompey a golden vine worth five hundred talents and appeared before the Roman conqueror in full royal splendor (*ibid.*, 1.4.4). Aristobulos's narcissism, like that of many rulers, may well have been an unconscious defense against the pain of early blows to his self-esteem, such as being deprived of his mother's love in favor of his elder brother.

Hyrkanos accused his younger brother of conquests, usurpation, and aid to the anti-Roman pirates, whom Pompey had fought at great cost to Rome. Aristobulos

haughtily declared himself to be fitter than his brother for royalty. It was hard for Aristobulos to give up. Pompey suffered the young Aristobulos to accompany him on his campaign against the Nabataean Arabs, but he sensed that the young Jewish king had not accepted the loss of his crown. Aristobulos was highly ambivalent, wavering between surrender and rebellion. He finally fled Dion, taking refuge in Alexandrion, a fortress north of Jericho (*ibid.*, 1.65). Pompey pursued Aristobulos with Roman and Greek forces.

Mithradates Eupator of Pontus withstood Rome through three "Mithradatic" wars lasting twenty-two years (88–66 B.C.E.), but was finally defeated by Pompey. In 63 B.C.E. Mithradates died. The victorious Pompey was in high spirits. He besieged the fortress of Aristobulos II, who managed to flee to Jerusalem. When Pompey appeared with his legions before the Jerusalem city walls, Aristobulos II broke down and gave himself up to Pompey, offering him a large sum of money as well as the surrender of his city. Pompey's rage abated somewhat, but Aristobulos was still highly ambivalent. When Aulus Gabinius, the former tribune and Roman general, arrived to take over Jerusalem, Aristobulos had the gates shut in his face.

Pompey, enraged with the unstable Jewish king, had him taken prisoner, and prepared to invade Jerusalem. For Pompey this was a minor battle compared with the fierce wars he had fought with Mithradates Eupator of Pontus and Tigranes the Great of Armenia over Asia Minor and Syria. Within the city of Jerusalem the followers of Aristobulos fought those of Hyrkanos. The former insisted on fighting the Romans and freeing their king, while the latter wisely counseled opening the gates and surrendering to Rome. Once more Aristobulos's men captured the Temple Mount and entrenched themselves there, severing its only bridge to the city. Hyrkanos's men opened the gates and let the Romans in, handing over the royal palace to Pompey.

For three months Pompey's forces besieged the Temple Mount from the north. The Jewish fanatics and zealots on the Temple Mount did everything they could to thwart the Roman efforts at filling the ravine and at scaling their walls, but they refused to fight on the Sabbath, except to defend themselves. They went on with their rituals and sacrifices even as the finally victorious Romans were capturing the Temple Mount and slaughtering them at the altar of Yahweh (*ibid.*, 1.7.4). The Romans, led by Sulla's son Faustus Cornelius, massacred some twelve thousand Jews, many of whom killed themselves by jumping off the walls or by setting themselves afire. It was a horrible massacre.

Josephus reported that the worst outrage to the Jews was Pompey's entering the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Yahweh. Yet Pompey did not touch the holy objects there, nor the two thousand talents of silver in the Temple treasury. He commanded his men to clean up the Temple Mount and to let the Jews renew their sacred rituals. Johannes Hyrkanos was reinstated as High Priest. The rebel leaders who survived were executed. Pompey removed from Judaea all the cities of Coele-Syria that had been captured by Johannes Hyrkanos I and by his son Alexandros Iannaios.

Judaea was small and humble again. Aristobulos II, his two sons Alexandros and Antigonos, his two daughters, and many Jewish notables were carried off to Rome

when Pompey returned there in 62 B.C.E. Alexandros managed to escape during the voyage, but Aristobulos and the rest of his family were marched before Pompey's triumphal chariot in the streets of Rome. The narcissism of leaders such as Iannaïos and his son Aristobulos had played a major role in this tragedy. It had developed as an unconscious defense against early feelings of worthlessness. The narcissistic rage of these kings had led them to wars that were tragic for their people.



17

Jews, Greeks, and Other Romans

BACK TO JUDAEA

In the Roman Republic, the two chief magistrates, the consuls, were elected each year for a term of one year. At the end of their term they served as proconsular governors of large Roman provinces. In 58 B.C.E. Pompey's ally Aulus Gabinius (d. 47 B.C.E.) and Lucius Calpurnius Piso succeeded Caesar and Bibulus as consuls of the Roman Republic. Gabinius helped procure the exile of his rival Cicero. In 57 B.C.E. Gabinius became proconsular governor of the Roman province of Syria, replacing Marcus Scaurus. Hyrkanos had been High Priest and ethnarch of Judaea for six years (63–57 B.C.E.) when his nephew and son-in-law Alexandros, who had escaped the Romans, began guerrilla warfare against Rome and against Hyrkanos. Gabinius was governor of Syria for three years (57–54 B.C.E.), suppressing revolts, introducing administrative reforms, and rebuilding several cities. Gabinius lost no time in quelling Alexandros's revolt, sending Mark Antony (Marcus Antonius, 82/81–30 B.C.E.), an outstanding but explosive young general, against Alexandros. The hothead young Jewish prince lost six thousand men and fled to the fortress of Alexandrion, where his father had holed up earlier (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 1.8.3).

It was Roman colonial policy to urbanize the conquered lands: city dwellers were more likely to embrace Roman civilization and rule. Aulus Gabinius and Marcus Antonius besieged Alexandrion, meanwhile rebuilding many cities that had been laid waste, such as Scythopolis (Beth Shean), Samaria (Shomron), Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia (Jabneh), Raphiah, Marissa (Maresha), Adoreos, Gamla, and Ashdod. In late 57 B.C.E. Alexandros surrendered to Gabinius, yielding his three forts, which Gabinius proceeded to raze to the ground at the urging of Alexandros's mother, the wife of Aristobulos II, who was still prisoner in Rome with his children. It was she who delivered the fortresses to Gabinius, who promised to return her children to her (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 14.5–6; *The Jewish War* 1.8.5).

Hyrkanos II was reinstated as High Priest in Jerusalem, and Judaea was divided by Aulus Gabinius into five synods (districts) governed by Jewish aristocrats, who were immediately responsible to the Roman governor of Syria. The division of

Judaea into synods abolished it as a single political entity. The displaced Judaeans seethed with rage. In 56 B.C.E. Aristobulos II and his son Antigonos II escaped from Rome and rallied their forces in Judaea against Hyrkanos II and against the Roman government. To quell the new revolt, Aulus Gabinius sent another army, commanded by the generals Lucius Cornelius Sisenna, Mark Antony, and a man Josephus identified as Servilius, who may or may not have been the tribune Quintus Servilius Rullus. Many of his mercenaries defected, as often happened in such wars. The rebellious "king" Aristobulos lost the battle as well as some six thousand men. He and his son Antigonos were recaptured and brought back to Rome in chains. Gabinius wrote the Roman Senate that he had promised Aristobulos's wife to let her sons go home, which the Senate approved (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 14.6.1; *The Jewish War* 1.8.6).

Parthia was now the great empire in the east, ruling Persia, Mesopotamia, and the adjoining countries. Aulus Gabinius was preparing to attack the Parthians across the Euphrates River. King Ptolemaios Auletes of Egypt had been deposed in 58 B.C.E. by the Alexandrians due to his violent rule and corrupt lifestyle. He appealed to Pompey in Rome. Pompey referred him to Gabinius, who naturally wanted to be paid for his pains. Ptolemaios Auletes bribed Gabinius with a vast sum of money to restore him to his throne. Assisted by Hyrkanos and by Antipatros, the Idumaeen Jew who was the second most powerful man in Jerusalem, Gabinius invaded Egypt via Judaea.

In 55 B.C.E. Ptolemaios Auletes was returned to the throne of Egypt by the Romans. Pompey had not consulted the Roman Senate before sending Gabinius to Egypt. Crassus and Pompey were consuls again in Rome. Gabinius's absence from Syria led to a fresh Jewish revolt led by the narcissistically wounded and enraged Alexandros. Gabinius returned to Syria and dispatched Antipatros to talk some sense into the rebels. Military disasters often arise from the pride of the commanders, whose narcissism does not let them admit to themselves the inferiority of their forces (Dixon 1979). The proud Alexandros, who had thirty thousand men, would not desist. Gabinius sent his army against him in Galilee. The battle was joined at Mount Tabor and Alexandros lost ten thousand men to the Romans.

Before leaving Syria for Rome, Aulus Gabinius worsened Rome's relations with Parthia. In 54 B.C.E. Gabinius returned to Rome, where he faced charges of treason. He was acquitted but then charged with bribe extortion in office, for which he was condemned and exiled. In 49 B.C.E. he was recalled by Julius Caesar. Marcus Licinius Crassus finished his second consulate in Rome and became proconsular governor of Syria, replacing Aulus Gabinius. He chose Syria in order to wage the war against Parthia and win a military *dignitas*. To finance his war against Parthia, Crassus plundered the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem, taking away whatever gold was left by Pompey and Gabinius, including the two thousand talents that Pompey had not touched (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 1.8.8). Crassus briefly crossed the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, then withdrew to Syria.

In 53 B.C.E. the Parthians defeated the Romans at Carrhae (the biblical Haran, now Harran, Urfa province, southeastern Turkey). Crassus again crossed the Euphrates

to attack the Parthians, leading eight legions comprising forty thousand to fifty thousand men. Crassus may have been an able statesman, but he was an incompetent commander, underestimating his enemy's strength and overestimating his own. The Roman legions were based on heavily armed infantry, which was vulnerable to quickly moving cavalry and mounted archers. The able Parthian commander Surenas mobilized a great force of camel-mounted archers and mail-clad lancers, and decimated the Roman forces near Carrhae. Seven Roman legions were lost. Crassus and his son were enticed into a conference and slain. Few of his men escaped. Surenas himself, however, was executed by his paranoid and parricidal king, Orodes II (d. 37/36 B.C.E.), who feared that Surenas would kill him.

Crassus's quaestor, Gaius Cassius Longinus (Cassius, d. 42 B.C.E.), was able to hold Syria against the Parthians, but Roman prestige in Asia had been dealt a severe blow (Sinnigen and Boak 1977:216). This was the same Cassius who later murdered Julius Caesar together with Brutus. Cassius became proconsular governor of Syria (53–51 B.C.E.). The death of Crassus provoked a fresh Jewish revolt in the Galilee. It was led by the Hasmonean commander Pitholaos, who had taken part in the revolt of Aristobulos. He mobilized his forces at the Galilean city of Magdala, where Cassius led his legions against him. Cassius lost no time occupying the Galilee, capturing Tarichea and Magdala, executing Pitholaos, and carrying some thirty thousand Jews into slavery (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 1.8.9).

Cassius's chief adviser on Judaeian affairs was Antipatros, the wealthy Idumaeian Jewish adviser to Johannes Hyrkanos II. Antipatros was married to Kypros (Cyprus), a Nabataean Arab noblewoman. Antipatros had four sons: Phasaelos (Phasael), Herod (Herodes), Joseph, and Pheroras. Despite Roman rule, the Greek language was still dominant in Judaea, as it was in all the Roman lands of the east. Crassus's death in Carrhae in 53 B.C.E. left Pompey and Caesar to rule Rome. In 52 B.C.E. Pompey became sole consul, while Caesar was proconsular governor of Gaul (Gallia). He planned to return from his command there and run for consul in two years.

The issue of Caesar's recall from Gaul was the main focus of Roman politics from 52 to 50 B.C.E. The Senate, fearful of civil war, approved Caesar's candidacy for the consulship in absentia, but Caesar postponed his own candidacy. In 50 B.C.E. the rivalry between Pompey and Caesar reached its climax. Caesar offered to disband his army and return to Rome if Pompey did likewise, an offer that Pompey, fearing treachery, refused. The Senate was railroaded into siding with Pompey. In 49 B.C.E. civil war broke out, pitting the forces of Caesar against those of Pompey and the Senate. This new Roman civil war had a great effect on the course of Jewish history.

The violent Roman period from 63 to 49 B.C.E. illustrates the role of individual and group narcissism in bringing about political and military tragedy. The pride, ambition, thirst for power, and vanity of the Roman leaders made them fight each other to the death. Their inability to reconcile themselves to their losses, to mourn them, and to adapt themselves to new situations likewise brought them tragedy. Those who insisted on recovering past glories brought about the worst disasters. Those Jews who reconciled themselves to the loss of their kingdom and of their independence were

better able to survive the Roman occupation. Roman rule was now inevitable, yet some fanatical Jews went on fighting and brought about one catastrophe after another.

EDOMITES AND OTHER JEWS

During the reign of Alexandros Iannaios in Judaea (103–76 B.C.E.), several neighboring peoples were converted by force to Judaism, including the biblical Edomites, now known as Idumaeans. The Edomites were a Semitic people, kith and kin to the Canaanites, Amorites, and Arabs. Their language, alphabet, script, and customs were similar to those of the Jews. Their chief god had been Kos (Kaus); like Yahweh, he had a consort. Jewish myth held the Edomites to have been descended from Esau, Jacob's elder brother who had been displaced as Isaac's lawful heir by Jacob. They had fought many wars against the Jews.

Needing enemies to preserve the boundaries of their group self, groups unconsciously externalize upon each other the unbearable aspects of their own selves (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry 1987; Volkan 1988:99–110); and the strife between Jacob and Esau in Genesis is symbolic of the chronic struggles between Jews and Edomites that preceded the conquests of Alexandros Iannaios. Edomite history, like that of most other ancient ethnic groups, was one of perennial hostility to their neighbors, whether Jews, Assyrians, Babylonians, or Seleucids.

Following the conquests of Alexandros Iannaios, the newly converted Idumaeans merged with the Greek-speaking Jewish society of Judaea, some of them assuming high positions in the Jewish priesthood and in the Judaeian administration. After the Romans under Pompey the Great conquered Judaea in 63 B.C.E. and annexed it to their new province of Syria, Antipatros, the Idumaeian Jewish adviser to the High Priest Johannes Hyrkanos II, skillfully made himself useful to the Romans and became a highly influential man in the Roman administration. At first Antipatros ingratiated himself with Pompey. Later Gaius Julius Caesar came into the picture.

CAESAR AND THE JEWS

In the summer of 48 B.C.E., near Pharsalus (now Farsala, northeastern Greece), Julius Caesar's army dealt a crushing defeat to Pompey's. Mark Antony led the left flank of Caesar's forces. Pompey fled to Pelusium, Egypt, where Cleopatra Thea Philopator was besieging her brother-husband, Ptolemaios Theos Philopator. The hapless Pompey was promptly assassinated by his former allies, the Egyptian palace clique, led by Theodotos, Achillas, and Pothinos, the eunuch guardian of the boy-king Ptolemaios Theos Philopator, who was fighting Cleopatra for the throne of Egypt. Being an impotent eunuch may have contributed to Pothinos's thirst for power. Caesar arrived in Alexandria, seized the palace, and ordered the warring Egyptian factions to submit to

his arbitration as willed by the dead Ptolemaios Auletes. Ptolemaios Theos Philopator left Achilles in charge of his army and went with his guardian Pothinos to Caesar's camp. Ptolemy's sister-wife Cleopatra reportedly arrived concealed in an oriental carpet. The unempathic Caesar forced the brother-husband and sister-wife to reconcile themselves to each other. Caesar remained in Egypt, openly living with Cleopatra Thea Philopator, and taking her side against her brother-husband. The fifty-two-year-old Caesar and the twenty-one-year-old Cleopatra used each other.

The Roman-imposed royal Egyptian reconciliation did not endure. Pothinos and his allies fomented trouble against the occupying Romans. From October 48 B.C.E. to March 47 B.C.E. the Egyptians under General Achilles besieged Alexandria. King Ptolemaios Theos Philopator's younger sister, the princess Arsinoë, who had a mentor in her tutor, escaped to her Egyptian forces. But Caesar persuaded Cleopatra to have Pothinos executed. Achilles feuded with Arsinoë and was killed. The ruling clique was destroyed. Arsinoë and her native forces went on besieging the Romans in Alexandria. Caesar negotiated an exchange of King Ptolemaios Theos Philopator for his younger sister Arsinoë. The boy-king took command of his Egyptian forces, but Caesar received fresh troops from King Mithradates of Pergamon in Asia Minor and defeated the Egyptians (27 March 47 B.C.E.). Caesar captured Pelusium and all of Egypt. The boy-king Ptolemaios Theos Philopator drowned in the Nile fleeing the Roman forces. If he was not pushed overboard by his sister-wife's minions, in a sense he had still been killed by her. He was succeeded by his twelve-year-old brother Ptolemaios Theos Philopator II (Ptolemy XIV, 59–44 B.C.E.), whom Caesar likewise forced to marry his widowed sister Cleopatra, even though the prince was only twelve and she was twenty-two, and Cleopatra was Caesar's lover.

Julius Caesar spent another two weeks in Alexandria, making love to Cleopatra Thea Philopator, "the Goddess who Loved her Father." That year Cleopatra had a son, Ptolemaios Philopator Philometor Caesar (Caesarion, 47–30 B.C.E.), whose father may or may not have been Caesar. Why was the fifty-three-year-old Roman general so enamored of the twenty-two-year-old Egyptian princess? Did she make him feel young again? Cleopatra was sexy, if not beautiful. She was intelligent. Although her family was Greek, she alone took the trouble to learn the native Egyptian. The historian Plutarch said Cleopatra had a voice like a many-stringed musical instrument and had a thousand forms of flattery. Cath (1988:278) thought that Cleopatra's "language skills, intelligence, and sensuality, mirroring some of Caesar's own accomplishments, may have reinforced her appeal."

From Egypt, Julius Caesar moved on to Syria and Pontus. In the first part of 47 B.C.E. he easily defeated Pharnakes of Pontus (Pharnaces II), grandiosely saying *veni, vidi, vici*. Upon his return to Rome Caesar became dictator and people's tribune, received four great triumphs, and magnanimously pardoned his enemies. Caesar's grandiose feelings of immortality were his own undoing. Gaius Cassius Longinus (d. 42 B.C.E.), who had taken over Syria as proconsular governor after the death of Crassus, had supported Pompey during the civil war, yet he too was magnanimously pardoned by Caesar along with Caesar's other enemies after Caesar's victory over Pompey at

Pharsalus. This fatal error was to cost Caesar his life. Within four years Gaius Cassius Longinus was to lead the successful conspiracy to murder Caesar.

JEWS AND ROMANS

Crassus, Pompey, and Caesar had constituted a triumvirate, which ruled Rome. After the deaths of Crassus (53 B.C.E.) and Pompey (48 B.C.E.), Caesar was the sole ruler of the Roman Republic and all its lands. He was known as imperator and father of the country. When Caesar had taken over Rome in 49 B.C.E., he tried to use his prisoner Aristobulos II of Judaea to fight his enemy Pompey. He released Aristobulos, gave him two legions (some twelve thousand men) and dispatched him to Syria to fight Pompey's forces. Before the unhappy Jewish king could do so, however, he was poisoned by Pompey's henchmen. His body, preserved in honey, remained in Rome until after the death of Caesar. Aristobulos's son Alexandros was beheaded in Syria by Pompey's lieutenant Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, the rapacious governor of Syria during the civil war of 49/48 B.C.E. (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 1.9.1–2).

The survivors of the royal Hasmonean dynasty were the High Priest Johannes Hyrkanos II and his nephew Antigonos. The choice of the name Antigonos for the Jewish kings indicated the degree of the Maccabees' hellenization: Antigonos had been the *diadochos* of Alexander the Great. The hellenized Jews got caught up in the Roman civil war. After Pompey was assassinated in Egypt (48 B.C.E.), Antipatros, named after the Macedonian regent under Alexander the Great, felt it expedient to side with Julius Caesar, the rising power. The siege of Alexandria in 48–47 B.C.E. was lifted by a force raised by King Mithradates of Pergamon, to which were joined three thousand troops raised by Antipatros (*ibid.*, 1.9.3).

Johannes Hyrkanos II, the High Priest of Judaea, used his influence with the Jews of Egypt to bring them over to Caesar's camp. Caesar made Hyrkanos once more ethnarch. Political power, however, had now passed into the hands of Antipatros, who was so valued by Caesar that he was made a Roman citizen, granted immunity from taxation, and finally made the Roman procurator (*epitropos*) of Judaea in 47 B.C.E. Antipatros lasted only four years in that exalted position, being assassinated by Malichos (Malchus), one of his political rivals.

From his lavish headquarters in Antioch, the Syrian capital, the victorious Julius Caesar had rejected the pleas of Antigonos, the sole surviving son of King Aristobulos, and sided with Hyrkanos II and Antipatros, who had made a show before Caesar, exposing his wounds and railing against Antigonos. Caesar sent out imperial letters in 47 B.C.E. and again in 44 B.C.E. confirming the status of Hyrkanos. Caesar made the Jews of Alexandria citizens of the Roman Republic and gave religious freedom to the Jews of Asia. Aulus Gabinius, the Roman governor of Syria, had divided Palestine into five synods (districts). Their respective capitals were Jerusalem (now the capital of Israel), Gadara (Gazara or Geshur, now Umm Qays, Jordan), Amathus (Hamath, now Hama, Syria), Jericho (now in Arab Palestine), and Sepphoris (Tsippori) in the

Galilee (now in Israel). "The people were glad to be free of monarchical rule and were governed for the future by an aristocracy" (ibid., 1.8.5).

In 47 B.C.E. Antipatros appointed his eldest son Phasaelos *strategos* of Jerusalem, and his second son Herod *strategos* of Sepphoris, the Galilean capital. We do not know the exact date of Herod's birth. Since he was about seventy years old at his death (5/4 B.C.E.), most scholars think he was born in 73/72 B.C.E. and was twenty-five years old at the time of his appointment as governor of the Galilee. Yet Josephus believed that Herod was *fifteen*, not twenty-five, at that time (*Antiquities of the Jews* 14.9.2). This figure was amended to twenty-five by most of Josephus' translators (Schürer 1961:338 n. 26). Why would Josephus tell us Herod was fifteen rather than twenty-five at the time of his appointment as *strategos*? If Josephus was right, Herod would only have been born in 63/62 B.C.E.

Perhaps due to his being the second-born son, deeply envious of his elder brother, or to his unhealthy relationship with his parents, especially with his mother Kypros, Herod was a man of quick passions and a violent temper. One piece of evidence suggesting Herod's unconscious matricidal rage were the furious wars he waged against his mother's Nabataean motherland. Another were his murders of his wives and mother-in-law. The ambitious Herod soon came into conflict with Hyrkanos by arrogating judicial power to himself. Herod was summoned before the Great Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, but Sextus Caesar, the new proconsular Roman governor of Syria, was bribed and ordered Hyrkanos to have Herod acquitted. With Rome behind him and with his narcissistic rage fueling his violence, Herod well-nigh staged a coup d'état against Hyrkanos, being dissuaded by his wiser father. Sextus Caesar appointed Herod *strategos* of Coele-Syria.

The personal rage, vehemence, vindictiveness, and thirst for power that fueled these ancient Romans and Jews may seem strange to us, but the circumstances of their early life may have been more traumatic than ours. In 46 B.C.E. Caecilius Bassus, a follower of Pompey the Great, had Sextus Caesar, an appointee of Julius Caesar, assassinated in Syria. In 45 B.C.E. the forces of Caesar commanded by Gaius Antistius Vetus (the Old) besieged the forces of Bassus at Apamea, assisted by those of Antipatros, but Bassus withstood their siege. Lucius Statius Murcus arrived as pro-consul of Syria in early 44 B.C.E. and together with Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, vainly attempted to defeat Bassus.

On 15 March 44 B.C.E. Gaius Julius Caesar, consul and dictator of Rome, came to the Senate unarmed and unguarded, like a god believing in his own immortality. He was assassinated by a group of conspirators led by the rival praetors Marcus Junius Brutus and Gaius Cassius Longinus. Cath (1988) explained Caesar's suicidal behavior in terms of his narcissism, his "barren" relationship to Rome, and his wishful sense of immortality. The surviving consul, Mark Antony, resolved to avenge Caesar's murder or used it to rid himself of Brutus and Cassius. The praetor Publius Cornelius Dolabella (d. 44 B.C.E.), who had favored the conspirators, switched sides and seized the vacant consulship with Antony's help.

ROME AFTER CAESAR

By the end of 44 B.C.E. Mark Antony had taken action against Caesar's murderers, falsifying the dead dictator's papers, arousing the Roman mob against the murderers, and forcing them to flee the city. Marcus Junius Brutus fled to Macedonia, in Greece, while Gaius Cassius Longinus went back to Syria, which he had governed. Dolabella was dispatched by the Senate at the head of an army against Parthia and Syria. On his way east Dolabella murdered the proconsular governor of "Asia," Gaius Trebonius (43 B.C.E.), seized the treasure of Smyrna (now Izmir, Turkey), and was outlawed by the Senate in Rome. Dolabella was made governor of Syria but was ousted by Cassius, who had been promised the governorship. Cassius took over the forces of the warring parties in Syria and captured Dolabella at Laodicea. Dolabella killed himself, and Cassius assumed the governorship. Two years later Cassius was ruined by his own ambition and vanity, his short temper, and his sharp tongue.

Cassius needed money to feed his soldiers and to maintain his government. He assessed Judaea 700 gold talents, which were assiduously collected by Antipatros and his son Herod, faithfully serving their new Roman masters. The savagery of those times was stunning. Empathy, compassion, and mercy were normally absent. Inhabitants of towns that could not raise the tribute were sold into slavery (Schürer 1961:112). Cassius once more made Herod governor of Coele-Syria, which included Judaea and the Galilee. In 43 B.C.E. Antipatros was assassinated by his rival Malichos, who had bribed Hyrkanos's cupbearer to poison the old Idumaeen schemer. Herod, enraged and unable to mourn his father's death, had Malichos murdered in his turn, with the connivance of Cassius, the ruler of Syria.

At the battle of Mutina (now Modena), in 43 B.C.E., the two Roman consuls were killed and Antony was forced to flee to Gaul. The youthful Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus (Octavian, 63 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), who had been adopted by Julius Caesar and by the Julian *gens* (clan), was elected consul in Rome, having ambiguously defeated Mark Antony. After negotiating with his rivals, Octavian made a tenuous pact with Antony and with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (d. 13/12 B.C.E.), a former consul with Caesar (in 46 B.C.E.) and a supporter of Antony. Like its predecessor, this pact was called *tresviri rei publicae constituendae* (three-man board to constitute the republic) and became known as the Second Triumvirate. In 42 B.C.E. Octavian and Antony led their legions east to fight those of Cassius and Brutus. Cassius left Syria to join Brutus and fight the triumvirs at Philippi in Macedonia (now Filippi, Greece). Syria fell into anarchy. Antigonus, the sole surviving son of Aristobulos II, made another attempt to seize Judaea. This was foiled by Herod but led to the annexation to Tyre of parts of Galilee. At the Battle of Philippi the two murderers of Caesar were defeated, and Cassius killed himself.

This left all of Roman "Asia" in the hands of Mark Antony, who had been an intimate friend of Herod's father, Antipatros, ever since he had served in Syria under Aulus Gabinius in 57–55 B.C.E. Antony's rise to power as ruler of the eastern Roman

provinces made Herod very powerful. In 42 B.C.E. Hyrkanos, fearful of Herod, betrothed his beautiful granddaughter Mariamne to the young Idumaeen governor to head off trouble. Herod accepted the engagement for both political and personal motives, which we shall explore below. In 41 B.C.E. the established Judean nobility, resentful of their domination by the Idumaeans, sent a delegation to Antony in Bithynia with complaints against Phasaelos and Herodes, but the latter disproved the charges against them. When Antony was staying in Ephesos he received a deputation from Hyrkanos entreating him to free all Jews sold into slavery by the late Cassius and to restore the territory annexed by Tyre. Antony willingly complied.

In 41 B.C.E. Mark Antony received a second delegation from the Jewish nobles at Antioch trying to unseat Herod. Hyrkanos himself sided with the Idumaeen brothers in a self-destructive gesture (Schürer 1961:113). Antony appointed Phasaelos and Herod tetrarchs (rulers of the fourth part) of Judaea and Galilee, respectively. Hyrkanos was no longer ethnarch, only High Priest. In 40 B.C.E., while Antony was in Egypt, held in thrall by the femme fatale Cleopatra, the Parthians under Orodes II (d. 37/36 B.C.E.) overran the Roman province of Trans-Asia, including northern Syria. They sent some of their forces to Judaea, and Antigonos seized the opportunity to attack his Idumaeen rivals and enemies. With Parthian connivance he was able to trap Phasaelos and Hyrkanos, who were taken prisoner by the Parthian commander in Jerusalem. Herod was able to escape with his family to Masada, overlooking the Dead Sea, putting his brother Joseph in charge there while he fought the Jews at Herodion, his fortress in the hills of Judaea southeast of Jerusalem. Having killed many Jews, he retreated to Petra, the Nabataean capital across the Jordan River. Antigonos was placed by the Parthians in charge of Jerusalem, while they plundered the countryside. They delivered Governor Phasaelos of Judaea and High Priest Hyrkanos in chains into his hands. Schürer (1961:115) thought that "the ears of Hyrcanus were cut off," but his source, Josephus (*The Jewish War* 1.13.9), was more explicit:

Antigonos himself also bit off Hyrcanus's ears with his own teeth, as he [Hyrkanos] fell down upon his knees before him [Antigonos], that so he might never be able, upon any mutation of affairs, to take the high priesthood again; for the high priests that officiated must be complete, and without blemish.

The madly desperate Phasaelos killed himself by dashing his head against a rock. The mutilated and traumatized Hyrkanos was carried off by the Parthians, and Antigonos II proclaimed himself *basileos* (king) and High Priest.

The Roman general Publius Ventidius (c. 95–37 B.C.E.), a former captive of Pompeius Strabo during the civil war of 90–88 B.C.E., had risen to greatness. Ventidius had fought for Julius Caesar during the civil war of 49–46 B.C.E. and had been named praetor by Caesar. After Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C.E., Ventidius joined the forces of Mark Antony, who made Ventidius a consul. In 39–38 B.C.E. Ventidius commanded Antony's legions in Asia Minor against Parthia. Ventidius defeated the Parthians at the Cilician Gates, at Mount Amanus, and at Mount Gindarus (now in southern Turkey)

and drove the Parthians out of Syria. He returned to Rome, celebrated a triumph, and died soon thereafter.

The unfortunate Antigonos II was king of Judaea for a little over two years (late 40–early 37 B.C.E.). Herod went to Rome, where he was able to have Antony, Octavian, and the Senate proclaim him king of Judaea as a *rex socius et amicus populi Romani*. After receiving a heavy tribute from Antigonos, the Roman commander left him alone, as did his lieutenant Silonus (Silo) after the departure of Ventidius and the arrival of Sosius. Herod, however, was bent on avenging his elder brother's death. He landed at Ptolemais (Acre), raised an army, and received aid from Silo, who had received orders from Antony. He soon captured most of Judaea and besieged Jerusalem. Fortunately for Antigonos II it was a frosty winter. Herod's Roman troops balked at the bitter cold and the capture of Jerusalem was delayed.

The Greek kingdom of Commagene, east of Cilicia and south of Cappadocia (now in south-central Turkey), was the key strategic region between the Roman and Parthian empires. In 162 B.C.E. Commagene had broken off from the weakening Seleucid empire. King Antiochos of Commagene (r. 69–34 B.C.E.) skillfully played off the two empires against each other. Antiochos built a magnificent mausoleum to himself on the peak of what is now Turkey's Nimrud Dag (Mount Nimrod). Samosata on the Euphrates River (now Samsat in southeastern Turkey) was an ancient Hittite and Assyrian city that had become part of Commagene. In 38 B.C.E. the Parthians attacked the Roman legions under Ventidius at Samosata. Fighting for Rome, Herod "subdued" the countryside and captured vast bands of "brigands." Antony arrived in Samosata to relieve his legate Ventidius from his siege by the Parthians, and Herod went to see him there.

Sosius, who had succeeded Ventidius, was ordered to support Herod. Antigonos used Herod's absence to attack his brother Joseph, capture him in battle, kill him, and cut off his head. The Galileans too rose up against Herod's rule and drowned his men in the Sea of Galilee. Herod received this news in Antioch. Herod had now lost his father and two of his brothers. Unable to mourn his losses, his guilt feelings were projected upon the Galileans and he was overcome by his rage. Herod soon seized the Galilee and defeated Antigonos's army under Pappos at Isana (Yeshana) in Samaria. The defeat led to a terrible massacre and to the death of Pappos. Herod now controlled all of Palestine except Jerusalem.

In 37 B.C.E., while besieging Jerusalem, Herod married Mariamne, a granddaughter of Johannes Hyrkanos II, to whom he had been engaged for five years. Repeating his disturbed relationship with his mother, Herod's feelings about women were very ambivalent. He eventually killed Mariamne and several other women dearest to him. Sosius came from Syria with a great army, joined Herod, and after forty days of siege they began to breach Jerusalem's ramparts from the north. When they had taken the Temple Mount and the Upper City to its west, Antigonos fell at the feet of Sosius to plead for mercy. The Roman governor laughed at Antigonos, humiliated him, called him Antigone, and had him bound in chains. The frenzied Roman troops plundered, raped, and murdered the people of Jerusalem. Herod bribed Sosius into ordering them

away. Sosius carried Antigonos away to Antioch, where he had him executed at Antony's orders.

Herod had been caught up in the Roman-Parthian struggle. In 37 B.C.E. Farhad Shah (Phraates IV, d. 2 B.C.E.) became king of Parthia, Rome's rival in the East. Armenia, a Parthian vassal state, was the chief bone of contention between Rome and Parthia. In 36 B.C.E. the Roman legions under the fiery Mark Antony invaded Armenia and Media Atropatene (now Azerbaijan). Farhad Shah defeated the Romans, inflicting heavy losses on Antony, who was forced to retreat. In 34 B.C.E. Farhad Shah's Median vassal allied himself with Rome, but when Antony withdrew, Farhad Shah again occupied Media. In 32 B.C.E. an internal revolt in Parthia helped the vassal Tyrdt Shah of Armenia (Tiridates II, d. after 25 B.C.E.) temporarily topple Farhad Shah from his throne. Farhad Shah took refuge with his Scythian cousins in the desert. In 31 B.C.E. Farhad Shah returned to Parthia with a large army. Tyrdt Shah fled to Roman Syria, with Farhad's son as hostage. The first Roman Emperor, Octavian Augustus (63 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), wisely made peace with Farhad Shah of Parthia, returning his son to him, but Tyrdt Shah remained in Syria. In 30 B.C.E. Farhad Shah regained his Parthian throne. In return, the Parthian vassal states of Armenia and Osroëne became Roman dependencies. In 26–25 B.C.E. Tyrdt Shah twice invaded Mesopotamia, being repelled each time by Farhad Shah. By 25 B.C.E. Farhad Shah had regained power in Armenia.

Octavian Augustus cunningly sent Farhad Shah an Italian concubine named Musa (the Muse), and Farhad Shah unwisely accepted her. Musa was a femme fatale. She had a son by Farhad Shah whose name was also Farhad (Phraates V, d. after 4 C.E.). Musa talked Farhad Shah into sending four of his sons to Rome, where they became hostages of Emperor Augustus. In 2 B.C.E. Musa murdered Farhad to secure the throne for her son and for herself. She married her own son, and the two ruled Parthia jointly for six years. When Farhad Shah V tried to recover Armenia from Rome, Augustus sent his adopted son Caius Caesar against Parthia. In 1 C.E. a Roman-Parthian peace treaty was signed, ceding Armenia to Rome's sphere of influence. In 4 C.E. Farhad Shah and his mother-wife Musa were either killed or driven into Syria.

In Judaea, with the death of Antigonos, the Hasmonean dynasty had come to an end. Greek Judaea had never been an independent realm. The Hasmonean kings were always under some measure of Seleucid Greek or Roman rule.

18

The Tragedy of Herod the Great

As part of the Second Triumvirate, formed in 43 B.C.E., Mark Antony received the proconsular governorship of the Roman province of "Asia" (Asia Minor). The violent and explosive Antony played an increasingly important role in Jewish affairs. In 37 B.C.E. he appointed the young Herod (Herodes, c. 73–5/4 B.C.E.), an Idumaeen Jew, the son of Antipatros, king of Judaea. By then Herod had lost three of his closest relatives: his father Antipatros, who had been killed six years earlier by Malichos; his older brother Phasaelos, who three years earlier had dashed his head against a rock rather than be killed by his rival Antigonos; and his younger brother Joseph, who had been savagely killed by Antigonos.

Herod had avenged the deaths of his father and his brothers by killing Malichos and Antigonos. Was he able to mourn their deaths and to accept his losses? It seems not. The massacre on the Temple Mount and throughout Jerusalem that preceded Herod's accession to the throne may well have quenched his thirst for vengeance, but it also intensified his guilt feelings. These were so painful that they absolutely had to be repressed or denied. They became increasingly unconscious and projected upon his enemies. Herod may not have had any rational reason to feel guilty for the deaths of his father and brothers, but he did have "irrational" reasons to do so, because he had unconsciously wished their death, as every son and brother does.

Herod's self was deeply flawed. He felt bad about himself. Herod's guilt feelings were unconscious but were all the more powerful for this very reason. Herod's guilt feelings over the deaths of many innocent people, on the other hand, may have been conscious. This created a vicious circle. By projecting his guilt feelings upon his enemies, Herod became fearful of them, suspicious of their designs on him, and enraged at them when he thought he had found them out. This caused him to kill more of his enemies, whether real or imaginary, which reinforced his guilt feelings, which in turn, by projection, increased his suspicions of them. Clinically, this was a case of paranoid ideation evolving into a full-fledged paranoid psychosis in Herod's old age. The untold suffering his emotional illness brought upon himself, his family, and his people was very tragic. A crucial aspect of Herod's paranoid-narcissistic personality

was his grandiose self, which required of him ever greater achievements. Schürer (1961:129), based on Josephus, had this to say of Herod:

His character was wild and passionate, harsh and unbending. Fine feelings and tender emotions were strange to him. Whenever his own interest seemed to demand it, he carried matters through with an iron hand, and scrupled not to shed streams of blood that he might reach his object. . . . He was, besides, cunning and adroit, and rich in devices. . . . Hard and un pitying . . . toward all who fell into his power, he was cringing and servile before those that were, as he was, high in place. . . . But these most conspicuous characteristics of his nature were set in motion by an insatiable ambition. All his devices and endeavours, all his plans and actions, were aimed directly toward the one end: the extending of his power, his dominion, his glory.

This is a description of a malignant narcissistic personality disorder with paranoid features. Herod's insatiable craving for power came from profound feelings of emptiness and helplessness in his unhealthy early relations with his mother Kypros and with his father Antipatros. Parental empathy for children's feelings was rare in those days. Those who receive no real empathy, love, or warmth from their parents cannot give it to others. Herod's murderous rage, so easily kindled, was similarly archaic in origin.

HEROD'S INABILITY TO MOURN

Herod had an overwhelming "edifice complex." Over and over again he had to reassure himself of his potency and worth. He erected magnificent buildings in Jerusalem, including a great palace for himself, theaters, stadiums, gymnasiums, and the thoroughly remodeled Temple of Yahweh, the most impressive and beautiful building of his time. He built new cities such as Caesarea Maritima at Strato's Tower on the Mediterranean, Antipatris near Capharsaba in the coastal plain, Phasaelis in the Jordan Valley north of Jericho, and Agrippaion (Agrippias) near Anthedon, also on the Mediterranean coast. Herod built two great fortresses named Herodeion: one southeast of Jerusalem, near Bethlehem, and the other in the mountains facing Arabia. He refortified the strongholds of Alexandrion, Hyrkania, Machaeros and Masada. In Jerusalem itself he built great towers called Phasaelos, Mariamne, and Hippikos. In Jericho he built a citadel that he named Kypros, after his mother.

Herod's monuments were "linking objects" that connected him to those people whose losses he could not mourn (Volkan 1981). Herod's great edifices were all named either after himself, after his close friends, or after his dead relatives. Antipatris was named after Herod's father Antipatros, who had been killed by his enemies. Phasaelis was named after his brother Phasaelos, who had killed himself rather than be killed by Antigonos. Mariamne was named after Herod's wife, whom he himself had executed. Kypros was named after his mother, who had died. Unable to mourn his losses, and suffering from unconscious guilt feelings, Herod could only name his cities and

structures after them. The cities he named after his patrons, such as Caesarea and Agrippias, were nowhere as emotionally laden for him as those he named after his dead loved ones. His "edifice complex" stemmed from his inability to mourn. Herod's grandiose self, which demanded that he build ever more magnificent structures and conquer ever more territory, his need to restore his losses, and his unconscious guilt feelings combined to produce these great feats.

Herod had a quick temper, and became enraged at many provocations, whether real or imagined. When he defeated his rival Antigonus in 37 B.C.E., Herod persuaded the Roman ruler Mark Antony to have Antigonus beheaded in Antioch, a shameful death in Roman eyes. Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews* 15.1.2) quoted the Greek historian Strabo as saying that it was the first such execution of a king in Roman history. Josephus felt that the "half Jew" Herod meant to force the Jews to accept him as their king by inflicting a shameful death upon their beloved Hasmonean one.

Herod began his reign violently, with massacres and executions, slaying forty-five of Antigonus's followers (37 B.C.E.). The Jewish people, their nobles, and the Hasmoneans were already Herod's foes. In 36 B.C.E. Johannes Hyrkanos (John Hyrcanus II) returned to Jerusalem from his Parthian captivity. Having lost his earlobes to the biting Antigonus, Hyrkanos could no longer serve as High Priest under Jewish law. The kingdom of Babylonia and its chief city of Babylon had been out of existence for centuries, yet the Aramaic-speaking Jews of Parthian Mesopotamia continued to call themselves "Babylonian." Herod named as High Priest a "Babylonian" Jew named Hanamel (El has pardoned them), who came from a priestly family. Hanamel remained in office for two years before the Romans forced Herod to remove him. Like all Roman vassal kings west of the Euphrates River, Herod was a *rex socius et amicus populi Romani* (allied king and friend of the Roman people), who could not exercise royal authority in any major matter without the express approval of the Roman Emperor.

Herod's mother-in-law, Hyrkanos's daughter Alexandra, was a manipulative and exploitive person. She exerted great pressure to have her son Aristobulos III, Herod's brother-in-law, appointed High Priest. She wrote Queen Cleopatra Thea Philopator (Cleopatra VII) of Egypt, now Mark Antony's wife, asking her to pressure Antony to order Herod to appoint her son High Priest. Alexandra had her daughter Mariamne, Herod's wife, pressure Herod to this end as well. Antony demurred for a while, as did Herod. The stalemate persisted, and the tension between Alexandra and Herod grew.

Mark Antony, now forty-seven years old, had been known for his wild lifestyle since his youth. He made no secret of his bisexual appetites. Antony was residing in Alexandria with Cleopatra VII, whom he had married in Antioch in 37 B.C.E. Josephus reported that one Dellius, a friend of Antony, had seen Herod's wife Mariamne and her young brother Aristobulos III in Jerusalem, had been struck by their beauty, and had inflamed Antony with his descriptions of them. Antony sent for the boy, being ashamed and afraid to send for Herod's wife. Herod held Antony off by writing him that letting Aristobulos leave Judaea would lead to riots there.

In 36 B.C.E., with the promised support of Armenia, Antony led the Roman

campaign against Parthia, invading Armenia and Media. Antony's ally was King Artavasdes of Armenia (Artavasdes II, r. 53–34 B.C.E.), son and heir of Tigranes the Great. To win Armenia's freedom from Parthia, Artavasdes had allied himself with Rome. When Orodes Shah of Parthia (Orodes II, d. 37/36 B.C.E.) invaded Armenia, Artavasdes joined Parthia against Rome. Artavasdes gave his sister in marriage to Orodes' favorite son, Pacorus (d. 38 B.C.E.). When Antony's legions marched into Armenia, Artavasdes once again switched his allegiance to Rome. Antony was at first defeated by Orodes, and Artavasdes once again deserted Rome. The Parthians pursued the Romans, who were nevertheless able to capture parts of Armenia during their retreat. In 34 B.C.E. Antony allied himself with the king of Media, a rebellious vassal of Parthia, again invaded and occupied Armenia, and imprisoned Artavasdes for treason. Antony took Artavasdes to Alexandria, Egypt, where Artavasdes was killed by Antony's lover, Queen Cleopatra VII. Antony repudiated his legal Roman wife Octavia, the sister of Octavian Augustus, whom he had married in 40 B.C.E. This amounted to Antony abrogating his treaty with Octavian of 43 B.C.E., giving the latter a *casus belli*.

The triumvir Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (d. 13/12 B.C.E.) had been governor of the Roman province of "Africa" (roughly modern Tunisia and Algeria) since 42 B.C.E. He now returned to conquer Sicily for Rome. Lepidus was suspected by Octavian of trying to keep Sicily for himself and was deposed from the triumvirate. This left Antony and Octavian as the two rulers of Rome. Octavian returned to Antony, without their legions, the ships that had survived his naval battles. Antony grasped that he was being cut off from power in Rome and that, if he was to survive politically, he must fight in the West.

In 35 B.C.E., at Antony's behest, Herod removed the Babylonian Jew Hanamel from the High Priesthood, replacing him with Aristobulos, his eighteen-year-old brother-in-law. That same year, however, Herod had Aristobulos murdered by drowning during the feast of Succoth. Whether Herod felt any guilt at this murder is hard to tell: he did feign a show of grief. Alexandra, the bereaved mother of the slain young man, hated her son-in-law Herod with a passion. She continued to agitate and scheme through Cleopatra.

Between 36 and 34 B.C.E. Antony was fighting Parthia over Armenia and Media (Sinnigen and Boak 1977:235; Schürer 1961:132). When he had reached Laodicea by the Sea (near Denizli in Turkey), Antony summoned Herod to give an account of his actions in Judaea. Herod, a tyrant himself, knew and feared Antony. He suspected that Alexandra had swayed Antony, via her friend Cleopatra, to have him removed and executed. The paranoid Herod gave secret orders to his uncle and brother-in-law Joseph, whom he had appointed viceroy in his absence, to execute his wife Mariamne in case he should not return. These secret orders betrayed Herod's ambivalent attitude toward his favorite wife, Mariamne, and toward all women. He loved Mariamne deeply, but he unconsciously hated her just as deeply. His unconscious hatred of his mother Kypros had been displaced to his wife Mariamne. Herod had nine other wives, and his relations with them were troubled. He had repudiated his first wife Doris and her

son Antipatros, sending them into exile. Mariamne seemed to him the proud Hasmonean lady who treated him imperiously. How much of this was Herod's "transference" fantasy and how much Mariamne's character? The rationalization Herod gave for his secret orders to Joseph was that he loved his wife so much he wanted no one to have her but himself.

Herod's mother-in-law Alexandra had become the Evil Mother in Herod's split-up feelings. His rage at his own mother Kypros, which we can only infer, and of which he was unconscious, was displaced to his mother-in-law Alexandra. He felt murderous rage at her, yet dared not kill her, because of her ties to Cleopatra and the latter's bonds with Antony. He hated Alexandra as much he loved Mariamne. He was to kill Alexandra six years later. While Herod was away there were riots in Judaea. The Hasmoneans were scheming against the Idumaeans. Herod's paternal uncle, the viceroy Joseph, had married Herod's sister Salome. He was thus Herod's uncle as well as his brother-in-law. Joseph told Mariamne of Herod's secret orders to kill her as proof of Herod's special love for her. This openness was to cost Joseph and Mariamne their lives.

At Laodicea, Herod flattered Antony and bribed him with fine oratory, expensive gifts, and vast sums of money. Antony pronounced him innocent, and Herod returned to Jerusalem. His sister Salome, however, was herself a suspicious, quarrelsome, and scheming individual. She had quarreled with her uncle-husband Joseph, suspecting him of adultery with her brother's wife, Mariamne. When Herod returned, his sister Salome told him that her husband Joseph and Herod's wife Mariamne had committed adultery. Herod questioned his wife, who maintained her innocence. During the heat of their argument Mariamne told Herod that she knew of his secret order to have her killed if he had not returned. Stunned, Herod asked her how she learned about it. She told him that Joseph had told her. Herod, ever suspicious, if not paranoid, saw this as confirmation of his sister's charges, which were almost certainly false. Enraged, he had Joseph executed forthwith without interrogating him on his version of events. Herod thus murdered his uncle and his brother-in-law at the same time. Did Herod unconsciously hate his uncle for taking away from him his beloved sister? Did he have incestuous feelings for his sister Salome? Was his murder of his uncle an unconscious parricide?

In 34 B.C.E., during Antony's war with Parthia over Media and Armenia, he gave the greedy Cleopatra Thea Philopator several territories, including the district of Jericho in Palestine, which Josephus called the fairest and most fertile in Judaea. The Greco-Egyptian femme fatale accompanied her husband Antony to the Euphrates. On her way back home to Alexandria she made a stop in Judaea. The woman who had seduced both Caesar and Antony attempted to seduce Herod as well. Herod unconsciously transferred his matricidal hatred to Cleopatra, hated her for her previous manipulations of Antony against him, and schemed to have her murdered. Luckily for him, Herod was dissuaded from his disastrous scheme by his friends (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 15.4). He paid his respects to Cleopatra and avoided her snares as best he could. Cleopatra was an emotionally unhealthy woman, whose promiscuity

and seductiveness were defenses against her shaky sense of self. She was as avaricious for territories, lovers, money, and titles as a child is greedy for toys or a baby for milk.

When Antony and Cleopatra returned to Egypt, victorious over Armenia, they staged a royal pageant in Alexandria. The narcissistic Cleopatra was dressed up as the Egyptian goddess Isis. She and Antony appeared seated on golden thrones. Antony made a speech to the Egyptian public in which he proclaimed Cleopatra queen of kings and ruler of Egypt, Cyprus, Crete, and Coele-Syria. The king of kings was her son Ptolemy Caesarion, recognized by Antony as Julius Caesar's son. The two young sons of Antony and Cleopatra, barely seven years old, were proclaimed, respectively, king of Armenia, Media, and Parthia, and king of Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia. Antony and Cleopatra's daughter, also named Cleopatra (Cleopatra VIII), was proclaimed queen of Cyrene, the Greek colony in central North Africa that had been joined with Crete in 67 B.C.E. to make up the Roman province of Cyrenaica (now Barqah in Libya). Within three years, both Antony and Cleopatra were dead, and Egypt taken by Octavian.

FROM REPUBLIC TO EMPIRE

Herod continued to battle the people of Judaea, the nobles, his mother-in-law Alexandra, and Cleopatra Thea Philopator of Egypt for the next two years (34–32 B.C.E.). In 33 B.C.E. Octavian, Antony's partner in the Second Triumvirate, began vilifying Antony for his treatment of Octavia. The irascible Antony responded in kind. By the end of the year the *tresviri rei publicae constituendae* was legally dissolved. Octavian ruled in Rome, Antony in Alexandria and Antioch. A great campaign of mutual vilification began. Octavian made the rulers of the West swear allegiance to him; Antony did the same in the East. Antony nominated the two Roman consuls for the year 32 B.C.E. He wrote the Senate offering to surrender his powers as triumvir and restore the old constitution in exchange for Senate approval of all his actions in the East, including the territories and titles he had given Cleopatra.

The two consuls, who supported Antony, feared to divulge the contents of his letter. One of them made a verbal attack on Octavian in the Senate, moving that Octavian give up his imperium. A tribune loyal to Octavian vetoed this motion. Octavian showed up in the Senate with an armed bodyguard. The two consuls and over two hundred senators fled to Antony in Alexandria, who publicly divorced Octavia. Her brother Octavian retaliated by publishing parts of Antony's will in which Antony bequeathed all his possessions to Cleopatra and to her children by him. This will, whether authentic or not, was perceived as a blow to the Roman *patria* and inflamed Roman public opinion against Antony.

Both Antony and Octavian made their entire subject populations swear formal oaths of allegiance to them. Despite popular discontent in Italy, Octavian declared war against Cleopatra Thea Philopator of Egypt. Antony ruled the Roman "East," Octavian the Roman "West." Each hated the other with a passion. Antony was "be-

witched by his love to Cleopatra, and was entirely conquered by her charms" (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 1.18.4). Antony and Cleopatra mobilized their forces at Ephesos in Asia Minor, on the Aegean Sea (now Selçuk, Turkey), and later at Athens and Patras. In 32 B.C.E. war broke out between Octavian and Antony. Cleopatra's money financed Antony's war. A huge fleet of five hundred ships and ninety thousand men sailed from Egypt to Greece and spent the winter of 32–31 B.C.E. in the Ambracian Gulf in western Greece. Octavian intimidated most of Antony's remaining supporters into joining him. King Herod of Judaea, Antony's friend, was ordered by Antony to fight the Nabataean Arab king, who had failed to pay tribute to Cleopatra. When Herod's Jews had inflicted heavy casualties on the Arab Nabataeans, one of Cleopatra's generals at the battle, Athenion, who hated Herod, fell upon the exhausted Jewish troops with his forces and "made a great slaughter of them" (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 15.5.1). Herod was reduced to waging guerrilla warfare on the Nabataeans. This defeat and humiliation was a severe narcissistic injury for Herod.

In the spring of 31 B.C.E. a great earthquake killed "ten thousand people" in the cities of Judaea "by the fall of houses" (*ibid.*, 15.5.2). In a later work Josephus tripled this number to thirty thousand (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 1.19.3). Herod attacked the Nabataean Arabs again, winning a resounding victory over them. Many were killed, and the rest surrendered. This triumph uplifted his spirits. Herod awaited the final showdown between Antony and Octavian for control of the greatest power of the world, the Roman Empire. This showdown came on 2 September at the Battle of Actium (Aktion) in the Ambracian Gulf. Antony's and Cleopatra's forces were defeated by Octavian and his brilliant general Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (63–12 B.C.E.). Herod had backed Antony and expected to be executed by the victors. Octavian, however, was both wise and magnanimous, preferring not to punish but to win over former allies of his enemy. When a troop of gladiators at Kyzikos (Cyzicus, on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara, now Balıkehisar, Turkey) who supported Antony wished to hasten to Antony's help, Herod helped Quintus Didius, the Roman governor of Syria, hinder their departure, establishing his future credentials with Octavian.

Historians call the year 31 B.C.E. the date of the "birth of the Roman Empire." In 27 B.C.E. the Roman Senate conferred upon Octavian the title of Augustus (Exalted), while the Roman plebes made him *tribunus plebis* for life. The Senate gave Octavian most of the Roman provinces. He was made *imperator* (commander) and *princeps* (first citizen, or leader). The official political structure of the Roman government did not change, but the two consuls and the other Roman magistrates now had less power than the *princeps*, who appointed imperial legates to govern his provinces. Some provinces were still ruled by the Senate.

From 31 to 23 B.C.E., Octavian ruled as a consul, but his power was autocratic. Octavian Augustus appointed procurators to official posts in his imperial administration of the Roman provinces and in various departments of his imperial government such as the grain supply, mint, and mines departments. In the imperial provinces the procurator served under the imperial legate. The procurator of Judaea served under the Roman legate of Syria. In the provinces that remained under Senate control (the

senatorial provinces) the procurator had more authority. Some procurators governed the lesser provinces, exercising financial and judicial authority. Before setting out to meet Octavian, the new ruler of the world, Herod of Judaea executed Johannes Hyrkanos II, his aged grandfather-in-law. The rationalization Herod gave for this bloody deed was Hyrkanos's conspiracy with the king of "Arabia," but Josephus and other historians disputed this charge (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 15.6.2–3). The real reason was Hyrkanos's threat to Herod as the Hasmonean claimant to the throne of Judaea (Schürer 1961:135). The deeper psychological reason was unconscious parricide and Herod's rage against his mother-in-law, Alexandra, Hyrkanos's daughter, whose son he had already killed. Herod hated Alexandra with a passion and was to kill her three years later.

After his victory over Antony at Actium, Octavian advanced his legions slowly eastward. He spent the winter of 31–30 B.C.E. mostly in the Greek island of Samos. Herod met Octavian in Rhodes in the spring of 30 B.C.E. He boasted of the service he had given Antony and promised the same to Octavian. The latter felt he could use Herod for his own ends, confirmed him in his royal rank as *rex socius et amicus populi Romani*, king of Judaea, and gave him his support. Herod returned triumphant to Jerusalem. In the summer of 30 B.C.E. Octavian left Asia Minor on his way to Egypt. When he landed at Ptolemais (Acre), Herod received Octavian with pomp and ceremony and took care of his army.

Antony's fortunes worsened further after some of his troops defected to Octavian and Cleopatra fled to Alexandria with her treasure ship. Antony fought another naval battle with Octavian and then retreated to Egypt. Antony's legions disintegrated. As every schoolboy knows, in August, 30 B.C.E., the desperate Antony and Cleopatra finally killed themselves in Alexandria. The fifty-three-year-old Antony is said to have heard a false rumor that Cleopatra had killed herself, which drove him to despair and prompted him to take his own life. The thirty-nine-year-old Cleopatra was taken prisoner by the thirty-three-year-old Octavian. She tried to seduce him into pity and, failing to do that, killed herself. Octavian ruthlessly executed Ptolemy Caesarion, her son by Julius Caesar, and Antony's elder son. Egypt, which had been a Greek kingdom, became a Roman province. Herod planned to appear before Octavian again to secure the new Roman ruler's protection and support. Octavian occupied Alexandria and resided in the royal palace.

In late 30 B.C.E., after Antony's suicide, Herod once more called upon Octavian, this time in Egypt. This visit yielded the restoration of several cities to Judaea, including Jericho, Gadara, Hippos (Susita), Samaria (Sebaste), Gaza, Anthedon (Agrippias), Joppa (Jaffa), and Strato's Tower (Caesarea Maritima). Herod accompanied his new patron on his way back to Rome all the way from Alexandria to Antioch. In 29 B.C.E. Octavian was made emperor and in 28 B.C.E. *princeps* of the Roman people. He was the first emperor of Rome. During his visits with Octavian, King Herod left one Sohemus (Soemus or Shoham) of Iturea in charge of his household. Herod gave Sohemus the same secret orders he had given his uncle Joseph, namely to kill his wife Mariamne if he, Herod, did not return. The great ambivalence toward his beloved

wife was obvious. Mariamne once again learned of the secret orders, which was not accidental. When Herod returned, she openly displayed her hatred of him.

Herod's mother Kypros and his sister Salome inflamed the quarrel by spreading false rumors about Mariamne's infidelity to Herod with Soemus. The two women bribed Herod's cupbearer into saying that Mariamne had given him a poison to kill Herod with. The upshot of this tragedy was that Herod's paranoid suspicions grew intolerable at the end of that year (29 B.C.E.). He was overwhelmed by his rage at Mariamne and executed his beloved wife. All the unconscious rage he had for his mother and sister had been displaced and acted out upon his wife.

After murdering his beloved wife, Herod's guilt feelings became unbearable, as did his longing for his dead wife. He was tormented by his guilt, especially when doubts about Mariamne's own guilt became more powerful. Schürer (1961:137) saw Herod's inner conflict as follows:

In Herod's relations with Mariamne were revealed all the savagery and sensuality of his nature. Ungovernable and passionate as his love for her was, such was also his hatred so soon as he thought himself deceived by his wife. But equally ungovernable and passionate was also his yearning over his beloved whom he himself had murdered. In order to drown the pangs of remorse, he sought relief in wild excesses, drinking bouts, and the pleasure of the chase. But even his powerful frame could not endure such an excessive strain. While he was hunting in Samaria he fell ill, and was obliged there to take to his bed.

Herod's illness was the somatic expression of his unbearable inner conflicts. His uxoricide had originated in unconscious matricidal rage. Now his guilt feelings and his inability to mourn the loss of his wife literally made him ill, both emotionally and physically. His killing of his own wife precipitated the most severe crisis of his life heretofore. For five years, 29–25 B.C.E., Herod had no wife. His first wife, Doris, was in exile; his second, Mariamne, was dead by his own hand. Finally, after five years of pining for his beloved dead wife, unable to mourn his loss of her, Herod attempted to restore his loss by marrying her namesake, another Mariamne, the daughter of High Priest Simeon Boethos. For Herod, the second Mariamne was a "living linking object" to the first (Volkan 1981). The work of mourning was unfinished and Herod's "paranoid elaboration" of it increased (Fornari 1975).

Herod's mother-in-law Alexandra resumed her scheming against him. This "evil woman," as some angry historians have transferentially called her, had suffered terrible personal losses herself. Her husband Alexandros and her brother-in-law Antigonos had been killed by the Romans to clear Herod's path to the throne of Judaea. Her father Hyrkanos and her children Aristobulos and Mariamne had been killed by Herod. Alexandra could not mourn her losses either. She was disconsolate, bitter, and vengeful. Alexandra attempted to conspire with the commanders of the two citadels in Jerusalem to seize the city from Herod. The commanders duly reported her sedition to King Herod. Alexandra, who "had long deserved that fate far more than others" (Schürer 1961:138), was executed (28 B.C.E.). Schürer's emotional outburst against

Alexandra is a striking example of historical "countertransference" (Loewenberg 1985). The historian's unconscious rage at his own mother can unwittingly be displaced to a historical female figure.

Octavian, who had already been made *imperator* of Rome the year before, was made *princeps* as well. The people made him their tribune, and he governed all the Roman provinces. Later he was made *augustus* (reverend). He was the sole ruler of the Roman Empire, the first emperor, and the man who developed the institutions of the empire. Octavian's son-in-law Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, the former consul and general who had helped Octavian defeat Sextus Pompeius in 36 B.C.E. and Mark Antony in 31 B.C.E., was Octavian's closest aide. In 28–27 B.C.E. Octavian and Agrippa were joint consuls. During the year following Octavian's nomination as *imperator* and *augustus*, the loyal Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa conducted a survey of the entire Roman Empire, which was now divided into senatorial and imperial provinces.

Herod, in the meantime, was busy fighting his own inner demons. Herod had appointed his new brother-in-law, Costobaros, the second husband of Herod's sister Salome, to govern Idumaea as a tetrarch (ruler of the fourth part). Costobaros had conspired with Cleopatra against Herod, but had been pardoned by Herod at Salome's entreaties. In 25 B.C.E. Salome, whose narcissistic rage, jealousy, and lies had brought about the deaths of her first husband Joseph, of her sister-in-law Mariamne, and of her mother-in-law Alexandra, now became enraged with her second husband. She told her brother Herod that her husband Costobaros was hiding the sons of Babas, who were related to the Hasmoneans and whom Herod wished to execute. Herod had Costobaros and the sons of Babas seized and executed. Schürer (1961:138) believed that Herod could now console himself with the thought that no one survived who could challenge his claim to the throne. In reality Herod's guilt feelings grew worse.

Herod was a tragic despot and tyrant, whose reign included a secret police, informers, detention forts, and elimination of rivals by murder. This was his unconscious defense against deep feelings of helplessness and an ever increasing fear of his enemies. His paranoia increased with the years; "the longer [his reign] lasted the more despotic it became" (Schürer 1961:146). He succeeded in doubling the territory of Judaea, winning the favor of Octavianus Caesar Augustus, becoming a friend of the Roman people and a citizen of Rome, and minting his own coins. These, however, were of copper or bronze only, not of silver or gold, as major kings could mint.

In 25 B.C.E., no longer able or willing to put up with his horrors, ten prominent Judaeans conspired to murder Herod. They were seized, arrested, and executed without trial. While he resided in Mytilene on Lesbos Island (now Mitilini, Greece), from 23 to 21 B.C.E., ruling the Roman East, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa received a visit from Herod. In 15 B.C.E. Agrippa returned the visit, offering a hecatomb (sacrifice of one hundred oxen) in the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem. In 14 B.C.E. Herod once more visited Agrippa, now the second most powerful man of the Roman Empire. Herod's religious practices, being more Greek than Jewish, offended the Pharisees, even though the people welcomed Agrippa. Herod used his influence to help the Jews against oppression by their non-Jewish neighbors. Like the little girl in the nursery rhyme

"that had a little curl right in the middle of her forehead," Herod had a split self, a Jekyll-and-Hyde personality: "when he was good he was very, very good, but when he was bad he was horrid." The good feelings were split off from the bad. He could not integrate the two.

Herod had ten wives in all, including Doris, daughter of the Hasmonean king Antigonos, Mariamne, whom he executed, the second Mariamne, Malthace, and Cleopatra. His marriages produced many sons. Doris, the first wife, was repudiated by Herod, and her son, Antipatros, exiled. Mariamne's two sons, Alexandros and Aristobulos, were sent to Rome for their education around 23 B.C.E. They knew, of course, that their father had killed their mother, their grandmother, and their great-grandfather. They spent four or five years in Rome, until they were seventeen or eighteen years old, in the house of Asinius Pollio.

In 18/17 B.C.E. the two young brothers returned to Jerusalem, and their enemies began stirring up trouble between them and Herod. As Schürer (1961:152) put it, "[T]he evil (guilty) conscience of the king . . . offered so fruitful a soil for such sowing of slanders, that they could not fail ultimately to take root and to bring forth fruit." It was the unconscious processes of projection and externalization that brought this about. Herod's own guilt feelings, projected upon his enemies, only made him more suspicious and fearful of them. It was they who wanted to kill him, he felt, not the other way around.

In 13 B.C.E. Herod's patron Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, who had quelled revolts and settled matters for Octavian in the East, returned to Rome. Herod recalled his elder son Antipatros from exile and sent Alexandros and Antigonos to Rome with Agrippa. This made the two brothers hate their father even more and enabled Antipatros to spread rumors about their parricidal intentions. In 12 B.C.E. the desperate Herod resolved to bring his rebellious sons before the Emperor Octavian for trial. Herod appeared before Octavian at Aquileia as the accuser of his two sons. The Roman Emperor played the peacemaker, reconciling the paranoid Herod to his angry sons. Octavian, unfortunately, had not been trained in family therapy.

Herod's sister Salome, his brother Pheroras, and his son Antipatros kept scheming against him, while the sons of Mariamne became angrier. Herod's suspicions grew. He had the followers of his son Alexandros tortured until one of them made an admission of rebellious guilt, which led Herod to imprison his son. This caused Alexandros's father-in-law, the king of Cappadocia, to show up in Jerusalem very angry at his son-in-law Alexandros. The Cappadocian king threatened to take his daughter back home. His show of anger induced Herod to defend his son, which brought about another temporary reconciliation, as the wily Cappadocian had intended.

Herod's narcissistic rages repeatedly got him in trouble. Herod's mother was the Nabataean Arab noblewoman Kypros. Syllaeus, the Nabataean Arab king across the Jordan River, wanted to marry Herod's sister Salome. Herod demanded that Syllaeus submit to Jewish circumcision, and Syllaeus desisted. Then some rebels against Herod found shelter in "Arabia" and Syllaeus refused to deliver them to Herod. King Herod obtained the permission of Saturninus, the Roman governor of Syria, to raid "Arabia."

Syllaeus denounced Herod in Rome for "an unlawful breach of the national peace." The emperor Octavianus Augustus became unhappy with Herod, who had to send two "embassies" to Rome to pacify Octavian, the second led by his trusted aide Nicolas of Damascus.

In the meantime one Eurycles of Lacedaemon had arrived in Herod's court, fanning the flames of discord between Herod and his sons by Mariamne. The paranoid Herod had his two sons imprisoned and accused them before Octavian in Rome again. One of the principal actors in this father-son drama was Saturninus, the imperial governor of Syria. Herod was advised by the emperor to convene a Roman court at Berytos (now Beirut), in Saturninus's province. The court consisted of Roman officials sympathetic to Herod and Herod's own friends. When the court convened at Berytos (7 B.C.E.), all its judges but Saturninus himself and his three sons voted to condemn Herod's sons. Teron, an old soldier who ventured to request mercy for the condemned, and three hundred others who were denounced as their followers, were executed. Herod's two sons by Mariamne were beheaded.

Herod had now killed four generations of the Hasmoneans, from Johannes Hyrkanos II through his daughter Alexandra and his granddaughter Mariamne to his two great-grandsons. Did this bring Herod peace of mind? On the contrary. His eldest son Antipatros now wished to have the government, and conspired with his uncle Pheroras, the tetrarch of Perea, Herod's younger brother. Herod's sister Salome, who had already done in two husbands, not to mention her in-laws, revealed their secret to Herod. Antipatros left for Rome and Pheroras died in 5 B.C.E. Herod made Antipatros his heir in his will; Herod II, his son by the second Mariamne, the High Priest's daughter, was made second in line to the throne. Herod first learned that his son Antipatros had poisoned his brother Pheroras, and then that the poison had been intended for him.

Herod summoned his son from Rome under false pretenses. Antipatros, suspecting nothing, returned to Jerusalem. He was seized, imprisoned, and brought to trial before Publius Quintilius Varus (d. 9 C.E.), the new Roman imperial legate of Syria. Varus had been consul with Tiberius in 13 B.C.E. and proconsular governor of Africa (7-6 B.C.E.). He was to end his life as an incompetent governor of Germany and a poor commander of the Roman forces, losing three Roman legions to the rebel Germans under Arminius (Hermann) in 9 C.E.; in disgrace, he killed himself by falling upon his sword. As is well known, the aged emperor Octavian Augustus was said to have become overcome with grief at hearing this and to have cried, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!"

Unable to defend himself, Antipatros was put in chains by his father Herod, who wrote the emperor. Herod was suffering from severe emotional illness, paranoid psychosis. Even on his deathbed, in 4 B.C.E., he gave orders to burn alive people who had torn down his offensive Roman eagle from the gate of the Temple of Yahweh. The New Testament reports that Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem in the days of "King Herod" and that Herod "was exceeding wrath, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem" in his attempt to destroy the infant Jesus Christ (Matt. 2:2-16). This

apparent anachronism may be explained by the fact that Jesus was actually born between 8 and 4 B.C.E. The passage in Josephus referring to Jesus is spurious (Schürer 1961:210–14), but there are references to Jesus in Tacitus, Suetonius, and Plinius Minor (Pliny the Younger).

In his last days King Herod, seething with paranoid rage and in mortal panic, kept executing his real and imagined enemies. He sought relief from his terrible sufferings in the baths of Kallirrhoë (Callirrhoë), across the Jordan River. The choice of the site of that name was not accidental. Herod knew the Greek myths well. The Greek name Kallirrhoë means “fair flowing.” The Greeks believed that Kallirrhoë was the daughter of the sea god Okeanos (Ocean) or the river god Acheloos, and the second wife of Alkmaeon, who had killed his mother Eriphyle, become mad, and abandoned his first wife Arsinoë (Rose 1959:194). Herod could well identify with Alkmaeon. Not surprisingly, Herod’s mental illness was not cured by the baths of Kallirrhoë.

Herod returned to Jericho dying. Mad with fear and rage, he ordered the most distinguished Jewish noblemen executed upon his death, so that the people would lament during his passing away rather than rejoice at it. Before dying he received permission from Roman Emperor Octavian Augustus to execute his own son Antipatros, which he did at once. Killing, however, gave Herod temporary relief only. Herod’s tremendous ambivalence toward his wives and sons comes through in the way he kept changing his will. He altered it once again before his death, making Archelaos, the elder son of his Samaritan wife Malthace, his successor, and her younger son Herod Antipas tetrarch of Galilee and Perea. Philippos, Herod’s son by Cleopatra of Jerusalem, was made tetrarch of Gaulonitis (Golan), Trachonitis (Argov), Batanea (Bashan), and Panias. Herod’s sister Salome received the tribute of several cities, as did other surviving relatives. Herod wavered between love and hate on his very deathbed. Such was the bloody and tragic history of one the most tormented minds in Jewish history.

19

Prelude to Christianity

The death of King Herod the Great of Judaea in 5/4 B.C.E. came at the time of the birth of Jesus Christ and the advent of Christianity, which radically changed Jewish history. Literature is an important aspect of history. Whether religious or secular, prose or poetry, individual or tribal, it expresses the emotions of its writers. Written texts are often the product of strong conscious and unconscious feelings driving their creators, brought about by external circumstances such as natural disasters, war, exile, revolution, and cultural changes, or by internal processes, such as the need to atone for one's guilt, explain one's views, defend one's religion, find one's identity, or exorcise one's inner demons. The outer and inner world are in constant interaction. It is useful at this juncture to survey the early literature of the Jews.

SOURCES OF THE HEBREW-ARAMAIC BIBLE

The Old Testament was composed, compiled, collated, and edited over a period of seven centuries. By the first century B.C.E. the sacred Hebrew and Aramaic books of the Jews, which Christians call "the Old Testament," had long been written, but were not yet edited and established as a sacred canon. As mentioned, the Greek word *biblios* (book) was used to designate the Jewish holy scriptures, which were translated into Greek during the third century B.C.E., after the Greek conquests of the Middle East. These scriptures fell into the Pentateuch (five tools), known in Hebrew as the Torah, the Prophetas (prophets), and the Hagiographa (sacred writings). The Pentateuch included Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The Prophets included Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. The Hagiographa included Psalms, Proverbs, Job, The Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.

Biblical scholars believe that the Old Testament text was compiled from five different sources, which they designate with the code letters E (Elohist), J (Jahwist, for Yahweh), P (Priestly), D (Deuteronomist), and H (for the author of Leviticus, who was sympathetic to Ezekiel). The E and J texts may have been written as early as the

tenth century B.C.E. Some time after the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel in 721 B.C.E., the J and E sources were combined into a single narrative by a Judean author. His final product, called JE, was riddled with contradictions and inconsistencies. This combined JE text included Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, and Samuel. The combined JE narrative is historically unreliable. During the late seventh century B.C.E. Deuteronomy and Kings were composed by the Deuteronomists (D), whose Yahwist tendentiousness colored all their historical writing. Leviticus was composed after the Babylonian exile of the Jews, sometime between 570 and 560 B.C.E., by a Jew sympathetic to Ezekiel's vision (H). During the period following the first exile in 586 B.C.E. the legalistic Priestly code (P) was a source for parts of all the five books of the Pentateuch, especially Numbers, and for Joshua. Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah were probably written in the fourth century B.C.E.

The Hebrew-Aramaic Bible was thus a combined text made up of numerous sources written and edited by many different hands over seven centuries. The text was full of contradictions and distortions, yet it included some of the most beautiful literature in the world. The *Biblos* of the Hellenic world was the translation of the Hebrew and Aramaic biblical texts into Greek.

The Apocrypha (hidden writings) and pseudepigrapha (falsely attributed writings) were Hellenistic Jewish texts that were not included in the sacred Hebrew-Aramaic biblical canon. The Letter of Aristeas, a pseudepigraphical text of the second century B.C.E., written to promote the cause of Judaism to the "pagan" Greeks, dated the Septuagint to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt (285–246 B.C.E.). The Greek translation was made by Greek-speaking Jews; its style was often more Hebrew than Greek. The Septuagint was translated from much earlier, now lost, manuscripts than the "Masoretic" (traditional) ones known to modern Hebrew readers, and is used by scholars to help clarify obscure Old Testament texts and names. Other texts used for comparison are the Samaritan Pentateuch, written in a late form of the palaeo-Hebrew script and having some six thousand variants from the Masoretic text, and the all-important Judean Desert or Dead Sea scrolls, dating from the third century B.C.E. to the second century C.E.

Like other Semitic languages, the biblical Canaanite Hebrew language had no vowels or punctuation, only twenty-two consonants. The medieval Masoretic biblical texts were produced between the sixth and tenth centuries by Jewish scholars in Palestine and "Babylonia" (Iraq). In Tiberias, Palestine, these scholars meticulously vocalized and punctuated the Hebrew and Aramaic texts, imitating the work of Muslim Arabic scholars on the Koran. The Masoretic vocalization ignored the Greek and Latin transliterations of Biblical Hebrew names. It distorted these names, many of which derived from Canaanite deities, in order to disguise their "pagan" origin. Abiram (Abram) became Avram, Abishalem (Absalom) became Avshalom, Yerushalem (Jerusalem) became Yerushalayim, Mariyamm became Miriam. The result was a total distortion of the Biblical Hebrew texts, a distortion that has persisted to this day.

The most prominent example of Masoretic name distortion was the introduction into the deity's name YHWH (Yahweh) of the vowels for the Hebrew words "Adonai"

(My Lord) or "Elohim" (God), which produced the curious "Jehovah." The "ineffable" name Yahweh had been uttered freely during the First Temple period. Only after the destruction of Judah in the sixth century B.C.E., and especially from the third century B.C.E., had the Jews ceased to pronounce the "ineffable" name, which had become too "sacred." Instead they used the word "Adonai," which the Greek Septuagint translated as "Kyrios" and the Latin Vulgate as "Dominus." Although the Masoretic texts, the Aleppo Codex, and the ancient scrolls are similar, it is clear from the Septuagint and other texts that the old Hebrew names were pronounced differently. The Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible clearly indicate that the deity's original name was pronounced "Yahweh." Later, Jewish mystics practiced *Kiddush haShem*, the sanctification of the name of God, a ritualized pronunciation of the name YHWH. During the Middle Ages this term came to denote Jewish martyrdom.

The earliest printed version of the Masoretic Hebrew Bible dates from the late fifteenth century, while the earliest extant Hebrew biblical codex dates from the late ninth century; it was written and punctuated by Moshe ben Asher of Tiberias, Palestine, in 895. His son, Aaron ben Moshe ben Asher, edited a Masoretic Bible in 930, known as the Aleppo Codex. Syrian Jews call it Keter Aram Tsoba (The crown of Aram Zobah), after the ancient biblical kingdom of Aram Zobah, which during the Middle Ages became the Hebrew name for Aleppo.

Old Testament historiography was naturally tendentious; facts were distorted and evidence was suppressed so as to promote the Jewish nationalist and Yahwist point of view. After the canonization of the Old Testament texts, Jewish beliefs, laws, and myths continued to be created. The psychological need was always there, and the narcissistic injury of the loss of their national state and independence fueled much Jewish writing. The Oral Torah consisted of myriad additions, interpretations, and rules handed down from father to son. This corpus of Jewish oral tradition was later to be codified as the Mishnah. Women were rarely if ever involved in formulating the law. Women were the property of their *baals* (husbands, lords, and owners). Feminism was hardly part of traditional Judaism (Biale 1984).

JEWISH SECTS AND PARTIES

During Herod the Great's time there were several Jewish political parties, religious sects, and other groups. The aristocrats were known as Sadducees (Zedukkim) because they held themselves to be followers of Zadok the Priest, said to have founded a prominent, aristocratic priestly family at the time of King David (2 Sam. 8:17; 1 Kings 2:35; 1 Chron. 18:16; Ezra 7:2; Neh. 11:11). The name Zadok comes from Zedek, the Canaanite planetary deity equivalent to Jupiter. Zadok may have been the title of the High Priest of Jerusalem rather than the name of a particular family or dynasty. The Sadducees fought for Hasmonean supremacy and were the wealthy upper classes in Judaea.

The family of the Alexandrian Jew Simeon Boethos became prominent when his

daughter Mariamne became Herod's third wife in 25 B.C.E., and Boethos himself was made High Priest. The Boethusians became the priestly class, allied with the Sadducees and with the government. Later the terms "Boethusian" and "Sadducee" became almost synonymous (Ben-Sasson 1976:271). Some scholars think that the Boethusians were actually the Essenes, their Greek names deriving from Beth Essaya (House of the Essene).

The Pharisees began as a group of Jewish scholars and pietists but later became the Jewish national religious political party. Their leaders, Pollio and his disciple Sameas (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 14.9.4, 15.1.1), are usually identified with the talmudic Abtalion and Shemaiah, though some think Sameas was Simeon ben Shatah. The talmudic literature is almost totally achronological, in stark contrast to the biblical texts. Pollio and Sameas were "pagan" Greeks who converted to Judaism, assumed Hebrew names, and attempted to find a midway position between Herod and his fanatical opponents, the Zealots. These Zealots were the most extremist of the Pharisees, opposed to Herod as well as to Hellenism and to Roman rule. The Pharisees controlled the Great Sanhedrin, the supreme Jewish legislative and judicial council. The names of the Pharisee leaders were both Greek and Hebrew. It was the Pharisees who administered Jewish law in Judaea.

Bathyra was a Jewish town in Batanea (the biblical Bashan, now in northwestern Jordan). After the deaths of Pollio and Sameas in the first century B.C.E., the Pharisee Sanhedrin was headed by the "Babylonian" Jewish clan of the Elders of Bathyra or Bnai Bathyra (sons of Bathyra), who were neither great scholars nor great political leaders. King Herod the Great entrusted the High Priesthood to hellenized "Babylonian" Jewish clans like the Boethusians and Phiabi. The Bnai Bathyra, who had settled in Jerusalem, were "one of the pillars of Herodian rule in northern Trans-Jordan" (Ben-Sasson 1976:243). They were succeeded by Sameas's pupil Hillel (d. 10 C.E.). Hillel was born in "Babylonia" and moved to Jerusalem, where he became prominent around 30 B.C.E. Like other Babylonian Jews before him, especially Ezra and Nehemiah in the fifth century B.C.E., Hillel was powerfully attracted to Judaea, although Babylonia had more Jews and more wealth.

Babylonia had long ceased to exist as a political entity, yet the Jews kept calling themselves Babylonian. Babylonia, including the eastern Seleucid capital of Seleucia, which had supplanted Babylon, had been captured from its Seleucid rulers by the Parthians in the third century B.C.E. In 129 B.C.E. the Parthians had seized Ctesiphon, the new Seleucid capital of the east, making it their winter capital. In 40 B.C.E. the Parthians brought the former Jewish High Priest Hyrkanos II to Babylonia, where he was made *nasi* (head or prince) of the Jews. The language of the Babylonian Jews was Aramaic rather than Babylonian.

Hillel came from a high-class Jewish family in "Babylonia." He was highly gifted both in learning and in human relations. Hillel was open-minded and flexible. When he became head of the Great Sanhedrin he instituted thoroughgoing antibureaucratic reforms. In place of rigid rabbinical traditions and strict rules he introduced the free and logical interpretation of the law according to clearly formulated hermeneutic

principles. Jewish law had become an obsessional system of rules and rituals, whose psychological function was to reduce anxiety and repress inner conflict. Such rigidity made everyday Jewish life ritualized, difficult, and repressive. Hillel sought to make it freer, to change rules that no longer helped make life better, and even to strike out laws that no longer applied to Jewish life. He was a liberal.

Hillel's antagonist was Shammai (also called Sameas), a rigid, authoritarian, and stern teacher who judged people severely and was a strict constructionist of Jewish law. This Pharisee was a fellow member of the presidency of the Sanhedrin. Shammai, fearful of losing his group self and boundaries, made it very difficult for non-Jews to convert to Judaism, whereas Hillel had an open-arms policy for such people. Shammai wished to adhere to ancient laws as rigidly as possible. He fought Hillel's reforms. The scholars and jurists of the time were divided into two schools, Beth Hillel (House of Hillel) and Beth Shammai (House of Shammai). Shammai's rigidity was part his obsessional and authoritarian personality structure, a defense against inner doubt, anxiety, and insecurity.

Hillel became influential around 30–20 B.C.E. and died between 5 and 10 C.E. The fact that his dates of birth and death are unknown is not accidental. Jewish historiography was becoming less and less chronological. After Flavius Josephus, there followed fifteen centuries of ahistorical, anachronistic, "timeless" Jewish literature. Hillel's libertarian teachings may have influenced early Christianity, which carried his reforms to true revolution in Judaism. Jewish law and Jewish literature were closely related. Much Jewish writing had to do with the interpretation of the law of the Torah and with commentaries on the sacred books of the Old Testament. Many Jewish scholars wrote in Greek, the language of the eastern part of the Roman Empire and the lingua franca of their culture, while others wrote in Hebrew and Aramaic, the two most important and earliest languages of the Jews. At the time of Jesus Christ, Greek was the language of government, Aramaic the spoken language of the Jews, and Hebrew the language of Jewish scholars.

APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA

The key Jewish writings between the second century B.C.E. and the second century C.E., in addition to the Mishnah, were the Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. The Apocrypha were the "hidden" books of the Bible, included in the Septuagint Greek version but not in the canonical Hebrew version. The Talmud later called them "extraneous books." They include 3 and 4 Esdras (in some versions called 1 and 2 Esdras); Tobias (Tobit); Judith; the missing parts of Esther; The Wisdom of Solomon; Ecclesiasticus (The Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach); Baruch; A Letter of Jeremiah; The Prayer of Azariah and The Song of the Three; Daniel and Susanna; Daniel, Bel, and the Snake; The Prayer of Manasseh; and 1 and 2 Maccabees (Coggan 1989:v–vi).

The Apocrypha originated among the Pharisees, Essenes, and Sadducees. Some of the Apocryphal works were originally written in Hebrew or in Aramaic, others in

Greek. Most of the texts originally written in Hebrew and in Aramaic are lost: we only have their Greek, Latin, Syrian, or Ethiopic translations. The apocryphal books are in the biblical style and might be called "pseudobiblical." They were composed during periods of great political strife, the loss of Jewish national independence, and its temporary and partial restoration under the Hasmoneans. The Apocrypha signals the beginnings of Jewish apocalyptic and mystical writing, and this is even truer of the pseudepigrapha. The Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha represent the inability of the Jews to mourn their historical losses. Mourning is a very painful but vital process (Pollock 1989). It can be avoided through denial and glorification of the past, but at the price of a dangerous loss of touch with reality.

The pseudepigrapha are the "falsely ascribed" or spurious books of biblical character. They are so called because their authorship was falsely ascribed to great figures of the past in order to endow them with greater importance. The pseudepigrapha include such works as *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, *The Books of the Secrets of Enoch*, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *The Assumption of Moses*, *The Sibylline Oracles*, *The Syrian Apocalypse of Baruch*, *The Life of Adam and Eve*, *Joseph and Asenath*, *Jannes and Jambres*, *The Psalms of Solomon*, *The Psalms of Joshua*, *Jubilees* (*Leptogenesis* or *Little Genesis*), *Biblical Antiquities*, and *3 and 4 Maccabees*. Like the Apocrypha, some of the pseudepigrapha were written in Hebrew or Aramaic and some in Greek.

The first pseudepigraphical books are apocalyptic in style and constitute the buds of Jewish mysticism, while the latter ones are attempts to retell Jewish history. In the apocalyptic pseudepigrapha this history is described symbolically: there are visions of the coming of the Messiah, animals represent empires, and mystical notions inspire the whole work. To the authors of the Apocrypha and of the pseudepigrapha, personal fame was much less important than proselytizing. They concealed their identity behind the great names of the Jewish past, which they wished to exploit for the sake of persuasion (Scholem 1961:41).

Some scholars classify the combined apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature into two types: those written in Hebrew and Aramaic (Palestinian) and those written in Greek (Hellenistic). The distinction is not between "authentic but hidden" (apocryphal) books and "falsely attributed" (pseudepigraphical) ones, but between language cultures. The Hebrew-Aramaic group includes *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira*, *1 Hasmoneans*, *Judith*, *Tobias*, *The Psalms of Solomon*, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, *The Book of Jubilees*, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *4 Esdras*, *The Syrian Apocalypse of Baruch*, and *The Life of Adam and Eve*. The Greek group includes *The Wisdom of Solomon*, *2 and 3 Hasmoneans*, parts of *Daniel*, *3 Esdras*, *The Letter of Aristeas*, *The Sibylline Oracles*, *4 Hasmoneans*, and the Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch*. The latter were composed by "diaspora" Jews and were not popular in Judaea. Some of them were close to Christianity.

Psychologically, it is not the original language that matters but the emotional driving force of the Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. The inability to mourn one's losses and the wish to glorify the past are evident. The Jews had lost their kingdom,

their freedom, their independence, their sovereignty, and their pride. They were subject to foreign rule, first Persian and Greek and later Roman and Parthian. They were dispersed among many nations, struggling to preserve their ethnic and religious identity. Their language itself had become secondary to that of their Roman rulers, which in their part of the world was primarily Greek. The reversion to the old biblical style and the assumption by the authors of great names of the Jewish past are signs of the inability to mourn one's losses and to let go of one's past. It is possible that each author's individual struggle was unconsciously displaced to that of the nation, as so often happens in literature and politics. The inability to mourn was transmitted from one generation to the next through the oral myths of ancient Jewish grandeur, as well as the sacred writings.

THE MISHNAH AS AN OBSESSIONAL RITUAL

Between the second century B.C.E. and the second century C.E. a great body of Hebrew literature was created, known as the Mishnah. The word derives from the Hebrew root meaning "two" from which are derived the Hebrew words for "recite," "repeat," and "second." The Mishnah might be called a "secondary Torah." It was a corpus of rules, traditions, scholarly disputations, interpretations of the Law, commentaries on the Torah, and rulings of the Great Sanhedrin. The Hebrew word *rav* or *rab* originally meant "lord." During the Mishnaic period it came to mean "master" and "teacher." Hence the word *rabbi*, meaning "my teacher." The Mishnah encompassed the teachings of the great Jewish scholars who interpreted the sacred Hebrew-Aramaic scriptures, beginning with Rabbi Hillel and continuing through Rabbi Akiba, Rabbi Meir, and many others all the way to Rabbi Yehudah haNasi (c. 135–220), the Jewish patriarch who headed the Great Sanhedrin at the end of the second century. As the chief method of instruction was rote repetition, these sages, teachers, or rabbis were known as *tannaim* (plural of *tanna*), an Aramaic word meaning "repeaters."

Some second-century Jewish scholars like Rabbi Akiba and Rabbi Meir attempted to codify Jewish oral tradition, but their codes were lost. Rabbi Yehudah haNasi became the great codifier of the Mishnah. He divided it into six *sedarim* (orders) dealing with the various areas of human life: (1) *Zeraim* (Seeds): agriculture and the blessings over food. (2) *Moed* (Feasts): rules pertaining to holy days and fasts. (3) *Nashim* (Women): marriage and divorce laws, including women's menstruation, ritual baths, and other sexual matters. (4) *Nezikin* (Damages): civil and criminal law. (5) *Kedashim* (Sacred Things): ritual slaughter, sacrifices, dietary laws, Temple worship. (6) *Taharoth* (Purities): laws of ceremonial impurities. These orders were further subdivided into *mesichtoth* (tractates), each dealing with a more specific issue. One of the most famous of these tractates is *Aboth* (Fathers) including the ethical sayings and wisdom of the sages (Urbach 1979).

While the Mishnah is not a systematic philosophy like that of Plato or Aristotle, its codification by Rabbi Yehudah haNasi was certainly an attempt to provide a sys-

tematic body of laws to regulate Jewish life. It should be viewed against the overall historical background of its composition. Deprived of national sovereignty and independence, having suffered many group-narcissistic injuries, the Jews unconsciously defended themselves with obsessional attempts to regulate, codify, and legislate every aspect of their lives. The defensive process of intellectualization was paramount.

Halakah (the law) is a Hebrew word deriving from the root "walk"; it means "walking in the ways of the law." Halakah became the new term for Jewish law (Urbach 1979:3). Jewish scholars became preoccupied with every little detail of everyday life. They had something to say about what one should eat and what one should not, how one should pray, when one should have sexual intercourse and when one should avoid it—almost, one is tempted to say, how one should wipe one's nose. This obsessive preoccupation with detail was an unconscious psychic defense against feelings of loss, humiliation, and helplessness. The two thousand-year-old Halakah continues to interfere with modern secular life in Israel, where marriage and divorce laws are in the hands of rabbinical courts and many other aspects of life are affected by religious strictures.

We shall return to the Mishnah when dealing with its codification at the end of the second century. During the time of its creation, however, a new messianic religion arose among the Jews. The Hebrew word *mashiah* (messiah) means "anointed;" its Greek equivalent is *christos*. This new faith was known by the name of Christianity. The Jews, however, denied the importance of the Christians by calling them *notsrim* (Nazarenes). I shall attempt to explain the rise of Christianity from a psychohistorical viewpoint, considering the emotional background of the Jews under Roman rule.

THE BIRTH OF CHRISTIANITY

At the end of the first century B.C.E. and the beginning of the first century C.E., the Jews of Judaea and the Galilee went through a period of great political turmoil. Life in Roman Palaestina (named after the Philistines rather than the Canaanites or Jews) was unstable and dangerous. Roman imperial rule was harsh and capricious. Jewish kings came and went, as did Roman procurators (governors). In the hellenized Judaeian cities such as Ptolemais and Caesarea Maritima, the Jews had to contend with their Greek fellow citizens who disliked the Jews. These citizens unconsciously externalized the painful aspects of their own selves upon the Jews and blamed them for various social and economic ills. The Jews had no protector in either the Roman authorities or their own "kings," who were of Idumaeian descent. This instability, as well as their anomalous state, their oppression by their Roman rulers, and their inability to mourn their historical losses, produced extremist, eschatological, messianic, puritanical, and apocalyptic sects among the Jews.

During the second and first centuries B.C.E. the political and religious factions of the Sadducees, Pharisees, Zealots, and Essenes arose in Judaea. The Essenes, an extremely puritanical and ritualistic Jewish sect, lived in the Judaeian desert near the

Dead Sea. They may have developed among the Pharisees who revered the Jewish tradition and Scriptures. The Essenes were opposed to city life, politics, and wealth, even sexuality. Dupont-Sommer (1962) identified the Essenes with the Qumran sect, writers of the Dead Sea scrolls. This identification is doubtful. There is considerable debate among scholars as to whether the Essenes were in fact the Qumran sect, whether Qumran is the biblical Ir-Melach or City of Salt (Josh. 15:62), whether Jesus or John the Baptist belonged to the Qumran community, and whether any Jewish sect lived in the Qumran caves at all.

The Jews who joined the Essene sect may have come from emotionally unhealthy homes where emotional tensions dominated family life. They were seeking a kind of utopia, similar to our contemporary communes and cults. The Jewish Apocalypics were more extreme and fanatic than the Essenes. They opposed not only sexual life but also family life and communal life itself. Some of the Apocalypics may have been borderline personalities and even psychotics. Intergenerational boundaries were more fluid then than they are now. There were no family names. Fathers named their sons after themselves, their own fathers, or their brothers. In the royal family of Herod the Great, names passed from one generation to the next. Fathers, sons, brothers, and cousins were all named Herodes; mothers, daughters, and sisters were all called Herodias, Kypros, or Salome (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 17.5.4). As with the Ptolemies of Egypt, it is not only difficult for us to sort out the family relationships among the royals, it may also have been psychologically difficult for them. Narcissism, quasi incest and the inability to mourn were the psychological hallmarks of intergenerational relationships.

Following the death of the tragic Herod the Great in 5/4 B.C.E., the Roman Emperor Octavian adjusted Herod's will and divided his realm among three of his surviving sons: Archelaos, Herod Philip, and Herod Antipas. The "violent and tyrannical" Archelaos became the ethnarch of Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea, and reigned for ten years (Schürer 1961:176). His younger brother Herod Antipas schemed against him in Rome. In 6 C.E. Archelaos was removed by Octavian and exiled to Vienna in Gaul (now Vienne, France; the Austrian Vienna was known as Vindobona).

When Judaea, including Samaria and Idumaea, came under direct Roman rule, it became a vassal kingdom under the Roman procurators from Caesarea, who were under the authority of the Roman governor of Syria. Judaea was divided into four tetrarchies. Archelaos's brother Herod Philip (Herodes Philippos, 20 B.C.E.–34 C.E.) was made tetrarch of the northeastern part of the kingdom, including Batanea (Bashan), Gaulanitis (Golan), Trachonitis (Argov), and Auranitis (Hauran), east of the Jordan River, and Pameas (Pnias, now Banias), at the source of the river. Most of these areas were settled by Greeks rather than Jews. Herod Philip was a thoroughly romanized and hellenized governor who pursued a policy of hellenization. He built a Roman city at Pnias (Pameas), which he named Caesarea Philippi. He also renamed Bethsaida as Julias, in honor of the daughter of Octavian. Octavian died in 14 C.E. and was succeeded by Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus (42 B.C.E.–37 C.E.). Herod Philip paid

tribute to Tiberius, as he had to Octavian. Herod Philip had no children but seems to have been a benevolent ruler, a good father to his subjects (Schürer 1961:165–167). Herod Philip had the title of *rex socius et amicus populi Romani*, but was not really a king. His wife Herodias, defying Jewish law, divorced him to marry his half-brother Herod Antipas (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 13.5.4).

After Herod Philip's death in 34 C.E., his territories were annexed to the Roman province of Syria by order of Emperor Tiberius Caesar. For three years Judaea was an integral part of Syria. Upon the death of Tiberius (37 C.E.) Judaea was given to Herod Agrippa, a grandson of Herod the Great.

At the death of the emperor Tiberius in 37 C.E. the Roman army helped make Caligula (Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus, 12–41 C.E.) the new emperor. During his childhood Caligula had suffered severe psychic trauma. Intrigues and executions had virtually wiped out his entire immediate family (Sinnigen and Boak 1977:287–88). As a child he was made to wear military boots, which gave him the nickname of Caligula (little boots). He grew up unstable, homosexual, perverse, and emotionally ill. The emperor's emotional illness developed into full-fledged paranoid psychosis. He became a cruel and ruthless autocrat. It was Caligula who brought about serious disturbances among the Jews. One of his first official acts was to make Herod Agrippa (10 B.C.E.–44 C.E.) king and to remove his uncle Herod Antipas (21 B.C.E.–39 C.E.). Caligula attempted to erect a statue of himself as Jupiter in the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem. He was said to have made his horse a consul of Rome. Torture and execution became common under the paranoid Caligula. He was finally assassinated by Chaerea, a military tribune of his own Praetorian Guard, in 41 C.E.

In the Galilee and in Judaea, before the accession of Agrippa, the Jews chafed under the yoke of their rulers, Herod Antipas and the Roman procurators. The most important of the three sons of Herod the Great was Herod Antipas, who became tetrarch of the Galilee and of Peraea. These two territories were separated by the Decapolis, the league of ten cities. The Galilee was fertile, scenic, densely populated, and strategically important. Peraea, the area east of the Jordan River between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, was mostly desert. The Galilee was mostly Jewish, whereas Peraea had a sizable Greek population from Syria.

Herod Antipas ruled his tetrarchy for forty-three years (4 B.C.E.–39 C.E.), a period spanning the reign of three Roman Emperors (Octavian, Tiberius, and Caligula). He was well educated in Greek and Roman culture and was "a genuine son of old Herod—sly, ambitious, and luxurious, only not so able as his father" (Schürer 1961:167). Jesus of Nazareth called Herod Antipas "that fox" (Luke 13:32). The Nabataean Arabs constantly raided his domains. Herod Antipas rebuilt Sepphoris, the Galilean capital that the Roman governor Publius Quintillius Varus had destroyed.

Like his father, Herod Antipas built several other cities. He fortified Beth-Aramphtha in Peraea and named it Livias Julias after the current Roman Emperor's wife. On the western shore of the Sea of Galilee he built his new capital of Tiberias, in honor of the new emperor, Tiberius. He settled Tiberias with many non-Jews, mainly Greeks, who were moved from other areas. Tiberias was a "pagan" Greek city. Herod

Antipas married the daughter of the Nabataean Arab king Aretas IV to fend off attacks by the Arabs, but later fell madly in love with Herodias, his brother's wife, who was also his niece. He seduced Herodias into leaving her husband in defiance of Jewish law and repudiated his Nabataean Arab wife to marry Herodias, the daughter of his dead stepbrother Aristobulos and the sister of Agrippa.

Herod Antipas's repudiation of his Arab wife brought upon him the wrath of the Nabataeans, and his marriage to Herodias equal trouble with the Pharisees. The Nabataean king Aretas IV, enraged at the treatment of his daughter, which was a great insult to his honor, fought Herod Antipas for many years. In 36 C.E. Aretas inflicted heavy losses on the Idumaeen Jewish tetrarch. The Roman Emperor Tiberius Caesar ordered his Syrian legate Vitellius to assist Herod Antipas, but Tiberius died on 16 March 37 C.E., before Vitellius had time to make serious war on Aretas, which the legate hardly wished to do anyway. Vitellius returned to Antioch and Herod Antipas's grip on power became weak indeed. The new emperor, Caligula, made Herod Agrippa, the brother of Herodias, the king of Judaea.

Envy is a painful, destructive feeling (Cullander 1988). Herodias, burning with envy of Herod Agrippa and hungry for power, made her second husband Herod Antipas go to Rome to solicit the title of king from the new emperor. Herod Agrippa, however, had written Emperor Caligula that his brother-in-law Herod Antipas had plotted against Rome with the Parthians, citing his great armories and stockpiles of weapons as proof of his treachery. In 39 Herod Antipas came before Caligula, who questioned him about the stores of arms he had amassed. Herod Antipas confirmed this fact, which led the mad emperor to believe Herod Agrippa's indictment. Caligula removed Herod Antipas from his tetrarchy and exiled him to Lugdunum (now Lyon, France), the chief city of Gaul. Herod Antipas's wife Herodias followed him into exile of her own free will.

The Galilee and Peraea were given over to Herod Agrippa, who was now king of Judaea, Samaria, Idumaea, Galilee, and Peraea. From 6 to 41 C.E. Judaea was a secondary Roman imperial province, while Syria was the primary province. While the Jewish king resided in Jerusalem, the Roman procurators administered Judaea from Caesarea. Their Greek title was *epitropos*. They were members of the *eques* (knights), the middle class between the *patres* and the *plebes* in Rome. The procurator was in charge of Roman imperial finances in the province as well as being the commander of all Roman military forces and the supreme judicial authority of his province (Schürer 1961:179). The procurators resided in the praetorium, where their Praetorian Guard watched over them. In Judaea this was a palace built by Herod in Caesarea. The rule of the Roman procurators was harsh and repressive.

The Roman procurators of Judaea served an average term of five years in office. The first three served only three years. During the rule of Coponius (6–9 C.E.) the imperial legate Quirinius of Syria took a census in Judaea, which precipitated a serious revolt. Jewish Zealots were again plotting to free Judaea from Rome by military force, which was sheer fantasy. Messianic redemption fantasies dominated people's minds. The High Priest resigned and was replaced by a man from a new priestly

family, Hanan (Hananiah). Coponius was followed by Marcus Ambivius (9–12 C.E.) and Annias Rufus (12–15 C.E.).

After the death of Octavian and the accession of Tiberius in 14 C.E., the Roman procurators of Judaea were appointed for longer terms. Defying Jewish custom, the Roman procurator Valerius Gratus (15–26 C.E.) replaced the Jewish High Priest five times within his eleven years in office. The last of these five High Priests was Joseph Kaiapha (Josephos Caiaphas), the High Priest at the time of the trial and death of Jesus Christ. Valerius Gratus was succeeded by Pontius Pilatus (Pilate, 26–36 C.E.). He was a ruthless governor who massacred many rebellious Jews, Galileans, and Samaritans, and who is said to have sat in judgment of Jesus. Pilate was succeeded by Marcellus (36–37) and Marullus (37–41). Flavius Josephus, the source of all this information, did not give their full names.

The harsh rule of the Roman procurators, especially Gratus and Pilatus, provoked great agitation among the Jews. The more extreme nationalists among the Pharisees, known as the Zealots, agitated for armed revolt against Rome. The word "Zealot" comes from the Greek *zelotes*, which derives from *zelos* (boiling). The Zealots were hotheaded firebrands, seething with narcissistic, paranoid rage. The moderate Zealots were less enraged but still unhappy over their oppression. The Zealots were the more extreme of the Pharisees, who were the traditionalist national-religious Jews. The most extreme and violent group was the *sicarii* (plural of *sicarius*), whose name came from the short daggers they carried, known in Latin as *sica*. The *sicarii* were treacherous political murderers. They murdered their opponents with these daggers stealthily and in public, pretending to be among those shocked by the murder.

THE CHRISTIANS

John (Iohannes) the Baptist, who became active around 25–28 C.E., was either a follower of the Essenes or of the Apocalypticists, another sect that flourished in those days. He was a celibate monk who wore a camel-hair robe and a leather belt. He walked along the Jordan River, in Judaea and in the Galilee, calling upon the people to repent and prophesying the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven and of the Messiah, the Anointed One (in Greek, Christos). Christianity is the Greek-derived word for messianism. John the Baptist, the founder of Christianity, displayed obsessional character traits. The obsessive-compulsive personality structure relies upon the unconscious defense mechanisms of isolation and reaction-formation. The ego defends itself against the anxiety due to a powerful inner conflict between the feeling of rage, with its attendant wishes to swear, soil, rape, or kill, and the demands of the conscience or superego, which forbids such feelings and wishes. The unconscious defenses of isolation and reaction-formation produce the reverse wishes: to be clean, chaste, and obedient. The extreme punctiliousness with which the vows and strictures are observed betrays their origin in their very opposites. Such behavior is felt by normal people as annoying, if not downright maddening.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ROOTS OF MESSIANISM

Rivers unconsciously symbolize sexuality, birth, and incest (Niederland 1956, 1957). John the Baptist not only called upon the Jews to repent but also to immerse themselves in the Jordan River as a symbolic form of purification. This was the origin of Christian baptism. Not all Jews responded to his call. The Essenes and other pietists (Hassidim) had practiced ritual purification long before John the Baptist. Meissner (1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992) explored the origins and history of Jewish and Christian messianism. The Christian movement begun by John the Baptist had personal and public emotional roots (Meissner 1988, 1989, 1991). The wish for redemption and rebirth came from the great pain of life.

Jewish messianism had ancient origins (Meissner 1990:347). The personal and political life of the Jews under the Roman procurators in Judaea and under Herod Antipas in Galilee was becoming insufferable, especially when Pontius Pilate began his massacres of Jews and Samaritans. Those Jews with deep personal wishes for redemption and rebirth were more inclined to displace these feelings to the public realm, to identify their own torment with the national one. Their country unconsciously became their mother. It had to be rescued at all costs.

Among the idealist, reformist, disaffected, and tormented souls who flocked to John the Baptist was one Yeshua of Nazareth, a small town in the Galilee. The Greek form of his name was Iesous, the Latin form Jesus. He was the son of Joseph the carpenter and his wife Mariamne (Mary). Jesus was a rebel from his youth, unhappy with the orthodox, rigid ways of the Pharisees. He was attracted to John the Baptist precisely because of the latter's aggressive rebellion, which concealed itself behind his ritual purification. John was an unconscious father figure to the younger Jesus.

While John the Baptist passively waited for the Jews to flock to him, Jesus aggressively went into the very centers of Jewish religious and political life. At first he made the rounds of the Galilean synagogues, preaching the gospel of the true faith, the belief in a heavenly Father, and of good deeds. Some Jews followed him, probably those with deep personal reasons for being disaffected. There was a mixed masculine-and-feminine quality about Jesus of Nazareth, which contributed to his charisma (Schiffer 1973; Abse and Ulman 1977). The "miracles" wrought by Jesus, most probably cures based on a psychological understanding of physical illness, increased his following. Some fishermen from the villages around the Sea of Galilee became his disciples. King Herod Antipas feared the preachings and baptisms of John the Baptist as a threat to his rule. The tetrarch's wife Herodias became enraged when John began to upbraid Herod Antipas for the incest he had committed with her, who was both his sister-in-law and his niece. In 29 C.E. Herod Antipas had John the Baptist imprisoned in Machaeros Fortress, east of the Dead Sea in Peraea. The Evangelists (good news bearers) of the New Testament tell us that Herodias's daughter Salome demanded John the Baptist's head on a platter while she was dancing at her father's ball. John the Baptist was beheaded, giving rise to numerous novels, operas, and nightmares.

Christianity as Rebirth Fantasy

Whether Jesus of Nazareth was a historical or mythical figure remains a subject of passionate debate among scholars after hundreds of thousands of works have been published about him. As with other heroes, there may well have been a historical figure, but the myths spun around him are only remotely related to his actual life. The narrative of the four New Testament gospels—Matthew, John, Mark, and Luke—imply that Jesus of Nazareth was unable to mourn the death of his adoptive father figure, John the Baptist. He became the aggressive leader of the new messianic (Christian) movement. Jesus avoided direct conflict with Herod Antipas in the Galilee but could not suppress his tendency to challenge authority aggressively. John the Baptist's fate caught up with Jesus in Judaea. He began to visit the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem with his disciples. Glover (1933) believed that the pacifist is unconsciously motivated by his inner struggle with his own aggression and sadism. Pacifism is a defense against the latter. Jesus was an aggressive and violent pacifist. He preached the *evangelion* (gospel or good news) of love and of truth and denounced the hypocrisy of the Pharisee legislators and of the Sadducee priests.

Pontius Pilatus was the Roman procurator of Judaea and Joseph Caiapha (Caiaphas) the High Priest of the Jews. If Jesus was indeed a historical figure, he came into direct conflict with these two powerful father figures. His aggressive preaching was "the other side of the coin" of his gospel of love and peace. Jesus gradually came to believe that he was the Messiah of the Jews. Family myth had him a direct descendant of King David. His birth in Bethlehem and his ambivalent relationship with his father may have reinforced this feeling. The "grandiose self" of Jesus had become full-blown megalomania. When his followers began to call him Messiah, Son of God, and King of the Jews, the religious authority of Caiaphas and the political authority of Pilate were threatened. Caiaphas, the head of the Great Sanhedrin, questioned Jesus and made him admit that he thought himself the Messiah. Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator, who was the highest judicial authority in Judaea, also questioned Jesus, who admitted he was king of the Jews.

Pontius Pilate sent Jesus to Herod Antipas in the Galilee to be tried, but the Idumaeen Jewish tetrarch considered the Nazarene a man possessed by evil spirits and wisely returned him to Pilate. In 33 C.E. Jesus was tried both by the Jewish Sanhedrin under Caiaphas and by a Roman tribunal under Pilate. The former condemned him as a

false prophet and as a blasphemer who called himself the Messiah and the Son of God. It was the Roman procurator, however, who tried Jesus for treason, found him guilty of calling himself king of the Jews and of defying the emperor's authority, and sentenced him to be crucified.

Crucifixion was a common method of capital punishment in the ancient East. It began in the sixth century B.C.E., when Darius I crucified three thousand Babylonian rebels. It was probably a modification of the earlier practice of hanging on a tree or impaling upon a pole. The word "crucify" derives from the Latin *crux* (cross). The Romans may have borrowed the practice from Carthage. It was reserved for slaves and lowly malefactors. The Romans often crucified their defeated enemies in civil wars and rebellions. They used the T cross, the Latin cross or Saint Andrew's cross. It was common practice to scourge the condemned man and to make him carry his own cross to the place of execution.

The Four Gospels were written shortly after the destruction of the Temple of Yahweh and of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 C.E., and were very similar to the Jewish apocalyptic pseudepigrapha in both language (Greek) and style. We have no direct documentary evidence for the life of Jesus. As mentioned, the paragraph referring to Jesus in Josephus is spurious (Schürer 1961:210-14). The word "gospel" is Old English for the Greek *evangelion* (good tidings). The four Evangelists (good news bearers) of the New Testament say that Pilate had Jesus' cross inscribed with the words "Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews" in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The place of crucifixion was known by its Aramaic name of Golgatha (the skull), which became known to the Christian world as Golgotha.

THE MYTH OF JESUS CHRIST

While some elements of the life of Jesus as told in the New Testament gospels may be historically accurate, other elements are pure myth. The chief dramatic and emotional elements of the myth of Jesus Christ are the following: (1) Jesus was the Son of God. (2) His conception was immaculate. His mother Mary was a virgin and became pregnant by the Holy Ghost (Spirit). (3) Jesus was the Messiah, the redeemer and savior of the Jews. (4) Jesus was a descendant of the royal house of David. (5) His coming had been prophesied by Isaiah and the other Hebrew prophets. (6) Jesus was killed by the Jews who refused to recognize him as their savior. The Romans were reluctant accomplices. (7) God the Father wanted his son Jesus to be crucified and Jesus deferred to his father's will. (8) Jesus was the Lamb of God who bore the sins of the world. (9) Three days after his death Jesus was resurrected. (10) Jesus is a member of a divine trinity, along with God the Father and God the Holy Spirit.

We can best understand this myth as expressing the inherent emotional conflicts of the human family. Dundes (1990) interpreted the myth of Jesus in oedipal terms, highlighting the Son's parricidal and incestuous wishes. Dundes believed that the father's inner battle between his love of his son, his fear of his son, and his wish to kill

his son was a projection of the son's wish to kill his father. Actually, the father's unconscious wish to kill the son precedes the son's wish to kill the father. The father's wish to kill his son begins when the son is still an unborn fetus in the mother's womb. This wish had given rise to child sacrifice, had been displaced to animal sacrifice, and now became the fantasy of the son Jesus dying on the cross by the will of his father. The father is jealous of the love given his son by the mother. These feelings had given rise to child sacrifice via projection. The father had projected his filicidal wishes on the gods, believing that they wanted him to sacrifice his son to them, which he proceeded to do. The Canaanite fire god Moloch had been the center of the cult of child sacrifice.

God is the father in the drama of Jesus Christ. Jesus is the son, and Mary is the mother. The myth of her immaculate conception betrays the son's wish to prevent sexual relations between his parents. This led to the fantasy of the Holy Ghost as the impregnator. The belief in Jesus as the Messiah sprang from the Jews' deepest longings for redemption and rebirth. His royal descent expressed the yearning for the restoration of un mourned losses: the kingdom of the Jews. The prophecies identified with Jesus served to attract believing Jews. Saint Paul (Saul of Tarsus), who promulgated the myth of Jesus' sacrificial death, wrote to the Romans:

But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe: for there is no difference: for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God. (Rom. 3:21-25)

Human sacrifice and the drinking of human blood were part of many ancient religions. The drinking of one's slain enemy's blood was commonplace. The eating of the flesh of the sacrificial lamb and the drinking of its blood gradually replaced human sacrifice. In Christianity the drinking of the blood of Jesus Christ took the form of the Eucharist (good favor or thanksgiving), in which the flesh and blood of Jesus were believed to have been transubstantiated into meat and wine. Ebel (1987) believed that our preoccupation with blood begins with the child's horror of its mother's menstrual blood and culminates in the drinking of the blood of kings. La Barre (1972:608) observed that

in a curiously masochistic identification with his Messiah, Paul proclaimed that Christ was a human sacrifice that God had commanded to mollify God's wrath (Romans 3:25). If Abraham had abolished human sacrifice of the Firstborn, and later Jews had abolished even animal sacrifice, Paul restored human sacrifice—but now with a jumble of symbolisms of the archaic scapegoat, Paschal lamb, the murdered son-god of the Great Mother, and the Orphic Dying God who was eaten to confer immortality.

The early Christians were persecuted because they were revolutionaries. They sought to throw off the yoke of rigid, authoritarian, and obsessional rabbinical Judaism.

They threatened the existing Jewish social and political order, i.e., the rigid psychic defenses of the Jews, raising the Jewish religious establishment's level of anxiety. To less "square" people they offered great hope through redemption, salvation, and rebirth. Stein (1987:149) felt that

Just as Christians recoil against their debt to Jews (superego), Jews in turn recoil against a similarly unspoken debt to Christianity: the successful Christian revolt against that repressive moral burden—the Law and its suffocating strictures—that Jews do not admit to be their wish (id). For beneath the compulsive Jewish loyalty to "the intellectual tyranny of authoritarian tribalism" (La Barre 1972:591) lies a simmering recalcitrance and an occasional open volcano of revolt against an obsessive Sabbatarianism that encompasses every moment of every day of the week.

Christianity absorbed many pagan myths. The myth of Christ's death and rebirth, a key element of Christianity, was nothing new in the ancient world. The god's death and rebirth were key elements of the Babylonian myth of Tammuz, the Egyptian myth of Osiris, and the Greek myth of Adonis. In Christianity the savior himself is crucified, only to be resurrected. To the new Christians this meant they could die peacefully, because they would come back to life. Man's deepest feelings, the fear of death and the wish to be reborn, were expressed in this myth.

Christianity adopted many other features of "paganism." The pope is called the pontiff after the ancient Roman high priest, the *pontifex maximus*. The birth of Jesus Christ was originally celebrated in the fall. The structure of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, which was the way Christian belief became institutionalized in the West, seems to support the psychoanalytic view of the myth of Jesus Christ. The family structure is copied in the Church. The Church itself is the Great Mother (*mater ecclesia*), the pope (*papa*) is the holy father, priests are fathers, monks brothers, nuns sisters, and chiefs of convents are mothers superior. The Christian is thus a member of a great family with clearly defined roles, and his early feelings towards his parents and siblings are easily transferred to the Church and its officeholders.

The myth of Jesus Christ and the structure of the Christian Church that slowly evolved from it were an expression of the deepest feelings of the human heart. The longing for rebirth, the yearning for a Great Mother, the conflict between father and son—all were expressed in Christian belief. Christianity absorbed the myths and practices of the pagan world, which had similarly evolved from the same feelings, and incorporated them. During the first centuries of Christianity, the birth of Jesus Christ was not celebrated at the time of the winter solstice. The new feast of Christmas, which later celebrated the birth of Jesus Christ, fused with the ancient Hebrew cult of the sun god Ner-Shamash and the fire god Moloch, which included child sacrifice. The lights of the Christmas Tree are a relic of the fires of Moloch and of the increasing daylight after the winter solstice.

The Christian feast of Easter, commemorating the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ, merged with the ancient Passover, the feast of ritual child sacrifice, and with the Semitic feast of the death and resurrection of the Babylonian god Tammuz.

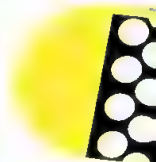
The Greek cult of Adonis, who spent the summer months of each year aboveground with the love goddess Aphrodite and the winter months underground with the queen of the netherworld, Persephone, was quite similar, as were the Phrygian cult of Attis and the Egyptian cult of Osiris. Jesus Christ had become the sacrificial Lamb of God (*agnus Dei*). Child sacrifice had been the origin of this feast. The Virgin Mary gradually replaced both the mother goddess Asherah and her virgin daughter Anath.

HEROD AGRIPPA

Herod the Great's grandson, Herod Agrippa I (Herodes Agrippas, alias Marcus Julius Agrippa, 10 B.C.E.–44 C.E.), was the Idumaeen Jewish king of Judaea. In 37 C.E. the tragic Roman Emperor Caligula made Herod Agrippa king of the former tetrarchy of Herod Philip in northeast Palestine. Herod Agrippa was twenty-two years older than Caligula, whose attraction to Agrippa was narcissistic, filial, and homosexual. Agrippa was old enough to be Caligula's father. Both men had violent, traumatic personal histories. Each had gone through heavy losses and terrible blows as a child, which affected his entire life. Emotional trouble had ravaged both their families. Like Caligula himself, Herod Agrippa had suffered serious trauma as a child. When he was three years old, his father (Aristobulos) had been executed by his grandfather (Herod the Great). Agrippa's mother Berenike (Berenice), daughter of Costobaros and of Herod the Great's sister Salome, had her own share of loss and trauma. Her father had been executed by Herod the Great at her mother's instigation. Berenike was married to her cousin, Aristobulos III, whom she did not love. Berenike herself had been accused of having instigated her husband's murder.

Herod Agrippa lost both his father and his native land in 4 B.C.E., at the age of six. His father Antipatros, Herod's son, was executed by the paranoid Herod just before he died. Agrippa was sent to Rome for his education and safety. His mother Berenike went with him. In Rome the widowed Berenike was befriended by another widow, Antonia Minor, daughter of Mark Antony, widow of Drusus and mother of Germanicus Caesar, the father of Caligula, Livilla, and Claudius. Herod Agrippa's grandfather, Herod the Great, died five days after executing his own son Antipatros, Herod Agrippa's father. When Herod Agrippa was still a child his mother Berenike married one Theudion, a brother-in-law of her uncle Herod the Great. This adoptive stepfather was himself killed by Herod the Great for allegedly plotting against him. Berenike then married Archelaos, the ethnarch of Judaea. This stepfather was removed and exiled to Gaul by Emperor Octavian Augustus in 6 C.E., when Agrippa was sixteen. A few years later Archelaos and Berenike both died. Agrippa thus suffered multiple losses.

Young Herod Agrippa was brought up in Rome with Drusus Caesar (13 B.C.E.–23 C.E.), Tiberius's only son. The young Roman prince introduced the Greco-Jewish one to a life of Roman luxury, extravagance, and homosexuality. Herod Agrippa, unable to mourn his heavy losses, unconsciously sought to compensate himself by overspending, incurring heavy debts. Herod Agrippa was adopted into the Roman *gens*



Julia, hence his Roman name Marcus Julius Agrippa. He married a woman named Kypros. They had a son, Herod Agrippa II (27–93 C.E.), who was also called Marcus Julius Agrippa, and three daughters: the beautiful Julia Berenike (born 28 C.E.), Mariamne, and Drusilla.

In 14 C.E., when Herod Agrippa I was twenty-four, Tiberius became emperor of Rome, and Agrippa's friendship with the emperor's son Drusus Caesar gave him support in high places. But in 23 C.E., when Herod Agrippa was thirty-three, Drusus Caesar died, probably poisoned by his enemy Sejanus or by his own wife under the latter's influence. Emperor Tiberius avoided mourning his son's death by suppressing all thoughts of his dead son: "Tiberius . . . forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would thereby be revived" (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 18.6.1).

Herod Agrippa, who had already lost his father, his adoptive fathers and his mother, now lost his closest friend as well. He was disconsolate. Herod Agrippa left Rome for Palestine, reaching Malatha, an Idumaeen stronghold. He felt so unhappy, helpless, and desperate that he planned to take his own life. But his wife Kypros solicited the help of Agrippa's sister Herodias, who talked her husband Herod Antipas into making Agrippa *agoranomos* (overseer of markets) and chief of police in Tiberias. This appointment may have saved Agrippa from suicide.

The shattered Herod Agrippa, who had lost both his "brother" and the emperor's favor, left Rome and returned to Palestine. Agrippa's sister Herodias left her husband Herod Philip, married his half-brother Herod Antipas, who was both her uncle and her brother-in-law, and drove her new husband to his ruin in 39 C.E. by pushing him to seek a royal title from Caligula. This led to Agrippa's appointment as king of Judaea and Galilee. Herod Agrippa, however, during a banquet in Tyre, fell into a dispute with his brother-in-law and benefactor Herod Antipas, which cost him his position as *agoranomos* of Tiberias. Herod Agrippa became an aide to Pomponius Flaccus, the imperial Roman governor of Syria, in Antioch. A dispute now arose between the Sidonians and the Damascenes, in which Herod Agrippa sided with the latter, who had bribed him. Flaccus heard of the bribery and dissociated himself from Agrippa, who was left penniless and helpless. Agrippa incurred further debts and trouble in Palestine. He raised a loan in Ptolemais (Acre) and barely escaped Herrenius Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, who wished to arrest Agrippa as the emperor's debtor.

In Rome plots, murders, and executions were commonplace. The master plotter was Lucius Aelius Sejanus, the Praetorian prefect and the emperor Tiberius's confidant. After the death of Drusus Caesar in 23 C.E., the emperor Tiberius remained disconsolate, not knowing, or unconsciously denying, that Sejanus himself had poisoned his only son. Agrippina's two elder sons Nero and Drusus were next in line to the succession, being the sons of Tiberius's adopted son Germanicus Caesar. Caligula's losses left him with very painful grief as well as "survivor guilt" feelings.

The Roman-Parthian wars continued. The Parthian prince Tyrdt Shah (Tiridates III, d. after 36 C.E.), son of Farhad Shah (Phraates IV, d. 2 B.C.E.), was captured by the Romans, taken to Rome as hostage, and educated there. In 35 C.E. Emperor Tiberius

sent Tyrdt Shah with a Roman army under Lucius Vitellius, the Roman governor of Syria, against Ardaban Shah of Parthia (Artabanus III, r. 12–38 C.E.), hoping to place Tyrdt Shah on the Parthian throne. The Roman armies seized Seleucia on the Tigris, and Tyrdt was crowned Shah of Parthia. But in 36 C.E. Ardaban Shah returned to Mesopotamia and Tyrdt Shah fled to Roman Syria.

In 36 C.E. Herod Agrippa returned to Rome, presenting himself before the emperor Tiberius at Capri. The emperor made him tutor of his grandson Tiberius Gemellus, the son of the dead Drusus Caesar. Agrippa now became intimate with the perverse and emotionally ill Caligula, the grandson of his mother's friend Antonia. It would appear that Agrippa became Caligula's homosexual lover and father substitute at the same time. Caligula had lost virtually all his immediate family, beginning with his father. Agrippa, who had suffered many losses himself and was addicted to a self-destructive pattern of borrowing and overspending, hoped that Tiberius might die quickly and that Caligula would become emperor. Eutychos, a coachman to Caligula, overheard Agrippa express this regicidal wish to his young friend. This suicidal carelessness was one more aspect of Agrippa's self-destructive behavior. It may have come from a compulsion to repeat the early traumas of his life. When Agrippa brought a charge of theft against Eutychos before the prefect Piso, the enraged Eutychos told Tiberius what he had heard. Herod Agrippa was put in chains and cast in prison. He languished in the Roman jail for six months.

On 16 March 37 C.E. the emperor Tiberius died. Herod Agrippa was forty-seven years old, Caligula twenty-five. The Senate made Caligula emperor of Rome. Caligula's accession may have aggravated his guilt feelings over having survived his parents and his brothers. Caligula freed his adopted father-lover Herod Agrippa from prison and gave him a golden chain weighing as much as the iron chain he had been fettered with. He also gave Herod Agrippa the tetrarchy of Herod Philip in northeastern Palestine, which had been part of Syria since Herod Philip had died three years earlier, as well as the tetrarchy of Lysanias in what is now Lebanon. The Roman Senate also made Herod Agrippa praetor. He had become an important and powerful Roman.

In 38 the forty-eight-year-old Herod Agrippa, rich, famous, and titled, left Rome for Alexandria and Jerusalem. His arrival in Alexandria sparked serious riots between Greeks and Jews. The latter hailed Agrippa as king of the Jews; the former were enraged, made a violent mockery of Agrippa, and incited the Roman governor Aulus Avilius Flaccus against the Jews as renegades and sacrileges. The irony of the Greek-Jewish riots was that the Jews were almost as Greek as the Greeks themselves. Conflict between ethnic groups that resemble each other is most violent, because each group externalizes and projects upon the other the unacceptable parts of its own self (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry 1987).

Governor Flaccus authorized the murderous riots by inciting Greek mobs against the Jews, which led to a great massacre of Jews, complete with pillage and rape of innocent women. The leaders of the Jewish community were flogged in public by Flaccus. The pretext for the riot was the Jews' refusal to worship the statue of the

emperor Caligula as their god. The real psychological reason was the Greeks' unconscious projection of unbearable feelings of regicidal (parricidal) guilt upon the Jews. The Greeks themselves secretly hated their Roman Emperor.

Flaccus himself was punished by Emperor Caligula, who called him back to Rome, exiled him to the Aegean island of Andros, and had him tortured to death. Caligula's reign led to serious trouble for the Jews. Emperor worship was common in Rome, but not in Judaea. The mad emperor believed in his own divinity. His megalomania was an unconscious defense against his unbearable feelings of worthlessness, which had begun very early in his life, following his abandonment by his father, who was poisoned. Caligula wished to force the Jews to worship his image in their own Temple of Yahweh and in their synagogues, an act that would be directly contrary to Jewish law.

In 39 C.E. Herod Agrippa I received from Caligula the tetrarchy of his uncle and brother-in-law Herod Antipas, who had been removed and exiled by Caligula the year before after requesting a royal title like Agrippa's. The tetrarchy included the Galilee and Peraea. In 40 C.E. the Jews and Greeks of Alexandria sent two separate deputations to Caligula to plead against placing his statue in their Temple. The Jewish embassy was led by Philo Judaeus, the Greek by Apion. Our sources—Philo himself and Flavius Josephus—relate a bizarre meeting during which Caligula kept walking through his gardens while he "caused the Jews to keep moving on always behind him, throwing out to them now and again a contemptuous remark, amid the applause of the ambassadors of the other party, until at last he dismissed them, declaring that they were to be regarded rather as foolish than as wicked men, since they did not believe in his divinity" (Schürer 1961:206).

While the two deputations were visiting Rome, Emperor Caligula ordered his own statues placed in the main squares of all the cities of Palestine. This led to riots in Judaea and in all Palestine. Most of the cities of Palestine had mixed Greek and Jewish populations. In Jamnia the Greeks erected an altar to Caligula in the town square, which the Jews tore down in their rage. Caligula ordered his "divine" statue placed in the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem, a supreme sacrilege for the Jews. He dispatched his imperial legate in Syria, Publius Petronius, to carry out his will and to quell the riots in Palestine. Slowly and reluctantly, Petronius moved his legions into Palestine.

The Jews sent a mass deputation to Petronius at Ptolemais (Acre). Their mournful complaints, groans, and supplications impressed the Roman governor, who attempted to postpone the execution of Caligula's mad orders. He wrote the emperor requesting a delay, citing sundry pretexts: time was needed to erect the statue, harvest time was nigh, the enraged Jews might destroy the harvest, and discretion was the better part of valor. Caligula was furious at this letter, yet he did not remove Petronius or call him to Rome. He wrote Petronius to proceed as quickly as possible with the statue. By the end of the year 40 Petronius was still at Tiberias, besieged by thousands of weeping supplicants, including Aristobulos, who beseeched him to desist.

Publius Petronius returned to Antioch with his army and wrote Caligula again,

telling him he had decided not to pursue this dangerous matter further and advising the emperor to revoke his disastrous order, on grounds of equity and prudence. Making its slow way by horse-riding messenger and tempest-tossed ship, the letter took months to reach Caligula. While it was on its way, in the spring of 40 C.E., Herod Agrippa returned to Rome. He met with Caligula, who finally told him the cause of his rage. Agrippa, horrified, fainted. When he came to a day later, he pleaded with Caligula to revoke his order, telling Caligula that none of his predecessors had ever done such a thing.

Caligula, whose "transference" filial-homosexual relationship to Agrippa was powerful, obeyed his adoptive father figure. He wrote Petronius to lay off the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem but to let any person erect altars or temples to the emperor elsewhere. When he received Petronius's letter, Caligula was so narcissistically furious that he at once sentenced Petronius to death and sent him the usual order to kill himself. In the absence of fax machines, the order took its sweet time to reach Petronius. On 24 January 41 C.E., Caligula was murdered by Chaerea, the tribune of his Praetorian Guard. With Herod Agrippa's help, Tiberius's nephew and Caligula's uncle, Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus (Claudius I, 10 B.C.E.–54 C.E.), became emperor. He gave Herod Agrippa the territories of Judaea and Samaria and parts of Phoenicia, as well as consular rank from Rome. Herod Agrippa now ruled territories as large as his grandfather Herod the Great's: all of southern Syria and Palestine both east and west of the Jordan River (now Israel, Palestine, and Jordan).

The last years of Herod Agrippa's reign in Palestine (41–44) were marked by his attempts to make peace with the Pharisees and other Orthodox Jews. He hung the great golden chain he had received from Caligula in the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem. He went out of his way to observe the Orthodox Jewish laws and to perform the rites at the Temple. He kept himself pure, made daily sacrifices in the Temple, lived in Jerusalem, and celebrated the Jewish feasts with his people. When his daughter Drusilla became engaged to Prince Epiphanes of Commagene, he made the prince promise to submit to circumcision. During the feast of Succoth (Tabernacles, or Booths) of 41 C.E., he read aloud from Deuter. 17:15: "Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee that is not thy brother," and burst out crying, knowing that he was an Idumaean. The people, who loved him, cried out to him, "Thou art our brother, Agrippa!"

Jewish myth speaks of Herod Agrippa as "Agrippa the Good" (Grayzel 1969:156), a humble and God-fearing king. When out of Judaea, however, Agrippa freely engaged in idolatrous practices. He erected a great amphitheater in Berytos (now Beirut), where mass gladiatorial games were held. Thousands of condemned men perished by each other's swords. The statues of Agrippa's beautiful daughter Julia Berenike and of his other daughters Drusilla and Mariamne were set up in Caesarea Maritima. Agrippa minted coins bearing portraits of himself and of the emperor Claudius, who had succeeded Caligula in 41. They said (in Greek) "Agrippa, great king, loyal friend of Caesar and lover of the Romans."

When Agrippa began to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem on the north to ward off attacks by enemies, the Romans saw this as a sign of rebellion. Vibius Caius Marsus,

who succeeded Publius Petronius as the imperial legate of Syria, wrote the emperor Claudius that the building of the walls was a threat to Roman imperial rule. Claudius ordered Agrippa to abort the building project. Agrippa assembled several neighboring Roman vassal kings at Tiberias to discuss policy, but Marsus arrived to disperse the meeting.

In 44 C.E. King Herod Agrippa I of Judaea died a strange, violent, and sudden death at Caesarea (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 19.8.2; Acts 12:19–23). He may have been poisoned by agents of the legate Marsus. Herod Agrippa II (27–93 C.E.), the only son of Herod Agrippa I, was born in Palestine. When he was nine (36 C.E.) his father returned to Rome, and, like his father, Herod Agrippa II was also named Marcus Julius Agrippa. He was barely seventeen years old when his father died.

The advisers of Emperor Claudius dissuaded him from conferring Herod Agrippa's kingdom upon his son. Instead the emperor made Judaea once more an imperial procuratorship under the imperial legate of Syria. There began a new succession of Roman procurators: Cuspius Fadus (r. 44–46), Tiberius Alexander (r. 46–48), Ventidius Cumanus (r. 48–52), Antonius Felix (r. 52–60), Porcius Festus (r. 60–62), Albinus (r. 62–64) and Gessius Florus (r. 64–66). Empathy for their subjects' feelings was not the strongest suit of these Roman procurators (Schürer 1961:224):

[A]ll of them, as if by secret arrangement, so conducted themselves as most certainly to arouse the people to revolt. Even the best among them, to say nothing of all the others who trampled right and law under foot, had no appreciation of the fact that a people like the Jews required, in a permanent degree, consideration for their prejudices and peculiarities. Instead of exercising mildness and toleration, they had only applied themselves with inexorable strictness to suppress any movement of the popular life.

Those who receive no empathy from their parents in their early life have no empathy for others in their adult life. The power-hungry Roman procurators of Judaea may have sought power in the first place because of their own early narcissistic injuries, hurts, rejections, or deprivations. After all, not every Roman citizen sought political power. Now they brought tragedy upon the Jews, as well as upon their own people, by forcing the Jews to worship Roman gods and emperors, by suppressing any assertion of Jewish identity and religion, by massacring the Zealots, and by not listening to the pleas of the people.

21

Zealous Jewish Self-Destruction

Jewish history was now closely tied to that of Rome. The hellenized Judaeans kings took the names of their Roman masters. King Herod Agrippa I (10 B.C.E.–44 C.E.) left one son, Marcus Julius Agrippa (Herod Agrippa II, 27–93 C.E.), and three daughters, Drusilla, Julia Berenike (Berenice, born 28 C.E.), and Mariamne. The orphaned young Judaeans prince Marcus Julius Agrippa was only sixteen when his father died, and his beautiful sister Julia Berenike only fifteen. They remained in Rome for another six years (44–50). Julia Berenike had been named by her father, Herod Agrippa I, after his own beloved mother, whose loss he could not mourn. Her father loved Julia Berenike narcissistically, incestuously, and symbiotically. In 43 C.E., when Julia Berenike was barely fifteen, her father married her to her brother's namesake, Marcus, son of Alexander Lysimachos, the *alabarchos* of Alexandria and brother of Tiberius Alexander, the future governor of Judaea.

It was dangerous to be married to Julia Berenike. You were either abandoned by your wife or you lost your life. Her first husband Marcus mysteriously died—perhaps he was assassinated—before the marriage was consummated. It is not clear how the teenage Julia Berenike took her first husband's death. Herod Agrippa I then married the widowed Julia Berenike to her uncle, his own brother, King Herod of Chalkis, whom Julia Berenike did not love. Herod of Chalkis received his kingdom from Emperor Claudius at Herod Agrippa's intercession. This was unconscious incest on the part of Herod Agrippa. His daughter was unhappy with her husband-uncle. Then Berenike's father died, abandoning her. Marcus Julius Agrippa and his sister Julia Berenike had grown up in a family suffused with incest and symbiosis. As teenagers they lost their father suddenly. The young prince and princess were traumatized.

Julia Berenike had two sons by Herod of Chalkis. In 48 C.E., when she was twenty years old, Berenike's second-husband-uncle also died. Unable to mourn the losses of her father and both her husbands, feeling both liberated and guilty, Julia Berenike went to live with the only person she really knew and loved, her brother Herod Agrippa II, in symbiotic incest. Schürer (1961:239) thought that Berenike “soon had the weak man completely caught in the meshes of her net, so that regarding her, the mother of two children, the vilest stories became current.” In fact, Berenike may have been caught in the net of her own conflicts. All Rome was talking about the incest between the young widowed Jewish princess and her brother. Julia Berenike's younger sister,

the beautiful Drusilla, was betrothed to Prince Epiphanes of Commagene, who undertook to be circumcised and to become a Jew to marry her. When that engagement was broken because Epiphanes would not keep his promise, Drusilla married King Azizus of Emesa (Aziz of Hims), but she soon divorced him and adopted the "pagan" Roman religion to marry the Roman procurator of Judaea, Antonius Felix. To head off talk of her incest with her brother, Julia Berenike married the priest-king Polemon of Cilicia (Polemon II), who agreed to be circumcised and converted to Judaism. Berenike, however, soon abandoned Polemon and returned to her beloved brother.

While in Rome, young Herod Agrippa II was able to intervene on the side of the Jews in their quarrels with their Roman procurators. In 45 the Roman jurist Caius Cassius Longinus (not to be confused with his namesake, who had conspired with Brutus to assassinate Julius Caesar) replaced Marsus as the imperial Roman legate of Syria. The procurator Cuspius Fadus (r. 44–46) tried to seize the robe of the High Priest of Yahweh. The teenage Agrippa spoke to the fifty-five-year-old emperor Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus (Claudius, 10 B.C.E.–54 C.E.), who had ordered Cassius to allow a Jewish delegation to proceed to Rome. The Jews persuaded the emperor of their case. Claudius ordered Fadus to desist from touching the Jewish High Priest. Did Claudius play the unconscious role of adoptive father to the orphaned teenage Jewish prince?

During the tenure of the Roman procurator Ventidius Cumanus in Judaea (48–52), there were riots that led to the massacre and crucifixion of thousands of Zealots. Herod Agrippa II got the emperor Claudius to remove Cumanus and banish him. The Roman Emperor must have liked the young Jewish prince. Was there a homosexual relationship between them? In 50 C.E. Claudius bestowed on the young Herod Agrippa II the kingdom that had been ruled by his late uncle and brother-in-law, Herod of Chalkis, as well as the oversight the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem and the right to appoint the High Priest. In 53 Herod Agrippa II relinquished the kingdom of Chalkis in exchange for a larger territory, the tetrarchy of his great-uncle Herod Philipp in northeastern Palestine and Trans-Jordan and that of Lysanias in what is now Lebanon.

In 54 C.E. the emperor Claudius died and the megalomaniacal Nero Claudius Caesar (Nero, 37–68) became emperor. Nero seemed to like the young Jewish prince, too. He added to Herod Agrippa's realm the Jewish territories in Trans-Jordan and the Galilean cities of Tiberias and Tarichaea. Herod Agrippa's title of king of Judaea was honorific: he had no real political power there. By the time of the procurator Antonius Felix (r. 52–60) the Jewish rebellion against Rome had become a permanent fact of political life. Felix was one of the freedmen of the Roman *princeps* who held ministerial secretaryships and other important posts in the emperor's court (Sinnigen and Boak 1977:290). His brother Pallas was minister of finance, which helped Felix get his appointment as procurator of Judaea.

Josephus described Antonius Felix as ruthless, greedy, and cruel. Felix treated the Jews as his private property. Felix was the first Roman procurator of Judaea who was not a member of the equestrian class in Rome. Felix married Drusilla, Herod Agrippa II's sister, after Prince Epiphanes of Commagene went back on his promise

to be circumcised and his engagement to Drusilla was broken, and after Drusilla's marriage to Azizus of Emesa was dissolved. The traumatized Drusilla became a "pagan" Roman. Her husband Felix suppressed the Jewish Zealots mercilessly. Political assassination by the fanatical dagger-wielding *sicarii* became commonplace in Jerusalem.

Serious civil strife between Jews and Greeks erupted in Caesarea Maritima, seat of the Roman procurator of Judaea. The ostensible issue was *isopoliteia* (equal political rights). The Greeks claimed that the Jews were newcomers to Caesarea and that they did not have the same rights there as the Greeks. Underneath lay the unconscious projection of guilt feelings on the enemy who, after all, was not all that different from the accuser (Volkan 1988). Felix placed himself squarely on the side of the Greeks. When the Jews proved headstrong, Felix had his Roman troops plunder wealthy Jewish homes and beat up and arrest many other Jews. Once more deputations of Greeks and Jews were sent to the *princeps* in Rome. Before they could reach the emperor Nero, however, the harsh Felix was replaced by a new procurator, Porcius Festus, in 60 C.E. The Jewish embassy to Rome could not prevail against Felix, whose supporter in court was his brother Pallas. The Greek embassy bribed Nero's Greek secretary into obtaining an edict in their favor. Nero's edict ruled that the Greeks owned Caesarea and that the Jews had no civil rights there. The Jews were very bitter. When Porcius Festus arrived in Caesarea he had to face an embittered population of Jews. King Herod Agrippa II became a friend of Festus.

KING VERSUS PRIESTS

In 62 C.E. a bizarre incident occurred between Herod Agrippa II and the priests. The young king, who had authority over the Temple of Yahweh and over the appointment and removal of the High Priest, built himself a high tower at the Hasmonean Palace to observe the going-on inside the Temple of Yahweh. The priests, enraged at what they took to be the incestuous king's peeping, erected a high wall to obstruct his view. Agrippa, equally furious, asked his friend, the procurator Porcius Festus, to demolish the priests' wall. The conflict reached the emperor Nero when a priestly delegation came to entreat him to act against Agrippa. Nero's new wife was Poppaea Sabina, who had been his mistress while she was married to her second husband Otho. She sided with the priests, and Nero ordered Porcius Festus to desist from acting against the priests. For Herod Agrippa the Temple may have had an unconscious maternal meaning (Falk 1974, 1983, 1987).

Poppaea Sabina is said to have induced Nero to kill his own mother Agrippina Minor (15–59 C.E.), his wife Octavia, and the famous philosopher Seneca. Nero himself was not a well-balanced individual. In 62 the procurator Porcius Festus died and was replaced by Albinus, whose rule was no more benevolent than his predecessor's. He ruthlessly hunted down and tortured the murderous *sicarii*, executing those who could not pay ransom. The *sicarii* in turn kidnapped wealthy Jews to pay the ransom of their comrades. Before he left Judaea in 64, Albinus executed the most important

of his political prisoners and freed the criminal prisoners for ransom. One had to see to one's future, even when one was a Roman procurator in Judaea.

In 64 C.E. Albinus was replaced by Gessius Florus, the last Roman procurator of Judaea. Florus was a Greek whose wife had friends in the Roman court. He was a cruel executioner, plundering cities, massacring large groups of Jews, and sowing destruction. The Jews became increasingly unhappy and enraged. The more extreme among the Jews, whose early personal feelings of rage were displaced to the public arena, unconsciously perceived their country as their early mother. They resolved to rescue their motherland at any cost. In Caesarea Maritima an ethnic riot erupted between Greeks and Jews over construction and land surrounding the Jewish synagogue. Florus, skillful at the tried Roman method of *dividere et impere* (divide and rule), watched the riots happily.

Florus further enraged the Jews of Jerusalem by demanding seventeen talents of gold from the Temple of Yahweh's treasury "for the emperor." Some Jews made a public mockery of "the poor Florus." In May 66 the furious Roman procurator's troops raided and plundered the marketplace of the upper city. Many Jews were seized, given quick show trials, condemned, flogged, and crucified. Julia Berenike, the incestuous sister of King Herod Agrippa II, pleaded with Florus to stop the massacres, but the procurator's narcissistic injury and rage were so deep he wished to humiliate those who had mocked him. He made the Jews go out and welcome his troops coming in from Caesarea, only to have his horsemen trample them under foot.

This provoked the furious Jewish Zealots into open revolt. They seized the Temple Mount and destroyed the walkways linking it with the Antonia Fortress, which had been magnificently rebuilt by King Herod the Great in honor of his patron Mark Antony (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 1.21.1). The Zealot revolt brought Caius Cestius Gallus, the imperial Roman legate of Syria, and his troops into Judaea. His arrival began a great conflagration. Several Galilean cities joined the rebels. King Herod Agrippa II, ever loyal to the Romans, joined Cestius with his troops. In October 66 Cestius captured some villages around Jerusalem, but in November he was routed by the Jewish rebels and barely reached Antioch "with a fragment of his army" (Schürer 1961:250).

After the victory of the extremist Jewish Zealot rebels over the imperial Roman legate of Syria, in early November 66 C.E., the murderous rage of many Greeks in and around Palestine exploded against the Jews with full force. In Caesarea Maritima, seat of the Roman administration in Judaea, the troops of Roman procurator Gessius Florus joined the local Greeks in massacring within an hour the entire Jewish community, numbering some twenty thousand (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 2.18.1). The survivors were enslaved aboard Roman ships. This massacre provoked the fanatical Jewish Zealot leaders into retaliatory raids on Greek temples and population centers. At Scythopolis (Beth Shean) the moderate Jews of the peace party fought their own Zealot brethren in defense of the city, only to be massacred in turn by their Greek fellow citizens. A major massacre of the Jews occurred in Damascus, and similar riots followed in almost every city where the Jews were a minority.

One should bear in mind the powerful psychological processes of externalization and projection that operate in the hatred of one ethnic group for a neighboring other (Boyer 1986; Stein 1987; Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry 1987; Volkan 1988). Each group dissociates the unacceptable aspects of its own self and attributes them to its enemy. It also displaces its rage at its own harsh rulers to the minority group. This is an unconscious but pernicious process that has led to terrible, bloody wars throughout human history (Fornari 1975). Nationalism is closely tied to the group self (Mack 1983; Stein 1987; Loewenberg 1994). The Greeks hated the Jews because the Jews reminded them of what they unconsciously hated about themselves, and also because the Greeks could not fight their harsh Roman masters and their rage was displaced to the Jews.

Alexandria, the largest Greek city of the eastern Roman Empire, harbored some one million Jews and perhaps seven million Greeks. It was there that the most savage massacres took place. The Greek city was divided into five districts named after the first five letters of the Greek alphabet: Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta, and Epsilon. The Jews occupied most of the Delta district on the Mediterranean seashore, as well as a sizable part of another district. During the riots of 38 C.E., when Herod Agrippa I had been in Alexandria on his way to Judaea, the Roman governor Aulus Avilius Flaccus had unleashed a savage Greek massacre of the Jews, claiming they had exceeded their allotted space in the city. In 67 Alexandria was governed by a former Jew named Tiberius Julius Alexander, who had been the Roman procurator of Judaea from 46 to 48. To the Jews he was an apostate who had converted to the pagan Roman religion. Tiberius was a nephew of Philo Judaeus, the great Jewish philosopher.

The ex-Jewish prefect attempted to separate the fanatical Alexandrian Greeks from their Jewish counterparts, but the Jewish rebels cursed Tiberius Julius Alexander and derided him. In his narcissistic rage Tiberius dispatched two Roman legions, numbering twelve thousand troops, to the Jewish Delta district. They destroyed and pillaged the Jewish community. Josephus put the number of Jews killed at fifty thousand; Grant (1978:192) thought that this figure was exaggerated. The psychological motives for the persecution of the Jews were complex. As a minority among the Greeks, they readily lent themselves to the role of scapegoat, upon whom the forbidden and the unacceptable unconscious aspects and wishes of the majority group self were externalized and projected. Their victory over the Roman authorities in Judaea was an acting out of similar parricidal and anti-authoritarian feelings among the Greeks themselves. The hatred of foreigners as well as their charisma are related to our early feelings directed at our mothers, when we begin to separate and individuate from her as infants and her body begins to seem foreign to us (Schiffer 1973:24-29).

A GRECO-ROMAN JEWISH HISTORIAN

The Jews of Jerusalem split into various parties and factions. After the initial success of the revolt, a provisional Jewish government was set up, consisting of priests, nobles,

and moderate Pharisees. The Great Sanhedrin under Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel was endowed with significant political power. Hananias, the former High Priest, and a nobleman named Joseph ben Gorion (also called Gorion ben Joseph or simply Gorion) were charged with the defense of the city. Joshua ben Sapphias and the rebel leader Eleazar ben Hananias were made commanders of Idumaea.

Joseph ben Mattathiah (Flavius Josephus, 37/38–95/100), a young Jewish soldier-scholar who had been educated in Rome for two years (64–66), was made commander of the Galilee. During the siege Josephus held out at the fortress of Jotapata (Yotebath) for forty-seven days. After the city fell he took refuge in a cave with forty Jewish diehards who preferred to kill each other rather than fall into the hands of the hated and feared Romans. They drew lots, and Josephus contrived to be the last in line. After all but two had killed each other, he and the one surviving companion surrendered to the superior Roman forces. After the destruction of Judaea (70 C.E.), Josephus was adopted by the Roman *gens* Flavia, becoming the historian Flavius Josephus. His great works were *The Antiquities of the Jews* and *The Jewish War*. Josephus was moved to write these histories by a deep sense of sharing his people's destiny, by his guilt feelings, and by his wish to disprove his "betrayal" of his people and to explain his surrender to the Romans.

In his autobiographical *Life of Joseph*, Josephus wrote that he had been born in Jerusalem to a priestly Pharisaic family. As a child he displayed remarkable scholarly abilities. Although his parents brought him up as a Pharisee, he was close to the Sadducees for a while, and also spent three years among the Essenes in the Judean desert near the Dead Sea. Josephus's personal searches for his true calling among the various sects of Judaism seem to indicate an inner problem of ego-identity and self (Erikson 1968:208–11; Kohut 1978). Josephus harbored ambivalent feelings for Rome as well as for his own people. In 54 C.E. the mad Nero, who murdered both his mother and his wife, became the fifth Roman Emperor. In 64 C.E. the twenty-six-year-old Josephus arrived in Rome as a member of a Jewish deputation to plead the Jewish cause before Emperor Nero. Josephus remained in Rome for two years. Nero's former mistress and current wife was Poppaea Sabina, the former wife of Nero's friend and future emperor Marcus Salvius Otho (32–69), whom Nero had made governor of Lusitania.

Aliturus, a Jewish actor in the service of Nero and Poppaea, introduced the handsome young Josephus to Empress Poppaea, who liked the young Jew, pulled strings to make his mission successful, and sent him home laden with presents. Josephus was greatly impressed with the splendor of Rome, compared with which his native Jerusalem was a primitive provincial village. He found Poppaea "god-fearing" but Rome "herself" corrupt and dissolute, wallowing in sexual perversions, incest, license, and adultery. Josephus was at once powerfully attracted and repelled by Rome, as he may have been by Poppaea Sabina herself. He admired the political and military genius of the Romans, yet he felt he belonged to the Jews and wished to help his people benefit from the great culture of Rome.

The inner conflict in the feelings of Josephus about his identity as a Jew and as a

Roman derived from his deeper and earlier problem of ego-identity and search for the self (Erikson 1968:208–11; Kohut 1978). Unconscious conflicts of self and ego-identity were displaced onto the political realm, Rome and the Jews unconsciously representing conflicting aspects of Josephus's own self. Josephus's inner struggle for his sense of self and ambivalence had a dramatic effect on his conduct as a Jewish commander against the Romans and later as a Roman historian of the Jews. Some historians have felt that the choice of Josephus as the Jewish commander of the Galilee against the Romans was "most unfortunate." It certainly led to personal and political tragedy.

Josephus returned to Jerusalem in 66 C.E., the year of the outbreak of the Jewish revolt. Josephus's ambivalence found its political and military expression in the way he went about fortifying the Galilee against Roman attack. The Greco-Roman Galilean cities had mixed Jewish and Greek populations. Sepphoris (also known as Tsippori, Autocratis, Neronias, Irenopolis, and Dio-Caesarea), the thoroughly hellenized chief city of the Galilee, was heavily pro-Roman. Heavily Jewish cities like Tiberias, Gamala, Tarichaea, and Jotapata were divided between the fanatically Zealot anti-Roman party and the pro-Roman Jewish Peace Party. The Zealots, led by John of Gischala (Yohanan of Gush-Halab), hated with a passion the pro-Roman peace faction among the Jews.

Josephus attempted to locate himself halfway between the two parties. When some Zealots attacked the chief minister of Herod Agrippa II, robbed him of his treasure, and brought the booty to Josephus in Tarichaea, Josephus decided to return the treasure to Agrippa. The enraged Zealots rose up in arms against their own Jewish commander. John of Gischala sent word to the rebels in Jerusalem accusing Josephus of treason. The Jewish government of Jerusalem dispatched an official delegation with three hundred troops to remove Josephus from his command, but he was forewarned by his friends in Jerusalem, who succeeded also in reversing the decision. The Zealots failed in unseating Josephus, and the young Jewish commander who both loved and hated Rome remained in charge of the Galilee.

In 67 C.E. the Roman Emperor Nero dispatched his general Titus Flavius Vespasianus (Vespasian, 9–79 C.E.) to quell the Jewish revolt in Palestine, giving him the command of all Roman forces in the East. Vespasian went to Antioch, seat of Roman rule in the East, sending his son Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus (Titus, 39–81 C.E.) to Alexandria to fetch another legion under his command. Father and son converged on Ptolemais (Acre), where three Roman legions, the troops from Egypt, King Herod Agrippa II and his sister Julia Berenike, and their own troops all met on the Roman side. Despite (or because of) the fact that Berenike lived in incest with her brother and was eleven years older than Titus, the young Roman general fell in love with the Jewish princess. Falling in love always involves a transference of early infantile feelings from the parents to the loved one. Titus took Berenike to Rome and made her his mistress, but had to give her up when he became emperor. The story was romanticized in Jean Racine's famous tragedy *Bérénice* (1670).

It did not take Vespasian and his son Titus long to subdue the Galilee and capture its major towns. Their legions far outnumbered the Jewish forces. Sepphoris fell to Vespasian without a fight: in fact, the Sepphorians asked him to take charge of their

city. The major battle took place at Jotapata (Yotebath), where Vespasian had to besiege the city. Josephus tried various ruses and tactics to withstand the siege, but they only served to postpone the blow. In the summer of 67, after a forty-seven-day siege, Jotapata fell to the Romans, who massacred the Jews wholesale.

Josephus survived the massacre with feelings of "survivor guilt." He was brought before Vespasian, whom he flattered by predicting Vespasian's impending coronation as emperor as well as pleased by his humility. Vespasian had thought to send Josephus to Rome to be tried by Nero, but he now made Josephus one of his closest advisers. This gave Josephus the name of turncoat among nationalist Jews and Jewish historians. In fact he may have resolved his inner struggle for his ego-identity and for his sense of self, as well as attempted to allay his guilt feelings, by becoming a Jewish historian as well as a Roman citizen. Josephus sailed back to Rome with Titus after the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans in 70 C.E.

During the summer and fall of 67, all of the Galilee fell to the Roman legions. The Jewish Zealots and the pro-Roman peace parties fought it out in most cities. In Tiberias the Zealots were outnumbered by Greek and Jewish pro-Romans and had to leave for Tarichaea, after which the citizens delivered their city to Vespasian, who granted them an imperial pardon. The Jews of Tarichaea on the Sea of Galilee, which is actually a small lake, fought desperately against Titus, but he defeated them both on land and on the water. The Jews were massacred brutally. At Gamala, a Galilean fortress city east of the Jordan River, the battles were fierce and bloody. Tens of thousands were brutally massacred. Titus captured Gischala (Gush-Halab), the seat of the Zealot leader Yohanan (John). The Zealots fled to Jerusalem, while the townspeople surrendered to the Romans.

The fall of the Galilee strengthened the Jewish Zealots in Jerusalem against the moderate Jewish leaders there. The Zealots turned the Temple of Yahweh into their barracks. The leaders of the provisional Jewish government were the former High Priest Hananias (also known as Ananus), the High Priest Joshua ben Gamala, the nobleman Gorion (or Joseph ben Gorion), and the head of the Sanhedrin, Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel, who constituted the temporary government. The moderate leaders tried to fight off the Zealots. Hananias delivered a rousing oration against them. This led to a tragic civil war, which killed many on both sides. Josephus says the Zealots closeted themselves in the inner Temple courtyard. They spread the rumor that Hananias and his fellow leaders had sent messengers to the Romans inviting them to enter Jerusalem, while the Zealots themselves had actually sent for the Idumaeans, who had been made Jewish by Alexander Iannaios. The Idumaeans arrived in Jerusalem, were stealthily admitted into the city by the Zealots, lifted the siege of the Temple by the moderates, and with the Zealots began to massacre the moderate Jewish leaders.

The High Priests Hananias and Joshua ben Gamala were murdered outright. The rebels forced the Great Sanhedrin under threats of death to stage the show trial of Zacharias ben Baris (Zachariah ben Baruch), a prominent citizen. When the seventy-

one judges of the Great Sanhedrin pronounced Zacharias innocent, the Zealots became enraged at them. Two of the Zealots fell upon Zacharias and slew him in the Temple. The Zealots proceeded to massacre the noble Jews "out of envy" and the brave ones "out of fear." The most prominent victim was the noble Gorion. Josephus says, "The Zealots . . . slew Gorion, a person eminent in dignity, and on account of his family also; he was also for democracy, and of as great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whosoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free-speaking" (*The Jewish War* 4.6.1). The righteous fury of the Zealots was projective narcissistic rage (Kohut 1972).

By the year 68 C.E. the Jewish Zealots had gained control of Jerusalem. Their extremist views and violent anti-Roman feelings derived from their inner conflicts with their own selves. They blamed every conceivable evil upon the Romans. The Romans to them were depraved, cruel, godless, selfish, evil, domineering, merciless, and so on. Needless to say, many of these attributes were applicable to the Zealots themselves, but they had been unconsciously dissociated, externalized, and projected upon the Romans (cf. Volkan 1988). When aspects of the self, whether the individual or the group self, are disavowed and pushed out of awareness by denial, projection, and splitting, the results are often tragic. This is what happened to the Zealots.

During early 68 C.E. Vespasian and his son Titus captured all of Judaea except for Jerusalem itself. In June 68 the mad emperor Nero died in Rome, which set off bloody battles for the succession among the commanders of the Roman legions. In 68–69 three emperors succeeded each other, first Galba, then Otho, and finally Vitellius. The eastern Roman legions elected their commander Vespasian emperor and in late 69, after the murder of Vitellius, Vespasian did indeed become the ruler of the great Roman Empire, while his son Titus pursued the war against the Jews.

In Jerusalem the rebels split into three feuding factions, led by Simeon bar Giora, Yohanan of Gush-Halab (John of Gischala), and Eleazar ben Yair. The most extreme group was led by Simeon bar Giora (son of the proselyte) of Trans-Jordan, commander of the fanatical "robbers" who later fortified themselves in Jerusalem's Upper City. Simeon bar Giora was "not so cunning indeed as John [of Gischala] . . . but superior in strength of body and courage" (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 4.9.3). Ben-Sasson (1976:276) gathered from Josephus that Simeon was a liberating social reformer: "[H]e freed the slaves and caused great harm to the wealthy, both in life and in property." The upper-class Josephus had actually described Simeon bar Giora as a ruthless robber and murderer who killed thousands of his own people while seizing Idumaea, Hebron, and other territories. Nonetheless, in 1907 the Jews of Ottoman Palestine created a secret self-defense organization called Bar-Giora.

The three Jewish rebel leaders divided Jerusalem among themselves, but were hopelessly locked into their internecine warfare. Yohanan of Gush-Halab (John of Gischala), the second Jewish rebel leader, seized Bar Giora's wife in an attempt to stop his rival from entering Jerusalem; Simeon stepped up his terror until John gave him back his wife. John of Gischala and his followers were only slightly less extreme

than Bar Giora. The third rebel leader was Elazar ben Simeon, leader of the extreme Zealots, who in 73 committed mass suicide atop Masada, on the southwestern shore of the Dead Sea.

The internal strife of the Jewish rebel leaders made the work of the Roman legions easier. At the beginning of 70 C.E. the newly crowned emperor Vespasian left for Rome to take his seat as emperor, leaving the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth legions with his son Titus. The thirty-year-old commander lost no time besieging the Jews of Jerusalem. The less extremist Zealot Elazar ben Simeon controlled the Temple Mount. John of Gischala controlled the area around the Temple and part of the Lower City, while Simeon bar Giora and his "robbers" controlled the Upper City to the west as well as large areas of the Lower City. There was constant fighting between the three Zealot factions. It took the dire threat of the Roman siege to alleviate the internecine warfare.

Titus was advised by Tiberius Julius Alexander, the "apostate" Jew who had been procurator of Judaea (46–48) and governor of Egypt during the anti-Jewish riots (66), as well as by Flavius Josephus, the former Jewish commander of the Galilee. By Passover time the Roman legions were besieging Jerusalem. The city held over half a million Jews, including countless refugees from all over the country. The fighting went on for months, and the people of Jerusalem began to die of famine. Those desperate Jews who were caught by the Romans trying to escape in search of food were crucified in full view of the city walls. Others had their hands amputated and were returned to the city to strike terror in the hearts of the besieged. Starvation was driving people mad.

When the Jews of Jerusalem were famished, Titus seized the Antonia fortress north of the Temple Mount. It took him another month to capture the Temple Mount itself, which Jewish tradition, following Josephus, says occurred on the ninth of Ab (August). It is unlikely, however, that the Second Temple was destroyed on the very same day of the year as the First. This myth arose out of the Jews' inability to mourn their losses of both temples. On the following day Titus's furious troops set fire to the Temple building and massacred every Jew they could lay their hands on. The carnage was horrible. Few people were able to escape to the Upper City, where the forces of Yohanan and Simeon held out. Titus was crowned *imperator* by his troops, who in return received the license to pillage, loot, rape, and murder. The Lower City was soon looted, burned up, and utterly destroyed.

The Zealots in the Upper City offered to leave it armed, but Titus demanded unconditional surrender, which they refused. Their last stand was made at Herod's Palace, near today's Jaffa Gate, with its three fortified towers of Mariamne, Hippicus, and Phasaelis. By the end of 70 C.E. Titus's troops had seized the Upper City, killed the remaining Jews, looted its treasure, and set it afire. Thousands of famine victims lay dead in the streets. The Roman troops themselves were horrified at the sight. The survivors were nonetheless enslaved and made to row Roman ships or fight as gladiators in Roman rings. John of Gischala and Simeon Bar-Giora were captured and led to Rome in chains to grace Titus's victory parade and triumph as trophies. Nothing was left of Jerusalem but sections of the city wall, a few towers, and the

Western Wall of the Temple Mount, known to this day as the Wailing Wall. This was one of the greatest disasters of Jewish history. The Jews have never been able to properly mourn their loss of the Second Temple. Loewenstein (1951:160–61) felt that the Jews have been in “a permanent state of mourning” since the Great Destruction of “70 A.D.” This is the same as saying that they have been unable to mourn their losses (Falk 1993b). There are still Jews in Israel who are seriously planning to build the Third Temple, after having destroyed the Muslim Dome of the Rock.

To the Romans, the Jewish war was an important victory. In early 71 Titus returned to Rome triumphant, claiming to have killed one million rebel Jews in that campaign. Titus received command of his father’s Praetorian Guard and the powers of a tribune, which designated him as his father’s successor. Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian held a great victory parade in Rome. The golden vessels of the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem were on parade, including the famous seven-branched menorah. Simeon bar Giora was executed; John of Gischala was imprisoned for life. In 73 Titus joined his father Vespasian in the censorship and later in several consulships. Only his keeping the Jewish Berenike as his mistress was unpopular, evoking memories of Antony and Cleopatra, and Titus twice reluctantly dismissed her. In 79 Titus became emperor, and the great Arch of Titus was built (79–81) to commemorate his victory over Judaea. Roman coins were minted reading *Judaea capta* and *Judaea devicta*. The Greco-Roman historian Cassius Dio Cocceianus (Dion Cassius, 150–235), author of the *Romaika*, reported that both Vespasian and Titus turned down the honorific title of Judaicus lest the Romans think they favored the Jewish religion.

This was the end of Jerusalem as the capital of the Jews for the next nineteen centuries. It was also the end of the Second Temple period, which had begun in 536 B.C.E. under Cyrus the Great of Persia. During the next three years, 70–73, the Romans captured the remaining Zealot strongholds of Herodion, Machaeros, and Masada. Josephus believed that Masada was the scene of mass suicide in April 73. Flavius Silva, the new procurator of Judaea, and his Roman troops besieged Masada. Hundreds of the Zealot followers of Elazar ben Yair killed themselves rather than fall into the hands of the Romans. Only two Jewish women and five children escaped the massacre (Yadin 1973). The mass suicide at Masada was symbolic of the entire Jewish revolt against the Romans. Indeed, the destruction of Judaea, of Jerusalem, and of the Temple of Yahweh were all self-inflicted.

Some scholars doubt the veracity or the accuracy of Josephus’s story of Masada. Yet the myth of Masada has been a powerful national Israeli symbol. To Israelis, it is a psychological reality. For many years after Israel became a state in 1948, fresh Israeli army recruits came to Masada to take their oath of loyalty. The hostile Arabs were viewed both as ancient Romans and as modern Nazis. After the Holocaust in which six million Jews perished, the Israelis thought of themselves as the remnant of the Jewish people and of their land as the new Masada: they would rather fight to the end and perish by their own hands than fall into the hands of their Arab enemies and suffer another Holocaust. This fantasy prevailed for many years. After the Israeli victories over the Arabs in 1967, Jerusalem’s sacred Wailing Wall came into Israeli

control, and the oath of loyalty ritual was moved there. Perhaps this facilitated the work of mourning. Gradually the pernicious Israeli Masada complex gave way to a more realistic way of viewing the Israeli-Arab conflict, which in turn paved the way for reconciliation with the Palestinian Arabs and with the Jordanians in 1993–94.

The Jewish Zealots who pursued the revolt against the Romans had no chance of winning (Grant 1978:187). It was their pride, their group narcissism, their nationalism, and their fanatical hatred of the Romans that led them to such extremity. Their problems with their own selves were displaced and externalized upon their country and nation (Kohut 1978; Volkan 1988). Judaea was unconsciously identified with their early mother. Their infantile narcissism was projected upon Judaea. They had to kill those who made their “mother” suffer—the Romans. In their fanatical rage and hatred they dragged the entire Jewish population to perdition with them. The inability of the Jews to mourn their historical losses had led to war, mass destruction, and finally national suicide.

22

Messianism and the Inability to Mourn

The destruction of the Second Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem in 70 C.E. is viewed by most Jewish historians as the great divide of Jewish history, separating Jewish political power from Jewish powerlessness. Biale (1986:10–11) disputed this view:

The destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. is commonly considered to demarcate the fundamental political watershed in Jewish history: the end of political independence and the beginning of the powerlessness of exile. The rabbis, who became the sole leaders of the nation in the wake of the revolt against Rome, instituted radical changes in the nature of Judaism. They not only constructed a religion without Temple sacrifices, but they are said to have abdicated all interest in politics and power in favor of a solely spiritual existence. . . . This view of the ancient period and the role of the rabbis, so widely accepted in Jewish consciousness, is more romantic than historical. The golden age of Jewish power in antiquity is largely a myth based on exceptions instead of the norm: the political status of the Jews throughout most of antiquity was not full sovereignty but a partial and tenuous independence in an imperial world.

Nevertheless, the losses of the Jews had been great and terrible, and they were unable to mourn them. Mourning means not only active bereavement and grief, but also an acceptance of and resignation to the irreversibility of the loss. This the Jews could not do. Henceforth the Jews lived in the past rather than in the present, in fantasy rather than in reality. They idealized their past, living in a fantasy of ancient Jewish glory.

THE MYTH OF ELECTION

Philo Judaeus of Alexandria, the first-century Greco-Jewish philosopher, attempted to fuse classical Platonic Greek philosophy with his ideas of Judaism. Philo incorporated the Jewish myth of election into his thought. We use history as source material for our wishes and fantasies. Historical myths are as common as historical facts. Our historiography, however sincere, is also motivated by our need to glorify our past, to soothe our narcissistic wounds, to feel that we are special and unique. Ben-Sasson

(1976:288) believed that during the Second Temple period "the Jewish faith expanded as it never had before and never has since. Throughout the Roman Empire and even beyond it, people adopted the Jewish faith or at least part of the Jewish way of life. . . . Tacitus mentions it regretfully (*Histories* 5.5), and Juvenal, in his *Fourteenth Satire* (ll. 96), describes how Roman families 'degenerated' into Judaism." How many Romans actually became Jews? The third-century Greco-Roman historian Philostratus believed that the Jews were "separated from ourselves by a greater gulf than divides us from Susa or Bactra or the most distant Indies" (*The Life of Apollonius* 5.33).

Jewish historians proudly cite the conversion to Judaism of the first-century kings of Adiabene (Khdayeb), a hellenized Parthian vassal kingdom in northern Iraq. From 247 B.C.E. to 224 C.E. Adiabene was a petty vassal Parthian state, often attacked by the Romans. Its capital was Arbela (now Irbil or Erbil, Iraq), which began in the third millennium B.C.E. as the Sumerian city of Ur-billum, mentioned in the tablets of the Third Dynasty Sumerian king Shulgi of Ur (2094–2047 B.C.E.). Ur-billum later became the Assyrian city of Arba-ilu, with a great temple to the goddess Ishtar. In the early first century, the king of Adiabene (Zotus or Monbaz), his sister-wife Helena (d. 50 C.E.), and their two sons, Zotus (Izates II) and Monbaz (Monobazus II) were converted to Judaism by Eleazar the Galilean. They came to Jerusalem, helped the Jews with men and money in their desperate war against the Romans, and built themselves a great mausoleum called "The Tombs of the Kings." Modern Jerusalem has streets named after Queen Helena and King Monbaz. Jewish historians rarely mention that Helena lived in open incest with her brother-husband and that Adiabene was politically and militarily fragile, being repeatedly invaded and annexed by Rome, Parthia, and Armenia. In 60 C.E. Adiabene was seized by King Tigranes of Armenia, a descendant of Herod the Great. In 116 it was annexed by Emperor Trajan of Rome. In 224, with Parthia's fall to Ardashir Shah, founder of the Neo-Persian Sasanian empire, Adiabene ceased to exist as a political entity.

CHRISTIANITY AND POLYTHEISM

During the first century Christianity evolved in Palestine, partly out of the Essene sects of the Dead Sea and partly out of orthodox Pharisaism. The Acts of the Apostles say that Saul of Tarsus (the Apostle Paul) was on the way to Damascus carrying letters from the High Priests denouncing Jesus when he was converted and became his greatest follower. Saint Paul wrote epistles to many people, known as the Pauline Epistles in the New Testament, urging them to embrace the new religion and to reject the rigid Pharisaic teachings. Saint Paul's conversion was his inner solution to an acute crisis of ego-identity or self, and he was able to displace his personal rebellion and rage to his Pharisaic teachers.

Some of the "new" Christian customs came from and fused with the older "pagan" religions. The Persian cult of the god Mithra, the death-and-resurrection rites of the gods Tammuz, Adonis, Attis, and Osiris (Frazer 1911–14), the sacred meal that

was a relic of totemic religion, the rites of the winter solstice with child sacrifices to the Canaanite fire god Moloch—all became fused with the new Christian myths, rituals, and holidays. The Canaanite mother goddess Asherah and her virgin daughter Anath were fused with the Virgin Mary. Jesus Christ replaced the dying god who was resurrected. It was easier for pagans than for Jews to embrace the new religion, which expressed their deepest feelings, such as the fear of the death and the longing for rebirth, in the symbolic language of the unconscious. Sacred prostitution went on as before.

THE INABILITY TO MOURN

The trauma of defeat and destruction in 66–73 C.E. left the various Jewish sects—Essenes, Zealots, Pharisees, Sadducees, and Christians (Messianics)—in despair and disarray. Each sect sought explanations for the disaster that would fit in with its worldview, religious beliefs, and “group self.” The peace party established a new center at Jabneh (Jamnia), a small town in the coastal plain of Palestine, south of Jaffa. It was led by Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, a member of the Great Sanhedrin, the supreme legislative and judicial body of the Jews. To deal with the loss of Jerusalem, of their freedom, of their state, and of their pride, the Jews resorted to an obsessive-compulsive system of laws, rules, and regulations, a nomocracy known as the Halachah. This obsessional preoccupation with rules and regulations, with Jewish dos and don’ts, with the calendar, with ritual learning, and other aspects of Orthodox Judaism, which still goes on, was a psychological defense against the pain of loss, against the great injury to the group narcissism of the Jews. Saint Paul had declared that the Jews were no longer the Chosen People; Paul was trying to rob the Jews of their self-protective myth of election.

The Jews were unable to mourn their losses and to accept their defeats. Some modern psychoanalysts think that this tragic inability to mourn lies at the root of all pathological collective behavior (Mitscherlich 1975:63). Denial, isolation, reversal (transformation into the opposite), withdrawal of interest and feeling, derealization—all these psychological defensive processes operated in post-World War II Germany to ward off massive collective depression. They may similarly have operated among the Jews of the Roman Empire following the utter destruction of their beloved Judaea in 135. Gibbon (1960:204–5) thought that

It is somewhat remarkable that the flames of war consumed almost at the same time the Temple of Jerusalem and the Capitol of Rome; and it appears no less singular that the tribute which devotion had destined to the former [Jerusalem] should have been converted to the power of an assailing victor to restore and adorn the splendour of the latter [Rome]. The [Roman] emperors levied a general capitulation tax on the Jewish people; and although the sum assessed on the head of each individual was inconsiderable, the use for which it was designed, and the severity with which it was exacted, were considered an intolerable grievance.

The incestuous Herod Agrippa II and his sister Berenike, who had been the mistress of the Roman Emperor Titus, continued as king and queen in northeastern Palestine, but their reign was insignificant in Jewish political terms. Berenike had hoped to become empress of Rome, but Titus had either fallen out of love with her or had had to renounce her because of the opposition of his father and the Roman polity. Schürer (1961:244) thought that Titus "had come to see that love intrigues were not compatible with the dignity of an emperor, and so left [Berenike] unnoticed. When she found herself thus deceived she returned again to Palestine." Some Jewish historians believe that Herod Agrippa II reigned until the end of the reign of Domitian in Rome (96 C.E.). The Jewish historian Justus of Tiberias, an enemy of Josephus who accused him of instigating the disastrous revolt against Rome, had Herod Agrippa II die in the third year of the emperor Trajan (100 C.E.). He and Berenike left no children, and their kingdom was annexed to Syria. In the second century the Romans were to rename the province Syria-Palaestina.

The Roman Emperors Domitian (Titus Flavius Domitianus, r. 81–96), Nerva (r. 96–98), and Trajan (Trajanus, r. 98–117) were not overly kind to their Jewish subjects. Domitian was a paranoid tyrant and killer, fearful of others and violent because of his fear. Gibbon (1960:205) thought that "although the obscurity of the house of David might protect [the Christians] from the suspicions of a tyrant, the present greatness of his own family alarmed the pusillanimous temper of Domitian, which could only be appeased by the blood of those Romans whom he either feared, or hated, or esteemed." Domitian not only persecuted the Jews and Christians but also executed his own nephew Flavius Clemens and banished his niece Domitilla, whom he had given Clemens as wife. After the rebellion of Antoninus Saturninus (89 C.E.) Domitian grew more despotic, and his harsh rule gave rise to plots against his life, which brought about a reign of terror. In 90 C.E. Domitian was forced to pay tribute to the fierce Daci (in what is now Romania) to keep them from open revolt against Rome. The bloody tyrant was assassinated by Stephanus (Stephen), one of Domitilla's freedman. This classical tragedy made little difference to the Jews, who continued to suffer under Domitian's successors.

Nerva, whose brief reign and mild disposition were welcomed, and Trajan, his adopted son and successor, were relatively benign rulers. During their reign the Jewish sages of Jabneh (Jamnia), led by Sanhedrin chiefs Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai and Rabban Gamaliel II, fixed the Jewish holidays, adapted the lunar Hebrew calendar to the solar Roman Julian calendar, determined the daily prayers in the Jewish home and in the synagogues, and generally wove an obsessive-compulsive system of rules to protect the Jews from the pain of loss and from deep mourning.

Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph (40–135), the famous Jewish sage (Urbach 1979:256), was one of the great codifiers and collators of the Halachah. He was the author of many aphorisms and was held in high esteem by the people. Yet it was Rabbi Akiba who, in his old age, ecstatic and blinded by the charisma of a violent, ruthless leader, gave rabbinical blessing to the disastrous Bar Kochba revolt of 132–35 (Harkabi 1983). During the later life of Rabbi Akiba and the last years of the reign of Trajan,

further Jewish uprisings against the Romans occurred in Palestine. In 102–5 Trajan subdued the Daci beyond the Danube River, whom Gibbon (1960:7) was to call “the most warlike of men. . . . To the strength and fierceness of barbarians they added a contempt for life, which was derived from a warm persuasion of the immortality and transmigration of the soul.” This “denial of death” (Becker 1973) also fired the most fanatic Zealots among the Jews. Unable to mourn their losses, to grieve and to live on, they fought relentlessly against the invincible Romans.

In 115–17 the ambitious Trajan led an eastern military expedition that rivaled that of Alexander the Great. He captured northern Mesopotamia and Adiabene, which the Romans called “Assyria,” from the Parthians. Trajan went on to seize southern Mesopotamia, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon, the Parthian capital. “The degenerate Parthians, broken by intestine discord, fled before his arms,” wrote Gibbon (1960:8). The “Babylonian” Jews rose up in arms. Trajan dispatched his ablest generals, Marcius Turbon and Lucius Quietus of Mauretania, to quell the revolts in Africa and in Asia. Lucius Quietus ruthlessly suppressed the Jewish revolts in “Babylonia” and Judaea. The Jews of Egypt and Cyrenaica were decimated, and those of Cyprus were massacred. The Jews corrupted the name Quietus into “Kitos” and called the revolt of 115–17 “the Kitos War.” Greco-Roman historians such as Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea and Dion Cassius reported a great revolt of the Jews against Roman rule in 116 and Jewish victories against the Greeks of Egypt and Cyrenaica (now eastern Libya). These led to a massacre of the Jews in Alexandria. Dion Cassius (Cassius Dio Cocceianus, 150–235) reported in his *Romaika* that 220,000 Greeks were killed in Cyrenaica and 240,000 on Cyprus. The Cypriot Greeks so hated the Jews that they passed a law barring all Jews from Cyprus in eternity. Any Jewish shipwreck survivor who landed in Cyprus was put to death.

These bloody tragedies were capped by the death of Trajan (117), who was succeeded by his ward Hadrian (Publius Aelius Hadrianus, 76–138), the former governor of Syria. The Jews called him “Adrianus.” Hadrian’s reign was vigorous, judicious, prudent, and moderate for his time (Gibbon 1960:8). Hadrian wisely restored the eastern Roman provinces to the Parthians and withdrew beyond the Euphrates, the river established by Augustus as the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire. But Hadrian had a split self, a Jekyll-and-Hyde personality, a “various character . . . capable, by turns of the meanest and the most generous sentiments” (Gibbon 1960:9). Hadrian’s narcissism and grandiosity were pronounced. To prove his military prowess, in 118 he “pacified” (i.e., destroyed) the Roman province of Moesia (in what are now Serbia and Bulgaria). In 121 he visited Britannia, where the famous Hadrian’s Wall was built (122–26) from Wall’s End on the Tyne River to Bowness on the Firth of Solway.

It was in Palestine that Hadrian became most violent and ruthless. Did the Jews provoke Hadrian, or did he provoke them? Hadrian is said to have promised the Jews to rebuild Jewish Jerusalem and to restore the Temple of Yahweh. Hadrian supposedly went back on his word, having Jerusalem rebuilt as a Greco-Roman city, complete with palaces, circuses, gymnasiums, temples of Jupiter and Juno, bathhouses, and monuments. Hadrian is also said to have issued intolerable anti-Jewish edicts

outlawing circumcision and other Jewish religious practices, and to have set up "idols" in the Temple. This supposedly provoked the Jews, especially the more zealous and fanatic among them. Some historians, however, believe that Hadrian's anti-Jewish edicts were issued *after* the Bar Kochba revolt (132–35), as punishment for it, and not before. In 131–32 Hadrian led a military expedition to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Special games were played in his honor, known as the Hadrianeia. The Greco-Roman citizens called Hadrian their great *restitutor* (restorer). The Greeks of Caesarea, Tiberias, and Gaza welcomed Hadrian ecstatically as an august liberator. Coins were minted bearing the inscription *Adventi Augusti Judaea*.

A DISASTROUS UPRISING

From 128 to 132 there were many Jewish terrorist acts against the Romans, whose two legions, the sixth Ferrata and the tenth, quelled the riots. In 132 the second Jewish revolt against the Romans, known as Bar-Kochba's Uprising, broke out in Judea. The Roman governor of Judea at the time, Tineius Rufus, was "hated for his suppression of the Parthian Jews in the Revolt of the Dispersion, and for the foundation of Aelia Capitolina" (Grant 1978:250). The leader who spearheaded the Jewish revolt was Simeon bar Koziba (Bar Chozeba), a violent, ruthless, and dictatorial man, who tortured his own Jewish subjects to death if they did not do his bidding (Yadin 1971). During the siege by the Romans he kicked his own uncle to death in his murderous rage (Grant 1978:255). Chozeba was the name of a biblical clan of the tribe of Judah (1 Chron. 4:22). The Jews made a hero of Bar Koziba, calling him Bar Kochba (Son of the Star). Rabbi Akiba hailed him as the long-awaited Messiah and savior. The rest of the Pharisaic Jewish leaders, such as Rabbi Tarphon (Tryphon), were considerably more cautious than Rabbi Akiba (Grant 1978:250). Soon they dropped the appellation of Messiah. Bar Kochba brought about the total destruction of Judaea and the deaths of half a million Jews.

Dion Cassius (150–235) wrote a Greek-language history of Rome, the *Romaika*, which briefly chronicled the Roman war against Bar Kochba's Jews. Dion Cassius said that during the first year of the revolt, 132–33, the Jews seized one thousand cities and towns in Judaea and Galilee. It is not clear whether Jerusalem itself was captured. As often happened to the Roman procurators of Judaea, who had relatively few legions, Tineius Rufus, the governor of Judaea, was forced to call upon Publicius Marcellus, the governor of Syria, for military assistance. In 133, to deal with the Jews, Emperor Hadrian dispatched his ablest commander, Caius Sextus Julius Severus, who had governed Britannia and quelled the uprisings there.

Dehumanizing the enemy makes it easier to kill him. Severus began the slow and patient extermination of the "armed Jewish pests." The Galilee became red with the blood of the Jewish rebels. Losing battles and troops, Bar-Kochba lost his popular and religious support. Grant (1978:253) thought that "the test of the Messiah was success, and by this test Simeon bar Koziba was failing—as many of the rabbis who

lacked enthusiasm for his cause no doubt hastened to point out." During the year 134 the Jewish rebels steadily lost ground to the Roman legions. True, a party of warlike Pharisees succeeded in poisoning an entire Roman military unit (a cohort or legion) and the Romans suffered heavy losses in some battles, but the Romans so vastly outnumbered the Jews that Bar Kochba had no chance of success. In 135 Severus's troops besieged the remnants of the Jewish freedom fighters at Bethar, outside Jerusalem, who were spied upon by the bitter Samaritans. When they had subdued Bethar, the Romans massacred not only Bar Kochba and his Jewish rebels but also the entire Jewish population of Judaea, some one half million Jews. It was the worst military disaster in Jewish history (Harkabi 1983). Jewish myth had it that Bethar was destroyed on the same day of the year as the First and Second Temple, the ninth of Ab (Ben-Sasson 1976:333). This condensation of three catastrophes into one date betrayed the inability to mourn the great losses. Dion Cassius (*Romaika*, 69) felt that the only achievement of Bar Kochba's revolt was that Hadrian omitted the customary phrase "I and my legions are well" when writing to the Senate in Rome.

For the Jews it was a thorough tragedy. The Jews who survived were sold into slavery. Some were traded for horses' rations. The Romans had fused their gods with those of Greece: Jupiter was merged with Zeus; Juno with Hera; Venus with Aphrodite; Solus with Apollo and Helios; Minerva with Pallas Athena. From 135 to 138, rebuilding Jerusalem, which Pliny called "the most famous city in the East," into a splendid Greco-Roman city with a great temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, Hadrian founded a new city on the ruins of Jerusalem that he named Aelia Capitolina, after his own name of Aelius and Jupiter's title of Capitolinus. A theater, circus, gymnasium, and other basic features of the Greek city adorned Aelia Capitolina. Christian myth has it that a temple of Venus was built atop the Holy Sepulchre of Jesus Christ. Hadrian outlawed, upon pain of death, the practice of circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, and the teaching of the Torah in the schools. The governor, Tineius Rufus, had the Temple Mount area razed to the ground. A temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was erected on it, next to a large statue of Hadrian. Johnson (1987:143, 147) thought that

these two catastrophes, of 70 and 135 A.D., effectively ended Jewish state history in antiquity. There were two immediate consequences of great historical significance. The first was the final separation of Judaism and Christianity. . . . The second . . . was a profound change in the nature and scope of Jewish activities. From 70 A.D., and still more so after 135 A.D., Judaism ceased to be a national religion in any physical and visible sense, and the Jews were depatriated [*sic*]. Instead, both Jewry and Judaism became coextensive with the study and observance of the Torah.

THE GLORIFICATION OF MARTYRDOM

After their national political life in Judaea had drowned in rivers of blood, the Jews turned to obsessional scholarship and rigid religion. Jewish legend has glorified both Rabbi Akiba, the sage, and Bar Kochba, the rebel leader. In 135 Rabbi Akiba, ninety-

five years old, was tortured by the Romans and died along with other Jewish leaders. The apocryphal Story of the Ten Martyrs, part of talmudic myth, fused this execution with those of the First Revolt (66–70) and the “Kitos War” (115–17), so that Rabbi Tarphon (Tryphon), Rabbi Simeon ben Azzai, Rabbi Hanina ben Thradion (Hananiah ben Tardion), Rabbi Simeon Nasi, and Rabbi Ishmael the High Priest were included among those executed with Rabbi Akiba (Ben-Sasson 1976:334). This myth has it that Rabbi Akiba was tortured upon the rack, his flesh combed with iron rakes. Rabbi Hanina was rolled into a calfskin scroll of the Torah and burned alive, his killers prolonging his torture by reviving him repeatedly with water-soaked woolen sponges. Hanina ben Thradion’s wife was killed as well, and one of his daughters was captured and forced into prostitution. Rabbi Hanina had another daughter named Bruriah, wife of Rabbi Meir, who lost two of her sons and became a martyr in Jewish legend also.

Ben-Sasson (1976:285) thought that martyrdom had become a key element of Judaism, and that “martyrological tension” was the hallmark of the religions it inspired, such as Christianity. The elevation of Jewish victims of Roman torture and execution to the status of martyrs and the glorification of tragedy in Jewish legend betray the inability to mourn. The Jewish historian Jason of Cyrene (c. 100 B.C.E.) had written that the Jews were visited with suffering to teach them the right way. Jewish martyrs believed that their martyrdom appeased God’s wrath. The losses were so terrible that the mind was unable to deal with them. Mourning is a prolonged and painful process, requiring grief and separation. Many of us refuse to endure such pain. We deny our losses and crave for restitution. This is why Hadrian was welcomed by the Greeks as *restitutor*. The messianic fervor of the Jews seems to have subsided with Bar Kochba, not to burst out again for several centuries. Grant (1978:257) thought that the Second Revolt was “the last violent outburst of the Messianic hope.”

Meissner (1990:361) thought that “suffering and oppression gave new vitality to the messianic hopes, despite the painful disillusionment of the failure of the revolt.” Indeed, the disillusionment was so painful that the Jews denied their very painful reality by developing new messianic illusions. One could view messianism as a defense against unbearable pain, as a yearning for rebirth, or as the inability to mourn one’s losses and injuries. Grant (1978:258), a conventional historian, described the psychological condition of the Jews after the Bar Kochba revolt:

There was, of course, unrelieved mourning in A.D. 135 as there had been in 70, not only for the devastating loss of innocent human lives but for the disastrous setback to the Jewish national and economic cause. As in the years after 70, what had happened seemed an echo of the downfall of Israel and Judah many centuries ago—and once again there were rabbis ready to offer religious and theological consolation on such lines. They did not so much repress ideas of Messianism as divert them from the national to the spiritual and prophetic sphere: less was said about the earthly Jerusalem than about its heavenly counterpart.

Indeed, the denial of their losses and the inability to mourn them were the deepest psychological problems of the survivors. Messianism was a defense against their

pain. Reviving an old Essene belief, the Jews split their Messiah in two: Mashiah ben Yoseph (Messiah Son of Joseph), who would fall in battle against the forces of Evil, and Mashiah ben David (Messiah Son of David), who would defeat them and redeem the Jews. While the coins minted in Year One of the Second Revolt bore the inscription "Year One of the Redemption of Israel," expressing the belief in Bar Kochba as the Redeemer, those minted the following year were inscribed "Year Two of the Freedom of Israel." The Jews could rationalize their inner conflict by believing that their martyrdom was ordained by God, that Bar Kochba had been the Messiah ben Joseph, and that the Messiah ben David was still to come. Their mourning was indeed "unrelieved," for their work of mourning had not been done.

SEEKING THE LOST TRIBES OF ISRAEL

Another symptom of the Jewish inability to mourn is the fantasy of the surviving ten lost tribes of Israel, which operates to this day. As late as 1994 the five million Israeli Jews were informed, and some believed, that the ancient tribe of Manasseh was alive and well in the Burmese-Indian borderlands, numbering some 30 million, or perhaps 300 million, Jews. The lost tribes had been exiled by Sargon II of Assyria in 721 B.C.E. and had become assimilated into the peoples of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires in Mesopotamia and elsewhere. They did not exist as Jews. Yet many centuries later the Jews still believed that the ten lost tribes of Israel lived beyond the Mountains of Darkness and the Sambation River, and had hopes and visions of the return of these lost tribes to their ancient homeland (Grant 1978:277). The myth of the ten lost tribes of Israel was revived in the ninth century by a bizarre Jewish traveler who called himself Eldad the Danite (of the tribe of Dan). He was widely believed, and the myth has persisted ever since. Some Israeli Jews, especially the ultra-Orthodox and ultra-nationalist, still have aspirations of restoring the lost tribes of Israel.

This fantastic notion is based upon a massive denial of the loss, a refusal to mourn it, and a stubborn clinging to the past. Indeed, the messianic idea and the vision of the return of the lost tribes were fused in Jewish mysticism, which centered around the longing for redemption. Upon the coming of the Messiah, the mystical fantasy had it, the dead Jews will be resurrected, the lost tribes will return, and the Kingdom of Heaven shall reign upon the earth. The infantile wish to restore one's early losses was displaced onto the national realm, with the nation unconsciously playing the role of mother.

It is very painful to mourn one's losses. One must feel grief, sadness, and sorrow. One must give up one's internal objects. It is like giving up a limb that has been amputated. Many amputees have sensations of their lost limb, as though it is still there. This is known as "phantom limb" in the psychiatric literature. This phantom limb disappears only after one has grieved and mourned the loss for a long time. The loss of one's land, of one's people, of one's sovereignty, and of one's freedom are still more painful. The Jewish myth of election and the messianic idea of redemption,

which fired the Jews throughout their tortured history, and which in turn brought further misery upon them, were symptoms of their inability to mourn their losses. Roskies (1984:38) was aware of this problem:

There is an obvious connection between mourning and messianism. Take, for example, the ninth-century Mourners of Zion, Jewish fundamentalists living in exile who sold their belongings and returned in sackcloth and ashes to Jerusalem. Despite their initial enthusiasm for this fringe movement within Judaism, the rabbis eventually rejected as heresy the Mourners' single-minded obsession with Jerusalem and its destruction, just as they rejected any literalist approach to Scripture, such as that of the Karaites of the same period. Perhaps, as practical men, the rabbis did not want to push the Messiah's hand. However, they very much wanted to keep the hope of restoration alive. And so they continued to believe that the Messiah would be born on the ninth of Av [Ab] . . . thus linking the anniversary of the Great Destruction to the new beginning [of the Great Restoration].

Indeed, the rabbis did not wish to force the Messiah's hand, because keeping the messianic hope alive could help them avoid the necessity of truly mourning their painful group losses. As I have said, the inability to mourn is, in my opinion, the crucial issue of Jewish history, perhaps of all history.

JEW-HATRED AND THE JEWISH SELF

I use the term "Jew-hatred" advisedly to avoid the anachronistic term "anti-Semitism," a "scientific" euphemism coined in the late nineteenth century (Marr 1879). The history of Jew-hatred may have begun with Flavius Philostratus the Athenian (170–245), a Greek Sophist from a famous Lemnos Island literary family who studied at Athens. Philostratus lived during the reigns of several Roman Emperors. In 192 the psychotic emperor Commodus was murdered. His successor, Publius Helvius Pertinax, was assassinated the following year (193), as was his own successor, Marcus Didius Julianus. The new Roman Emperor, Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax (Severus, 146–211), replaced the traditional Praetorian Guard with his own Danubian legions and assumed the role of an absolute despot. Severus was a patron of the Sophists, the rhetorical philosophers considered the forerunners of pragmatism. After 202 Philostratus was patronized (or matronized) by Severus's second wife, the Syrian Roman Empress Julia Domna (d. 217).

When Severus died (211), his two young sons by Julia Domna—the "mad" Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus, 188–217) and Publius Septimius Geta (189–212)—became joint emperors. Their fratricidal rivalry led to Geta's assassination by Caracalla in their mother's arms in 212. Julia Domna was deeply traumatized. Caracalla became sole emperor, but in 217 he too was assassinated by a Roman army officer in Parthia, allegedly at the instigation of his successor, Macrinus (Caesar Marcus Opellius Severus Macrinus Augustus, 164–218). Julia

Domna died soon thereafter. Unable to mourn her losses, deeply depressed, she reportedly starved herself to death.

After Julia Domna's tragic death, Philostratus moved to Tyre. He had lost both Julia Domna and Rome. Macrinus concluded an unsatisfactory peace treaty with Parthia, losing the support of his troops to Caracalla's cousin's son, Elagabalus (Varius Avitus Bassianus, 204–22), scion of the hereditary family of the high priests of the sun god Elah-Gabal of Emesa, Syria. Macrinus fled toward Italy but was overtaken by the vengeful Elagabalus, who defeated Macrinus near Antioch (now Antakya, Turkey), captured him, and had him executed (218). At the age of fourteen Elagabalus became emperor as Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antonius Augustus. In 221 his paternal grandmother, Julia Maesa, persuaded the seventeen-year-old Elagabalus to adopt his thirteen-year-old cousin Severus Alexander (208–35), son of her daughter Julia Mamaea (d. 235), as his official son and heir. This was a fatal error. In 222 Elagabalus was murdered by his own Praetorian Guard, probably paid by Julia Maesa and Julia Mamaea. The fourteen-year-old Severus Alexander became emperor. Julia Mamaea was a "Jewish mother." Fusionally attached to her son, she made herself regent, appointed a regency council and the prefect of the Praetorian Guard, dominated him, interfered in his campaigns, and caused his failures. In 235 both Julia Mamaea and her son Severus Alexander were murdered by mutinous Roman soldiers.

Flavius Philostratus wrote his most important works, the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, the *Gymnastikos* and the *Lives of the Sophists*, around 217–18, after losing his two "mothers," his benefactress Julia Domna and *mater aeterna* Rome. Rather than mourn his losses, Philostratus passionately hated the Jews, upon whom he unconsciously projected all that he hated about himself. They were so strange, so very different from the Greeks and Romans, he complained. The Jews were "separated from ourselves by a greater gulf than divides us from Susa or Bactra or the most distant Indies" (*The Life of Apollonius* 5:33). Philostratus's Greco-Roman contemporary, the historian Dion Cassius (Cassius Dio Cocceianus, 150–235), similarly felt that the Jews were "distinguished from the rest of mankind in practically every detail of life." Grant (1978:270) considered Philostratus's statements one indication of how "the incomprehension of the Jewish religion shown by even the most intelligent Greeks remained almost as complete as it had ever been."

Whence came this deep and complete incomprehension of the Jews? Were the Jews really that strange and different from the non-Jews? What was it about *them* that provoked such hostility? What brought about Jew-hatred? For many centuries the "Land of Israel" (Canaan or Palestine) had been treated by the Jews as the "Holy Land." Schürer (1961:308) thought the Jews were "properly and essentially . . . strangers in the pagan world. The restoration of the Jewish commonwealth in the Holy Land was, and continued even to be, a subject of religious hope, which they held by with unconquerable tenacity."

Dion Cassius thought that the Jews were strangers by virtue of their "extreme reverence for one particular god" (Yahweh) but were also different in their habits, clothes, dietary laws, circumcision rites, Sabbath observance, and other features of

their religion. The last major Roman historian, Ammianus Marcellinus (330–95), author of the thirty-one-volume *Rerum gestarum libri* (The books of events), wrote that the Roman Emperor-philosopher Marcus Aurelius (121–80) had found the Jews disgusting, smelly, and rebellious (Grant 1978:265). Yet Marcus Aurelius and his psychotic successor Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus (161–92) passed laws admitting Jews as guardians over non-Jews and to other offices.

During the second and third centuries, the Jews of the Eastern Roman Empire spoke Greek. Aramaic and Hebrew were dead tongues to them. Jews came from all walks of life and generally accepted Roman rule no less than the Greeks. Their revolt against Rome in 66–70, forced upon the Jews by their own Zealots, had earned them the hatred of even intellectual Romans. The Roman historian Tacitus (55–117), author of thirty histories and annals, roundly denounced the Jews in his *Fifth History* (Tacitus, *Histories* 5:1–13). Tacitus propounded all manner of anti-Jewish myths. He attributed to the Jews low birth, despicable origins, national arrogance, hatred of non-Jews, selfishness, and “strangeness.” It would be fascinating to find out what happened in his personal life that Tacitus began to hate the Jews. The Roman satirical poet Juvenal (55–127) also derided the Jews, complaining that some Roman families had “degenerated” into Judaism (*Fourteenth Satire* 11:96).

If an anti-Gentile attitude is a key part of traditional Jewish religion (Jer. 10:25; Micah 5:14), were the Jews as loathsome as Tacitus and Juvenal made them out to be? Was Roman Jew-hatred based on the qualities of the Jews alone? Was there more to Roman xenophobia and Jew-hatred than met the eye? Was it in the eye of the beholder? The hatred of the Jews by the larger ethnic groups around them did not necessarily result from their being “strange,” “different,” or “smelly,” or from their worship of one god. In fact, as their ancestors in Canaan had worshipped Asherah and Baal, the Jews of the Greco-Roman world worshipped Helios and Jupiter along with Yahweh, well into the Byzantine period, as we know from sixth-century Byzantine Jewish synagogue mosaics. Greeks and Jews lived side by side in the cities of the Eastern Roman Empire, such as Alexandria, Caesarea, and Antioch. The tensions between the two groups, which often erupted into violence, pillage, and massacres, resulted from the unconscious processes of externalization and projection (Volkan 1988).

To understand Jew-hatred, we need to analyze the psychological processes underlying ethnocentrism, racism, and xenophobia, all age-old, universal phenomena. The “strange” practices of the Jews, their being different in some ways (though similar in other ways) to the Greeks and Romans, made it possible for the latter to unconsciously externalize and project upon the Jews whatever undesirable or unacceptable qualities or feelings they possessed themselves. Those aspects of the ethnic group self that were split off and barred from awareness were externalized and projected upon the Jews. The Jews were dehumanized, making it emotionally easier for the Greeks and Romans to hate them. Dehumanization of the enemy is a well-known psychological phenomenon (Volkan 1988:119–22).

A child who is repeatedly attacked by an angry, disturbed, and violent parent,

upbraided, yelled at, beaten up, and told that it is "bad" cannot remain emotionally healthy. It will internalize these attitudes and develop a bad self, hate itself, feel that it really is bad, and will act "badly" to confirm its self-image. A minority group consistently derided, persecuted, and hated by the majority is in the same predicament. Its members cannot retain healthy selves. They will internalize the majority's feelings about them and develop a bad group self. They will act "badly" to confirm this self, creating a tragic vicious circle. This "identification with the aggressor" is what happened to the Jews. They became emotionally ill, fearful of non-Jews, unhappy with themselves; they felt inferior, suspicious, and insecure.

Some scholars think Jew-hatred has to do with the father's inner conflict about his son—his fear of his son and his wish to kill him struggling with his love of his son and his wish to keep him. This conflict had given rise to both Judaism and Christianity. Stein (1987:155–56), mixing his lambs with his goats, thought that

each accretion of ritual following ritual, new defense replacing old defense—from human sacrifice of the firstborn male to animal sacrifice, to the abolition of animal sacrifice and the institution of personal pietism, to the self-sacrifice of Jesus on the Cross—was less a theological advance than symptomatic of the fact that the conflict underlying the Akedah had never been sufficiently counteracted by myth or ritual . . . in the psychodynamic sense Judaism never abolished the original sacrifice. The nature of the sacrifice transformed the sacrificial dyad . . . into the relationship between God and the entire people of Israel. Jews, in sadomasochistic identification with both father . . . and son, became the Jewish Paschal lamb who, as scapegoat, takes away the sins of the world. Christianity continued the displacement and dissociation of the sacrifice; Judaism became the religion of a people who remain the sacrifice itself.

Stein believed that by identifying with the aggressor, accepting their assigned role as victims, making martyrdom holy, and adopting a superior anti-Gentile attitude, the Jews themselves unwittingly contributed to this paradoxical vicious circle of survival through persecution, all the way up to the Holocaust of our own times (Stein 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1984, 1987).

The Romans exaggerated when they put the number of Jews they killed during the war of 66–70 at one million, but during the tragic Bar Kochba revolt of 132–35, hundreds of thousands of Jews were massacred by the Roman troops. No Jews were left in Judaea, and none were permitted within sight of Aelia Capitolina, the new Roman city built upon the ruins of Jerusalem. Jews now lived only in the Galilee and in the Diaspora, the Greek name for the Jewish "dispersion" outside Palestine, "among the nations." The term *diaspora* has survived in the Zionist view of the world: all Jews living outside Israel are said to live in the "diaspora" and in "exile." Both terms are anachronistic: the American Jews, for example, do not think of themselves as either "dispersed" or "exiled."

The center of Jewish law and learning moved once again, this time to the village of Usha in the Galilee. When the emperor Hadrian died (138), his successor, Antoninus

Pius (86–161), revoked some of Hadrian's repressive anti-Jewish edicts. The Greco-Roman rulers recognized the Jewish religious leader as *patriarchos* (father-ruler), a term similar to the more ancient one of *ethnarchos* (people-ruler). The Hebrew title of the patriarch was *nasi* (prince or ruler), Bar Kochba's title during the early phase of his revolt. In modern Israeli Hebrew, *nasi* means president.

The most famous among these patriarchs were Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel II, an early orphan who quarreled with the leaders of the Sanhedrin, and his son Rabbi Yehudah haNasi (135–219). The latter not only labored to improve Roman-Jewish relations but also compiled and edited the entire body of the Mishnah, "that vast and marvellous repository of Jewish tradition and faith which set out to teach the oral Law without binding it directly to the text of scripture" (Grant 1978:267). The conflict between the administrative *nasi* and the legislative-judiciary Sanhedrin was a natural power struggle: both vied for the leadership of the Jews. Rabbi Meir, a leader of the Sanhedrin, was Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel II's deputy until they fell out over power and authority. Rabbi Meir, who spoke Greek and Latin as well as Hebrew and Aramaic, became a rabbinical teacher near Tiberias. He was also a *libellarius* (clerk) who copied books in Latin. (The Latin word *libellarius* was corrupted into the Hebrew-Aramaic *lablar*.) Rabbi Meir's wife was the tragic Bruriah, who was deeply traumatized by the Romans, and his teacher was Rabbi Elisha ben Abuyah, who underwent a great emotional crisis, became a "heretic," and was a contemporary and friend of Rabbi Akiba.

23

Jewish Mysticism and Martyrdom

MYSTICISM AS THE LONGING FOR REUNION

In the second and third centuries religious mysticism became a major preoccupation among the Jews. It derived from the powerful longings for redemption, salvation, and rebirth that, in turn, came from the inability to mourn their terrible losses and from the longing for the Great Good Mother. Stein (1978:163) called Jewish mysticism a "desperate escape movement." Mystical activity, moreover, was considered very dangerous. A famous talmudic myth tells of four men who entered the "grove" of mystery: Ben Azzai, Ben Zoma, "another man," and Rabbi Akiba. Ben Azzai peered inside and died. Ben Zoma peered inside and was crippled. Rabbi Akiba came out safely. The "other man" cut down the planted trees (Talmud, order Moed, tractate Hagigah, 14:2).

"The other man" in this story, whose name was too upsetting to be mentioned in the text, was Rabbi Meir's teacher, the great scholar Elisha ben Abuyah, who had undergone a severe emotional crisis and become a heretic. The myth says Elisha sang Greek melodies incessantly, kept heretical books on his lap in the rabbinical academy, dropped them on the floor, and yelled at the students to get up and go to work. He so upset the rabbis that he was excommunicated, yet his pupil Rabbi Meir continued to support him. While the Jewish communities in the Roman and Parthian empires were growing and prospering, there were also continual persecutions of the Jews, who survived either despite such persecutions or, paradoxically, through them (Stein 1978). Like many other Jewish historians, Grayzel (1969:189) believed in "the marvel of Jewish history" and in "the miracle of Jewish survival." He saw Jewish history as "different" from all others:

For a while Palestine continued to hold a central place in Jewish life. Then it became transformed into a dream, a goal, an ideal, while the most important events in Jewish history took place elsewhere, now in one land and now in another. Nevertheless we can speak of the history of the Jewish people. For, although the Jews were no longer a nation, in the sense of a territorial group, they still continued to feel united. That is one of the outstanding marvels in all human history. When Assyria was destroyed, there ceased to be any Assyrians; when Egypt was conquered, there were no longer any Egyptians, except in so far as the people who live in that land are still called by that

name. The Jews, however, still survive, although Judaea was conquered and the Jewish nation destroyed almost nineteen hundred years ago. The reason for this most unusual situation is that the Jewish Idea, or Judaism, was made more important than the Jewish land and Jewish national life.

The distinction between "people" and "nation" is in the eye of the historian (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry 1987). We shall return to this notion of Judaism in dealing with Jewish history and Jewish memory.

Grayzel's view of Jewish history is akin to the Jewish myth of election or group narcissism. The Jewish "people" is believed to have survived intact from antiquity to this very day, while all other peoples are believed to have vanished or perished. The Jews are held to be special and different. But if one holds that the Egyptians have not survived "except insofar as the people who live in that land are still called by that name," because the Greek, Byzantine, Arab, Mamluk, and Ottoman conquests changed the demography of the Egyptian people, then one must also hold that the Jews have not survived "except insofar as the Jews of today are still called by the same name as the Jews of the First Temple period in Judah." The endless migrations, expulsions, peregrinations, and assimilation of the Jews have similarly changed their demography.

There are still people in Syria today who call themselves Assyrians, and the Egyptians of today, although Arabic-speaking, are a racial mixture of the ancient Egyptians with their Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Arab, and Ottoman conquerors. The Jews of today are no more similar to the Jews of the second century than are these Assyrians and Egyptians to their ancient namesakes. The distinction between "nation" and "people" is more semantic than real. Both are psychological "pseudo-species" in the terms of Erikson (1968:41–42, 298–99). If a Jewish "people" has existed for the past eighteen centuries, it is a psychological rather than a physical reality (Stein 1987; Stein and Niederland 1989).

Persecution and Jewish martyrdom increased on both the personal and the national levels. Rabbi Meir was forced to leave the Sanhedrin at Usha in the Galilee after his dispute with Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel II. Jewish myth calls Rabbi Meir's wife Bruriah the epitome of the martyred woman. She was a deeply traumatized woman. Her father Hanina ben Theradion was tortured and burned to death by Hadrian's governor Tineius Rufus among the ten martyrs following Bar Kochba's tragic revolt. Her mother was executed. Her sister was forced into prostitution for the Roman troops. Then Bruriah herself lost her two sons. Jewish mythmaking wove tales of heroism around her figure.

MARTYRDOM AND THE JEWISH SELF

Martyrdom was becoming holy among the Jews. The Hebrew term for martyrdom, *Kiddush haShem*, means sanctification of the name (of God). The term originally denoted the pronunciation of the name YHWH by the Jewish mystic. Later it came to mean holy martyrdom. This tragic idealization of martyrdom was not lost on some

wise men, who sought to discover its roots. Judah haLevi, a medieval Hebrew poet and scholar, bemoaned the fact that Israel had become "the martyr people; it is the 'heart of the nations,' pain and disorder in the great body of mankind." By the time of Judah haLevi, medieval Christians were depicting the Jews as the devil incarnate (Trachtenberg 1983).

Yet it was not only the sick minds of the non-Jews who harbored Jew-hatred. Tragically, the Jews themselves, by identifying with their aggressors, developed a bad self and acted to confirm it. Loewenstein (1951) set down a long litany of unpleasant Jewish character traits that antagonized non-Jews, explaining how these traits evolved out of the Christians' derision and persecution. Erikson (1963:354) asked, "[W]hat seems to make the Jew a favorite target of the most vicious projections—and this by no means only in Germany?" The persecution of the Jews created a tragic vicious circle, in which the Jews internalized the bad qualities attributed to them and provoked further persecution.

SURVIVAL THROUGH PERSECUTION?

La Barre (1972:588) posed the poignant but inevitable question, "What makes Israel martyred? What is there about Jews that accounts for the persistent, hateful and sometimes murderous response to them?" Why did the Jews become such a readily available scapegoat and lightning rod? Such questions seem to us Jews outrageous and anti-Semitic: we tend to ascribe Jew-hatred solely to the unconscious projections and distortions of those who hate the Jews, not to anything real about ourselves. Stein (1978:153) thought that the root cause of the tragic persecution of the Jews was the Jews' own rigid conscience:

[I]t is the specific nature of the Jewish conscience that has made of Jews a persecuted and martyred people not merely at the hands of Christians, but long antedating the Judeo-Christian split—in fact tracing in Semitic history to the mythic covenant between Abraham and Isaac. The structure of this conscience—its expressions in religious and moral absolutism, instinctual renunciation, disembodied intellectualism, and piety that is unabashedly self-righteous—in turn traces to an Oedipal constellation predating formal Mosaic and Priestly Law, indeed one symbolized by the Akedah (covenant) between Abraham, Isaac and God.

Actually, the biblical Hebrew word *akedah* does not mean "covenant." *Akedah* means "binding for sacrifice." The Hebrew word for covenant is *brith*. The covenant in Genesis was between Abraham and Yahweh, not between Abraham and Isaac. It was a psychological solution to the ancient problem of child sacrifice. The father undertook not to kill his firstborn son but to circumcise him instead. This was thought to placate the father god Yahweh who demanded the sacrifice of the son. Yahweh was the product of the projection of the father's own filicidal feelings. Stein's thesis is that the maternal image was formidably repressed in paternalistic and monotheistic Judaism

(cf. Patai 1967). While Lilith, the mythical queen of the demons and consort of Satan, was an externalization of the bad mother, Stein (1978:154) thought that the good mother goddess

appears only as the idealized obverse of the seductive, destructive Lilith—God's loving bride, the Shechinah, personified by the people of Israel. Furthermore, the official covenant with the Father-God is unconsciously designed not only to avert the consequences of Oedipal rebellion, but, at a deeper level, is a bonding of male with male to secure protection against seduction and annihilation by the pagan Mother-Goddess. Yet the price of His protection is likewise death. . . . Persecution is not simply a tragic consequence of being a Jew in a hostile world; rather, it is built into the fabric of the Jewish covenant with history. Victimology [*sic*] or martyrdom is the dominant group fantasy of the Jewish people, a fantasy in which ego-alien and ethos-alien cultural groups come to be delegated and assume the role of persecutor.

Stein's thesis, which can easily be misunderstood, is that the ethnic group fantasy of the Jews had included the idea of martyrdom and the fascination with death as early as the beginnings of the Hebrew people. The obsession with death was expressed in the choice of sacrifice, suffering, martyrdom, persecution, and victimization. Stein was aware that many people could misconstrue his thesis to mean that the Jews were to blame for their own calamities. What he was proposing was the operation in Jewish history of Freud's well-known "repetition compulsion" (Stein 1978:157):

I am not saying that Jews deserve their fate (anti-Semites will find no comfort here), but that they unconsciously seek a fate that has recurrently befallen them. Here the assignment of fault, moral culpability, or blame has no place. . . . This paper explores the possibility that in Jewish history, past and present, "it takes two to tango." Specifically, in order for the victim-role to operate with such synchrony and efficiency with that of the victimizer, that victim-role cannot be merely imposed from without, it must be accepted and internalized.

Were the Jews suffering from a "martyrdom complex"? Were they unconsciously seeking their own destruction? Most Jewish historians are silent on this subject. Patai (1977) had nothing to say about the Jewish fascination with martyrdom. The idea that the Jews may have unwittingly and repeatedly sought the terrible persecution and suffering that repeatedly befell them is most disquieting.

The "collective unconscious" was a notion put forward by Carl Gustav Jung. The terms "group unconscious" and "group self" are related concepts. Stein (1984) believed that the ethnic group-unconscious of the Jews equated victimization with sacrifice and predisposed the Jews to seek—or accept—the role of martyrs: "Jews are historically a martyr-people, those who stand in readiness to be sacrificed to God, but who also hope for his intervention and rescue" (Stein 1984:13). Stein emphasized that the Jewish quest for martyrdom was unconscious, yet, as he had anticipated, his ideas were angrily attacked by many of his readers (Stein 1978:172–73). We shall return to Stein's fascinating yet frightening thesis when dealing with the Holocaust of our own time.

The second century was heavy with Jewish intellectual activity. The compilation of the Mishnah by Rabbi Judah haNasi is said to be the magnum opus and greatest achievement of that time. Its authors are referred to as "sages." The Mishnah was "the sum of traditional lore" (Margolis and Marx 1985:221), "the code of laws" of Judaism (Grayzel 1969:207), "the vast collection of centuries of oral law and tradition" (Potok 1978:229). Next to the Old Testament, the Mishnah became the most important sacred text of the Jews. Its most outstanding quality, psychologically, is its obsessional attention to detail and ritual, on the one hand, and its almost total disregard for chronology, on the other. There was no aspect of human life, from scholarly activity to fecal elimination, which eluded the minute attention of the Jewish sages.

The Mishnah is written in the form of undated statements and disputations of various sages and scholars who lived from the second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. Its scholastic pedantry and its obsessional examination of all sides of every issue betray a repression and an isolation of the unbearable pain of loss among the Jews. Having lost their land, their holy city, their language, their sovereignty, and their Temple, they were now debating how many times daily and on what occasions certain rituals should be performed. Here once more we have the inability to mourn giving rise to compulsive rituals and obsessional disputations.

Rabbi Judah haNasi (c. 135–220) was revered by his contemporaries for his erudition, scholarship, leadership, and religious guidance. He was idealized by his followers, who endowed him with great charisma (Schiffer 1973). He moved the seat of Jewish learning and the Great Sanhedrin to the city of Sepphoris (Tsippori), once again the capital of the Galilee. He served as *nasi* (patriarch) and as president of the Great Sanhedrin for over forty years, dying sometime between 210 and 220 C.E. By the time of his death the Jewish "motherland" was left almost childless, most of the Jews having left "her." The motherland was treated as an actual mother. Here is one historian's psychogeographical fantasy (Grayzel 1969:210):

The Expiring Motherland—No efforts by the Patriarch Judah or his successors could arrest the social and economic forces sapping the strength of the Palestine Jewish community. Like a mother, Palestine had nursed the Jewish people from its infancy. It had seen the Jews grow into a small but mature and influential nation. Even after many of its children had scattered to the four corners of the earth, Palestine continued to provide them with food for their spirit. For their part, the dispersed Jewish communities still looked upon it as the Motherland, heeded its directions and contributed to its institutions. The Palestine [Jewish] community itself was not aware that its day of influence and authority was drawing to a close, that twilight was falling upon the Holy Land and a long and terror-filled night.

The ostensible causes for the decline of Palestine in Jewish affairs were Roman misgovernment, the Roman wars, and Gentile competition. Christianity, with its promise of rebirth, was winning out against both the "pagan" religions and against Judaism. The Jews of Palestine were no longer a significant community, culturally, politically, or otherwise.

REVIVING THE PERSIAN EMPIRE?

In 1971 the tragic Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran (1919–80) threw a royal bash in the Iranian desert to celebrate the twenty-five hundred years of the “uninterrupted” Persian monarchy, dating from the founding of the Achaemenid dynasty by Cambyses II (Kambujia Shah) in 529 B.C.E. But this was a myth, for during those twenty-five hundred years Iran was ruled by Greeks, Parthians, Muslim Arabs, Seljuq Turks, Mongol Khans, and Afghans; the Persian religion changed from Mithraism to Zoroastrianism to Islam; and the Persian language was heavily Arabized. In the third century B.C.E. the Parthian empire had displaced the Persian. Parthia was superficially hellenized, and the names of the Parthian kings were hellenized by Greek-speaking historians.

The Parthian empire, which lasted about five centuries, was engaged in perennial warfare with Rome over Armenia and other territories. Its last king, Ardavan Shah (Artabanus V, r. 213–24), fought his elder brother, Vologases Shah (Vologaeses V, r. 209–13) for the Parthian throne. Ardavan Shah won, but Vologases reigned in Seleucia until 223. In 216 Ardavan Shah fought bloody wars against the Romans. The Roman Emperor Caracalla ravaged Media and desecrated the royal Parthian tombs at Arbela (now Irbil, Iraq). In 217 Ardavan Shah counterattacked. Caracalla was assassinated, and his son Macrinus was defeated at Nisibis (now Nusaybin, Turkey) and forced to sign a peace treaty with heavy indemnities to Parthia.

In 224, during the reign of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius Alexander Severus (222–35), the “Arsacid” Parthian dynasty was displaced by the “Sasanid” Persian dynasty, founded by Ardashir Shah Papakan (Ardashir I, r. 224–41). Ardashir Papakan was the younger son of Babak (Papak), a descendant of Sasan and a vassal prince of Gochihr, the chief petty king of the Parthian Persis province (now Fars in southwestern Iran). Babak had an elder son named Shahpur (Shapur, Shapor, Sapor, or Sabor). Babak wished to make Shahpur his heir. Babak got his younger son Ardashir the military post of *argabad* (governor) in Darabgerd (near Darab, Iran), then murdered Gochihr and took his throne. Babak asked the Parthian king Ardavan IV to allow him to transmit the crown to his eldest son, Shahpur. The Parthian king turned him down, but Shahpur defied the king and succeeded Babak as Shah of Persis.

Ardashir Shah tried to turn back the clock of history and to restore the glories of the ancient Persian empire. The envious Ardashir bitterly fought his brother Shahpur for the crown of Persis. In 208 Ardashir defeated and killed Shahpur and was crowned Ardashir Shah in Persepolis. He suppressed a local revolt in Darabgerd, conquering Kerman (Carmania) province and the coastal Persian Gulf lands. Ardashir made his capital at Gur (The Wild Ass, now Firuzabad, Iran), renaming it Ardashir-Khwarrah (Ardashir’s Glory). It is not clear when Papak (Babak) died, but his son Ardashir became more warlike after his father’s death. In 224 he defeated the Parthian army of Ardavan Shah (Artabanus V), taking Isfahan, Kerman, Elam (Elymais) and Meshan (Mesene, Spasinu Charax, or Characene, now in southern Iraq).

The names of the ancient Persian gods had been corrupted over the centuries.

Ahura Mazda (Avestan for "Wise Lord" or "Sovereign Knowledge") became Hormizd, Ormizd, Ormazd, Hormuzd, Hormuz, Hormoz, and Ormuz; his "brother" Angra Mainyu (Avestan for "Destructive Spirit") became Ahriman. Ardashir Shah of Persis defeated Ardavan Shah of Parthia at a place called Hormizdagan; the name of this unknown site recalls that of the southern Iranian province of Hormozgan; both derive from Hormizd (Hormoz). This was the end of Parthia. Ardashir Shah seized the Parthian capital of Ctesiphon on the Tigris River, reuniting the Persian empire and restoring its old capital at Persepolis (now Takht-e Jamshid in southwestern Iran), the former capital of both Persis province and all Persia.

Ardashir was crowned Shah of Persia and Shahenshah (King of Kings), "reviving" the "dead" mother, the Persian empire. He established the Persian cult of Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), which had been founded in the sixth century B.C.E., as the state religion of his Sasanian "Neo-Persian" empire. Ardashir Shah went on to capture Mesopotamia (Iraq), Armenia, and Cappadocia from Rome. The lands on both sides of the Euphrates River returned to Persian control, provoking Rome into war. In 232 the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus made war on Ardashir Shah and celebrated a triumph in Rome. Yet Ardashir conquered Armenia from Rome and established Persian power firmly for the next four centuries, until the Muslim Arab conquest in 636–42.

In 235 Alexander Severus and his mother were murdered in a mutiny on the Rhine by supporters of Maximin (Caius Julius Verus Maximinus, d. 238), a "rough" Thracian soldier who was proclaimed emperor in Moguntiacum (now Mainz), capital of the Roman province of Germania Superior. The "barbaric" Celts had been migrating and expanding all over central and western Europe. Moguntiacum was named after the Celtic god Mogo (Mogun); it later became known as Magenza, Mayence, and Mainz. Maximin reigned for three years (235–38), being assassinated in his turn during the war against the old senator Gordian (Marcus Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus Africanus, 157–238). The old Gordian became emperor, but killed himself three weeks later upon learning that his namesake son, heir, and coruler had been killed in battle with King Capellianus of Numidia.

The years 235–85 were marked by great instability and a rapid succession of emperors in Rome, most of whom were murdered after a short time in office. The Sasanian Neo-Persian empire, meanwhile, continued to grow and prosper. Rome and Persia fought many wars. Ardashir Shah Papakan died in 241, being succeeded by his son Shahpur Shah (Shapur, Sapor, or Sabor I, d. 272). Shahpur Shah, who bore the name of his father's brother, whom his father had killed, further promoted the Persian religion of Zarathushtra but was more tolerant of other faiths, including the Jewish one. It was during Shahpur's reign that the famous Jewish synagogue of Dura Europus on the Euphrates was built (245 C.E.).

Shahpur Shah's grandiose self was not content with the title of Shahenshah: he styled himself "Shahenshah eran ud aneran" (King of Kings of Iran and Non-Iran). This title was retained by his Sasanian successors. The priests of Zarathushtra, the magi, worshipped the God of Light, whom they called by the Avestan name of Ahura

Mazda (Wise Lord, or Sovereign Knowledge). On the other hand the Zoroastrians believed in the evil spirits or gods of darkness, whom they called *daevas* (*divs*), and whose king was Ahriman. This was the result of the unconscious psychological processes of splitting, projection, and externalization. The cult of Zarathushtra laid great emphasis on compulsive purification rituals. These were performed primarily by fire, which gave rise to the erroneous notion of Zoroastrianism as a fire cult. Jewish historians like to tell us that the Persian "fire worshippers" persecuted the Jews and stole their lamps, candles, and embers. This is an oversimplification.

From 235 to 285 there was continual warfare between the Roman and Neo-Persian empires. The Jews of each empire were expected to support their respective rulers. This placed them in a bind, especially when they were suffering under the yoke of precisely these rulers. In 242 Shahpur Shah was defeated by the young Roman Emperor Gordian III (225–44), but the next Roman Emperor, Philip the Arabian (r. 244–49), concluded a peace treaty with Persia, which left Armenia and Mesopotamia under Persian rule. At the same time in Persia the prophet Mani (Manes) was preaching his new religion, later known as Manichaeism.

In 260 the declining Roman Empire suffered a military disaster in "Asia." Shahpur Shah of Persia defeated the Roman Emperor Valerian (Publius Licinius Valerianus, r. 253–60) at Edessa (now Urfa, Turkey), capturing Antioch in Syria and Cappadocia in Anatolia from the Romans. Their Greco-Roman Jews, loyal to Rome, rose up against Persia and were massacred for their pains. Some historians thought that the Jews supported Persia. Ben-Sasson (1976:348) believed that the Cappadocian Jews had risen up against Persia in 252/53 and that there was "nothing to show that the Jews—who in earlier times had set their hopes on the Persian wars and supported the [Persian] invaders and later were to do so again—actually joined the Persian side in the third century. On the contrary, the Jews of Mezigath-Kaysari in Cappadocia put up a strong resistance when Shapur captured the town in 252/3, and 12,000 of them were put to the sword." Ben-Sasson's "Mezigath-Kaysari" may be a corruption of "medinath Kayseri" (the city of Caesar), also known as Caesarea Cappadociae, Mazaca, and Eusebia, now the Turkish city of Kayseri.

The figure of twelve thousand Jews killed is exaggerated. The actual number may have been much lower. Ben-Sasson (1976:348) believed that the Jews' anti-Persian attitude "may be explained by the fact that the rise of the Sasanids was accompanied by a Persian religious and national revival that, at least at first, led to the persecution of other religions, including the Jews of Babylonia, whose position deteriorated under Ardashir and at the beginning of Ahabor's [*sic*] rule." I know of no king named "Ahabor." Perhaps this was a misprint for Shabor (Shahpur). Ardashir Shah Papakan (r. 224–41) was followed by Shahpur Shah, Hormizd Shah, and Bahram Shah. Ben-Sasson (1976:348) further explained that "this intolerance on the part of the Persian kings made the Jews of the third century reluctant to cooperate with them, all the more so as the Persian methods of warfare were characterized by widespread destruction and looting." Shahpur Shah took Emperor Valerian captive, humiliating him publicly. This was the lowest point in Roman imperial history. The traumatized Valerian

died in Persian captivity, being succeeded by his son and coregent, Gallienus (Publius Licinius Valerianus Egnatius, r. 260–68). In an oedipal victory, the victorious Gallienus had overthrown the “censorial severity” of his domineering father (Gibbon 1960:105).

The Syrian desert oasis of Palmyra (Tadmor, Tadmur, or Tudmur), a former Roman *civitas libera* (free city), was now a Roman colony with a mixed Aramaean, Arab, Jewish, and Persian population. In 260, on his way home from Antioch, the victorious Shapur Shah was dealt a severe setback by Septimius Odaenathus (Odainath or Udenath, d. 267/68), the Aramaean ruler of Palmyra and governor of the Roman province of Syria Phoenice. The chief Jewish cities in “Babylonia” were Sura, Pumbeditha, Nehardea, and Mahoza. In 261 Odaenathus laid waste the Persian Jewish city of Nehardea on the Euphrates, a center of “Babylonian” Jewish learning, and put down an insurrection against Emperor Gallienus by a usurper named Quietus at Emesa (now Homs or Hims, Syria). The grateful Gallienus made Odaenathus *corrector totius Orientis* (governor of all the East). The Persian Jews, who were still calling themselves “Babylonians” in a kind of psychogeographical fantasy, and the Jews of Palestine cursed Odaenathus. In 260–61 Gallienus pushed the Persians out of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, pursuing them all the way to their western capital of Ctesiphon on the Tigris, which he threatened.

In 262 Odaenathus of Palmyra drove the Persians out of Mesopotamia and Osroëne, and may even have brought Armenia back into the Roman Empire. The grandiose Odaenathus styled himself King of Palmyra, and later King of Kings. Odaenathus ruled his expanded kingdom of Palmyra, which comprised Syria, north-western Mesopotamia and western Armenia, until his death in 267/68. He and his eldest son Herodes were murdered while they prepared to drive the Gothic invaders out of Roman Cappadocia. Another son, Wahballat (Vaballatus), succeeded as king, with his mother, the ambitious widow queen Septimia Zenobia (Zenobia bat Zabbai), as regent. For three years Zenobia made Palmyra an independent kingdom, but it was recaptured by the Romans under Emperor Aurelian in 272. In 274 Aurelian celebrated a triumph in Rome with Zenobia and her two other sons in tow. Zenobia married a Roman senator and lived in his Roman villa till her death.

Shapur Shah of Persia ruled a vast Asian empire comprising all or part of what are now Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Afghanistan, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Pakistan, and India. He died in 272, ushering in an era of instability in Persia similar to that which was besetting Rome. Based on the medieval Muslim Arab historian Abu Jaafar Muhammad ibn Jarir at-Tabari (839–923), Nöldeke (1879) believed that from 272 to 309 there was a succession of six kings in Persepolis: Hormizd Shah, Bahram Shah (Bahram I), Bahram Shah (Bahram II), Bahram Shah (Bahram III), Narseh Shah (Narses), and Hormizd Shah (Hormizd II). The Romans once more attacked Persia, and in 298 the Roman Emperor Diocletian (r. 285–305) succeeded in recapturing Armenia and part of northern Mesopotamia from the Persians. The “Babylonian” Jews assisted their Persian rulers and were given a great deal of autonomy in running their own affairs.

The “Babylonian” Jewish community organized itself politically and religiously.

Even though these Jews had been under Parthian and Persian rule, and Babylonia had long ceased to exist as a geopolitical entity, they still called themselves "Babylonians." Was this a sign of their inability to mourn their losses? Curiously enough, even contemporary Israeli Jews from Iraq call themselves "the Babylonian community in Israel" rather than the Iraqi community. This may have to do with their wish to deny their Arabness during a long period in which being an Arab was equated with being the hated enemy, and when European Jews in Israel haughtily looked down upon Arabs and Arab Jews. During the third and fourth centuries a new generation of scholars arose among the Palestinian Jews whose work was done primarily in the Aramaic language. These were the interpreters of the Mishnah, and they were therefore known as *amoraim*, the Aramaic word for interpreters. Their scholarly work consisted in minute annotation and interpretation of the Mishnaic Hebrew writings. It was an obsessional type of endeavor.

The "Jerusalem" (Palestinian) Talmud, not a word of which was written in Jerusalem, is the collection of these sages' scholarly efforts. Like its "Babylonian" counterpart, it is a monument to obsessional thinking. The minute attention to detail allayed the anxiety of the scholars and made it unnecessary for them to grapple with the pain of Jewish life as a defeated, subdued and oppressed minority in their own land. Its very title bespoke the inability to mourn. Jerusalem had ceased to exist as a geopolitical entity since Hadrian built Aelia Capitolina in 135.

There were other Jewish sages whose scholarly preoccupation was the Aggadah, a Hebrew word meaning "myth" or "legend." They devoted great intellectual and emotional energies to disputations with Christians, with Gnostics, with "pagans," and with other religious sects. The Messianics or Christian Jews were a special target for the ire of these scholars. The Christians had their religious center at Aelia Capitolina, at the former site of Jerusalem, which had been closed to the Jews. Most of them were of Greek origin, the rest of Jewish origin.

The Pool of Bethesda, now at the Church of Saint Anne of the White Fathers of Algeria, in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, attracted the lame and the sick, who believed in its healing powers. The manger of the nativity in Bethlehem became another Christian center, and Caesarea Maritima became the seat of the bishops of Palestine in the third century. The famous church father Origen (185–254) came to Caesarea from Alexandria. The church father Eusebius (263–339) composed his history of the Church and his *Praeparatio Evangelica* in Caesarea Maritima.

One of the ironies of the hallowed Jewish "martyrdom" is that the Christians not only rivaled but even surpassed the Jews in this field. Following the crucifixion of Jesus and of many of his followers during the first part of the first century, the Greco-Jewish Palestinian city of Neapolis (Samaria, Shomron, or Shechem, now Nablus) became a center of the new Messianic or Christian religion. The New Testament Evangelists were active at the end of the first century. In the second century, following the example of Plato's *Apology*, an autobiographical essay attributed to Socrates in which he defended himself against the charges of his accusers, the Christian philosophers wrote

apologies defending Christianity and attacking Greco-Roman culture. Some of these apologists became martyrs.

After the tragic Bar Kochba rebellion of 132–35, the Christian apologist Justin Martyr (c. 100–165) became prominent in the Roman Empire. Born of “pagan” Neapolitan Greek parents, he studied philosophy, and in his early thirties underwent a personal crisis at Ephesos (near modern Selçuk in Izmir province, Turkey), during which he converted to Christianity. Justin opened a school of Christian philosophy in Rome. He and his disciples were persecuted by the “pagan” emperors Antoninus Pius (r. 138–61) and Marcus Aurelius (r. 161–80). After debating publicly with the Greek Cynic philosopher Crescens, Justin was denounced to the Roman prefect, arrested, tried, condemned, and executed by Marcus Aurelius. Justin wrote two Greek apologies addressed to the Roman Emperors defending his religion and a dialogue with the Jew Tryphon in which he misquoted from the Hebrew Bible.

The second-century “pagan” Roman philosopher Celsus was an active and aggressive antagonist of the Christians. He wrote a “true discourse” to prove them wrong and supported their persecution by his emperors. His third-century adversary was the Christian Greek theologian Origen, who, persecuted by Emperor Maximinus, wrote an *Exhortation to Martyrdom* and responded to Celsus in his *Contra Celsum*. During the third century Caesarea Maritima became an important Christian center. Jews and Christians continued to be persecuted and often martyred. If the Jews had an unconscious longing for martyrdom, so did the early Christians. The animosity between Jews and Christians was tinged with fraternal rivalry. During the fourth century Christianity became a state religion of the Roman Empire and the empire itself was split up between Italy in the West and Byzantium in the East. Judaism remained the religion of a persecuted minority.

One of the psychological responses of the Jews to this great defeat was to mythologize Judaism as the “mother” of Christianity (Mamlak 1987). This view gave Judaism credit for the great success of Christianity and lessened the pain of persecution, martyrdom, and loss.

JEWISH HISTORY AND JEWISH MEMORY

The above heading is the subtitle of a book by Yerushalmi (1982) that deals with how the Jews have distorted their perception of their own history. Yerushalmi pointed out that Flavius Josephus, the great Jewish historian of the calamitous Jewish war against the Romans, was the last Jew to write a truly chronological Jewish history for the next fifteen centuries. After the destruction of the Second Temple, the Jews were unable to come to terms with their terrible losses. *They began to live in the past rather than in the present, in fantasy rather than in reality.* Let us look at some of the reasons for this amazing phenomenon.

The fourth century saw political and religious revolutions in Rome. The Romans

had divided their world into "West" and "East." Their empire was divided in the late fourth century (395). The division had begun in the late third century (286) by the emperor Diocletian (245–305), seeking to restore efficient government to Rome after the anarchy of the third century. Diocletian became emperor in 284 after the death of his predecessor, Numerianus (Numerian). Diocletian at once killed Aper, the Praetorian prefect, whom he falsely accused of Numerian's murder. Diocletian had been told by a seer that he would become emperor on the day he killed a boar (*aper*). In 285, Numerian's brother and coemperor, Carinus, was murdered by mutinous soldiers during a battle at the confluence of the Margus and Danube Rivers, and Diocletian became sole emperor.

Lacking a son and heir, the desperate Diocletian repudiated the traditional Roman principle of hereditary emperorship and devised an amazing tetrarchial system of power-sharing among four rulers: two older *augusti*, Diocletian and Maximianus (Maximian), who made the major decisions, and two younger caesars, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus (the Pale), who held executive authority. Diocletian adopted Galerius as his son; Maximian adopted Constantius Chlorus. Galerius married Diocletian's daughter Valeria; Constantius Chlorus repudiated his wife Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, to marry Maximian's stepdaughter Theodora. Diocletian declared his descent from the Roman god Jovis (Jupiter), forming the Jovii dynasty together with Galerius, while Maximian and Constantius were proclaimed descendants of Hercules, forming the Herculii dynasty.

When the Roman Empire was divided into a western empire (Italy) and an eastern empire (Byzantium), Christianity became the religion of both. The Jews suffered increasing persecution, discrimination, and massacres under the Roman Emperors. So, at first, did the Christians. In 303–4 the tempestuous Diocletian ended his reign with great massacres of the Christians. In 305 Diocletian abdicated, forcing the other *augustus*, Maximian, to abdicate as well, and making the two caesars, Galerius and Constantius, *augusti* in their place. This led to deep rivalry between the two *augusti* and finally to actual war between them.

In 306 Constantius Augustus, father of Constantine the Great, died at Eboracum (now York, England). Constantine, an able general, was proclaimed *augustus* by the Roman army. Thanks to Diocletian's irrational tetrarchial system, by 307–8 there were no less than seven Romans with the title of *augustus*: Maximian (Maximianus), Galerius, Constantine the Great (Flavius Valerius Constantinus, 280–337), Maxentius, Maximinus Daia, Licinius, and Domitius Alexander. In 310 Maximian was killed by Constantine, his son-in-law. In 311 Domitius Alexander was slain by a henchman of Maxentius, and Galerius died of illness. This left four *augusti*: Constantine and Maxentius in the West; Licinius and Maximinus Daia in the East.

In 312–24 Constantine the Great fought and defeated all his surviving rivals for control of the Roman Empire. Christian myth propagated by Eusebius had Constantine win the Battle of Saxa Rubra under the sign of the cross and told of Constantine's vision of a cross in the sky accompanied with the words *in hoc signo vinces* (in this sign you shall win). In 323 Constantine made Christianity one of the legitimate reli-

gions of his empire. Christian myth had Constantine make Christianity the only legitimate religion of the empire, the state religion. The ancient city of Byzantium, on the west side of the Bosphorus, had been founded in the seventh century B.C.E. by the Megarians and Argives. It was destroyed by Septimius Severus in 196 C.E. In 324 Constantine founded the new city of Constantinopolis (Constantinople, now Istanbul, Turkey), on the site of the ancient Byzantium. It was dedicated in 330 and became the capital of the Roman Empire of the East, later the Byzantine empire.

After the conquest of the Parthian empire by Ardashir Shah Papakan in the third century, the adoption of Christianity as the state religion of the Roman Empire under Constantius Caesar's son, Constantine the Great, and the division of this Christian Roman Empire into its western and eastern parts in the early fourth century, the Jews were divided into three main groupings. Those living in the Western Roman Empire of Italy, which comprised much of Western Europe, spoke mainly Latin, the *lingua franca* of the West, and the native European languages of the ethnic groups amongst whom they lived. The Jews of the Eastern Roman Empire of Byzantium, with its capital at Constantinople, spoke mainly Greek, the language of the East. The Jews living in the Sasanian Neo-Persian empire east of the Euphrates spoke mainly Aramaic, the dominant language of the people there. The Land of Israel, now called Palestine, was part of the Byzantine empire, and its language remained Greek. Hebrew continued to be spoken by Jewish scholars and by the people in their prayers.

The religion of the Byzantine empire was Christian, and it vigorously persecuted the Jews with numerous discriminatory laws. The Jews were a victimized minority among the ruling Christians. Christianity viewed the Jews as the epitome of evil. Heer (1970:36) thought that "to the church fathers and other ecclesiastical authors of the fourth century, the Jew was not a human being but a monster, a theological abstraction, a being of superhuman cunning and malice, yet at the same time struck with superhuman blindness." Ebel (1986:70) outlined the religious credo of the fourth-century Christians:

- (1) Christians and Jews are dialectically opposed. (2) This opposition is based on the fact that the ancestors of present-day Jews rejected the Messiah sent them by God [Jesus Christ] and that they have perpetuated that rejection in each succeeding generation. (3) The fact that Jews did this and continue to do this strongly suggests that they are in league with, or possessed by, the Devil himself, author of all human iniquity. (4) Confronted by an accursed race whose group mission is to deny the most obvious and urgent of all truths, Christians labor under a powerful temptation to annihilate those whose purpose in life is to defame God's purpose and reduce to chaos his intended unanimity. (5) Nevertheless, the resort to murder is officially prohibited because it appropriates to human beings a mission that can only be achieved by God: the elimination from his universe of a poisonous blot and an unspeakable contradiction.

Curiously, Ebel left out the most important credo: the Christians fervently believed that the Jews had killed their Messiah, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, and that his blood was upon them and upon their children. As Ebel (1987) himself pointed out,

blood was a major preoccupation of ancient religions. The horror of one's mother's menstrual blood led not only to the segregation of menstruating women but also to the ritual drinking of human blood. Now the Jews were viewed by the Christians as bloodthirsty. As the New Testament has it:

Pilate saith unto them, What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ? They all say unto him, Let him be crucified. And the governor said, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more, saying, Let him be crucified. When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it. Then answered all the people, and said, His blood be on us, and on our children. (Matt. 27:22–26)

This key emotional belief had much to do with the Christian persecution of the Jews. The unbearable parricidal, filicidal, bloodthirsty, and other bad feelings of the Christians were unconsciously projected upon the Jews. The issue of blood thirst was to play a key role in the medieval ritual-blood libel, in which Jews were accused of killing Christian children and drinking their blood or using it to bake their Passover bread. The Christians, who believed they symbolically drank the blood of their savior in the form of the Eucharist wine, believed the Jews actually drank their children's blood and stole the *hostia mirifica*.

The official persecution of the Jews by the Byzantine emperors from the fourth to the early seventh century followed naturally from this scenario. The line of Jewish patriarchs in Palestine was allowed to continue until 425, when the last *nasi*, Rabban Gamaliel IV, died heirless; in 429 the Byzantine emperor Theodosius (Theodosius II, 401–50) abolished the Jewish patriarchate. The two centuries from 226 to 425 ushered in a progressive decline in the fortunes of the Jews throughout the Byzantine empire. During those two centuries the Palestinian Talmud, also known as the "Jerusalem" Talmud, was compiled.

THE JEWISH DENIAL OF HISTORY

Patai (1976), Yerushalmi (1982), and Roskies (1984) pointed out the astonishing denial of reality with which the Jews reacted to their calamitous history. The first scholar to point out the amazing anachronism and ahistoricity of rabbinical Jewish literature was Patai (1976), who astutely observed that

the Jews have had less interest in their own history (with the exception of the biblical period, of which more later) than many another people has had in its past. . . . Compared to his familiarity with biblical history, the Jew's knowledge of post-biblical Jewish history was minimal . . . the works of only one Jewish historian, Josephus Flavius, have survived from antiquity; and even they escaped oblivion only because of Christian interest in them. From Josephus to the *Shevet Y'huda* of the ibn-Vergas, for about a millennium and a half, during which the Jews had a phenomenal output of religious

and secular literature, they produced not a single historian. This absence of Jewish historiography expressed not just a lack of interest in history but a denial of all value to its study. (Patai 1977:29–30)

The Ibn Vergas (sons of Verga) referred to by Patai were three generations of Spanish Jewish scholars who wrote and published a history of the persecutions of the Jews. The first, Yehudah ibn Verga, lived in Seville during the fifteenth century. He saw the end of the great wars between Christians and Muslims, but most probably did not write the *Shevet Yehudah* that was ascribed to him. It was his son, Solomon ibn Verga (1450–1525), born in Malaga, who probably wrote the book. In 1492 the Spanish Christians took over Spain from the Muslims and expelled all the Jews who refused to convert to their faith.

Solomon ibn Verga became a Marrano, the derogatory Spanish term for a Jew who was forcibly converted to Christianity by the Spanish Inquisition but secretly kept his Jewish faith. He subsequently fled to Portugal, but after 1497, when that country also expelled all its Jews who refused to convert to Christianity, Solomon ibn Verga fled to Italy. He may have wound up in Ottoman Turkey. In 1506 Solomon ibn Verga wrote his Hebrew book *Shevet Yehudah* in Rome. The title means “The Tribe of Judah,” “The Scepter of Judah” or “The Scourge of Judah,” and it dealt with the persecution of the Jews by the Christians. Ibn Verga was unable to publish his book in the heart of the Catholic world. Solomon ibn Verga died with his great book unpublished. The grandson, Joseph ibn Verga, finally published the family book fifty years later, after his father’s death, in 1554, in the Ottoman city of Edirne (Adrianople). The book became very popular with the Jews, going through seventeen editions between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. According to Johnson (1987:233)

[T]his essay has some claim to be called the first work of Jewish history since Josephus’ *Antiquities* 1,400 years before, for Ibn Verga describes no less than sixty-four persecutions of Jews. In writing it he signalled the first sign, albeit a faint one, of a return of Jewish historical self-consciousness.

Yerushalmi (1982:68–69) pointed out that the *Shevet Yehuda* was not taken very seriously by the Jews. It was considered an entertaining read. This first serious chronological Jewish historiography in fifteen centuries, which chronicled the persecutions of the Jews in their historical order, was read by the Jews as an amusing parable, which reinforced their belief in their upcoming salvation by the Messiah. The Jews subsumed all of their persecutions under the same inevitable pattern. There was nothing new under the sun. Patai, for all his astuteness, did not draw the inevitable psychological conclusions from his own observations. He retreated from his own insights and denied the Jews’ denial of their own history, arguing that there was “nothing surprising in this lack of historical interest among the Jews . . . ignorance of their own history and at best a lukewarm interest in it were characteristic of all the peoples among whom the Jews lived” (Patai 1977:31). Patai offered no evidence for this astonishing statement. Contrary to Patai’s statement, Ibn Verga himself believed that

the Christians did "seek to know the things that happened of old in order to take counsel from them" (Yerushalmi 1982:34).

Patai distinguished "external history," the great events of the people and their leaders, from "inner history," that of the people's greatest ideas, insights, attitudes, and values. He believed that Jewish ethnohistory emphasized inner history, while "Gentile" ethnohistory focused on external history. But this intellectual hairsplitting was hardly an adequate psychological explanation for the Jews' denial of history. Yerushalmi (1982:16–17) poignantly inquired how it came about that, while the Jews in pre-Christian times had been writing history of the most detailed and concrete kind, their rabbis at the end of the first century sealed their biblical canon, treated it as sacred history, and ceased writing Jewish chronological history altogether:

To many, therefore, it has seemed all the more remarkable that after the close of the biblical canon the Jews virtually stopped writing history. Josephus Flavius marks the watershed . . . within Jewry the future belonged to the rabbis, not to Josephus. Not only did his works not survive among the Jews, it would be almost fifteen centuries before another Jew would actually call himself an historian. It is as though, abruptly, the impulse to historiography had ceased. . . . It is the historian within all of us that balks. Unlike the biblical writers the rabbis seem to play with Time as though with an accordion, expanding and collapsing it at will. Where historical specificity is a hallmark of the biblical narratives, here that acute biblical sense of time and place often gives way to rampant and seemingly unselfconscious anachronism.

Indeed, the Mishnah, and especially the Talmud, is not notoriously achronological. The history of the talmudic period cannot be reconstructed from the talmudic text. The stories of the Talmud do not mention the exact time of each event, and often leave out the place as well. Roskies (1984:34–37) thought that the rabbis "imploded, telescoped and mythologized the events of history" to fit new calamities into old patterns. To avoid the pain of the unpredictable present, it was interpreted in terms of the well-known past. The talmudic narrative is strikingly devoid of specific allusions to time. This is a prime example of the Jewish denial of history and of the Jewish refusal to mourn.

24

Living in the Past

How did the ahistorical posture of the Jews detected by Patai (1976), Yerushalmi (1982), and Roskies (1984) defend them against the pain of their losses? Why did they regard time as an enemy? Why did they fight and deny their own history? The historians could not explain this riddle. Schiffer (1978) saw the traumatic aspect of the passage of time, beginning in our early infancy. Time is unconsciously associated with our most painful life experiences. The loss of the intrauterine paradise through birth, the separation from the fusion with our mother in our infancy, and all subsequent losses and injuries are experienced as the passage of time. Our aging and ultimate death are also symbolized by time. As for the Jewish denial of history, Ebel (1986:80–81) thought that

the overwhelming fact is one for which Yerushalmi, for all his brilliance, never offers an adequate explanation. Those whose ancestors invented a historiography incorporating an accurate sense of the “flow” of events and the “shape” of other cultures . . . were psychologically unable, after the first century . . . to produce an integrated and detailed account of their own history and its relation to the history of surrounding cultures.

Yerushalmi (1982:36) had offered the explanation that it was psychologically easier for the Jews to interpret new events within old conceptual frameworks, “for even the most terrible events are somewhat less terrifying when viewed within old patterns.” Stein (1987:53), referring to the liturgy of the Haggadah, the Jewish text of the Passover seder ritual, similarly wrote:

A common feature of the geotemporal landscape of culture is changelessness if not immutability at the core in the face of considerable change at the surface. . . . Jews are liturgically admonished to act as though they had just been redeemed from slavery in Pharaonic Egypt—this despite the fact that the historical liberation occurred over three millennia ago. The group mythology of historical memory exerts a profound influence upon the perception of group space.

The Jews’ denial of their own history was an unconscious defensive process designed to ward off the pain of their losses.

Fifteen centuries after Josephus, a landmark history of the Jews was published. The Italian Jewish physician-scholar Bonaiuto de’ Rossi (Azariah min haAdumim,

1513–78) was the greatest Jewish historian of the sixteenth century. Following a prevailing practice among the bicultural Renaissance Jews, Rossi translated his first name of Bonaiuto (Good Help) into the Hebrew name of Azariah (Yahweh is My Help), and his last name of de' Rossi (of the Red Ones) into the equivalent Hebrew name of min haAdumim. He is better known by his hybrid Italian-Hebrew name of Azariah de' Rossi. In 1574 Rossi published a revolutionary and critical Hebrew-language Jewish history entitled *Meor Einayim* (Eyesight, Light for the eyes, Enlightenment, or Eye-opener). Rossi was born in Mantova (Mantua) and lived in Bologna, but was forced to leave it in 1569, when Pope Pius V expelled the Jews from his papal states. Rossi moved to Ferrara, but was traumatized by the great earthquake of 1570/71, which killed masses of Ferraris. His aim was to enlighten his fellow Jews and to open their eyes to their own history by using classical Jewish and Christian texts in Greek and Latin to rewrite Jewish history from his Jewish point of view. Rossi was denounced by the rabbis and his book banned throughout the Jewish world (Roth 1959:318–327). He died four years later.

Why did Rossi's innovative, enlightening, and edifying work arouse such violent opposition among his fellow Jews? Yerushalmi (1982:72) offered this explanation:

I would suggest that the answer lies, not in the fact of Azariah's criticism, but in its source, method and conclusions. Philosophic and kabbalistic critiques and interpretations of aggadah possessed an age-old legitimacy, although, to be sure, there still remained Jews in Azariah's time who would not accept even these. The essential innovation in Azariah's approach lay in his attempt to evaluate rabbinic legends, not within the framework of philosophy or Kabbalah, each a source of truth for its partisans, but by the use of profane history, which few, if any, would accept as truth by which the words of the sages might be judged. Worse than that, Azariah ventured to employ non-Jewish historical sources for this purpose, drawn from Greek, Roman, and Christian writers. Above all, he did not flinch from the conclusions that emerged out of the comparison, even when these affected so sensitive an area as calendar computation.

The calendar used by the Jews was the ancient "Hebrew" lunar one. By their reckoning, the world was created in 3760 B.C.E. The Jews continued to use these "Hebrew" dates, rather than the "Christian" ones, throughout the Middle Ages and the modern period. Modern Israel still uses them, along with the "general" date. The Jews thus lived in a totally different time reference scale than the rest of the world. Ebel (1986:81) believed that Azariah had "burst the hermetically sealed bubble that served to disconnect the Jewish perception of historical and contemporary reality from that maintained by the surrounding Christian populations." The Jews did not want their protective bubble burst and their anxiety and pain augmented.

JEW-HATRED INSTITUTIONALIZED

The fourth-century Jews had to adapt to a painful reality. They were discriminated against, persecuted, and killed. Christian Rome was the worst offender. The Fathers

of the Church hated the Jews passionately. They believed that the Jews had refused to accept their True Messiah, Jesus Christ, and had crucified him. The Christians persecuted their "heretics" as mercilessly as they themselves had been persecuted by the "pagan" rulers. In the early fourth century the ascetic Alexandrian priest Arius (250–336) propounded a "heresy" affirming the created and finite nature of Christ rather than his divine, infinite nature. Nicaea (now Iznik in northwestern Turkey), whose name derives from the Greek word for victory, was founded in the fourth century B.C.E. by Antigonos Monophthalmos of Macedonia. In 325 the Council of Nicaea was convened to lay down the principles of Christianity and to denounce the "Arian heresy." The church father Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea (c. 260–340) minced no words in denouncing the Jews for their terrible crime of having crucified Jesus Christ. Jew-hatred was made part of official Christianity at the Council of Nicaea.

Under the Roman Emperor Constantius Augustus (Constantius II, 317–361), who killed all his brothers to become sole emperor, the Jew-hatred of the Christian Church became more extreme. Jews could not marry Christian women on pain of death. They also could not buy Christian slaves, who were forbidden to convert to Judaism. Anti-Jewish laws proliferated. Constantius Augustus fought Shahpur Shah of Persia (Shapur II, r. 309–79) over Mesopotamia. In 350–51 Constantius and his young cousin, brother-in-law, and ally, Gallus Caesar (Flavius Claudius Constantius, 325/26–54), ruler of the Roman East, persecuted the Palestinian Jews. Gallus had a strict and isolated childhood. He was stern, tactless, ruthless, and paranoid. Gallus instituted a widespread espionage system among his subjects, executing many he suspected of treason. The suffering people of Isauria, Galatia (now south central Turkey), and other provinces rebelled against Gallus. In 351 the Galilean Jews rebelled under a man named Patricius in the chief city of DioCaesarea (Sepphoris). This led to a wholesale massacre of the Galilean Jews ordered by Gallus Caesar and carried out by his general Uriscinnus (352). In 354 Constantius recalled Gallus to Rome and had him executed.

Obsessional activity can ward off emotional pain. While his fellow Jews were being massacred, the patriarch Hillel Nasi (Hillel II, 320–65) was busy fixing the lunar Hebrew calendar and adjusting it to the solar Roman calendar by adding an extra month every two or three years to the Hebrew year. In 359 he published his mathematical system for this adjustment. From 361 to 363 there was some relief for the Jews under Emperor Julian the Apostate (Flavius Claudius Julianus, r. 331–63), the "pagan" Roman Emperor. Julian fought Christianity and sympathized with the Jews, who called him Julian the Hellene. In 362 Julian the Apostate composed a Greek epistle to the Jews in Antioch that called Hillel II his brother, abolished the Jewish tax, restored the civil rights of the Jews of his empire, and announced his intention of restoring the holy city of Hierosolyma (Jerusalem) to the Jews when he returned victorious from his war against Persia. Julian's grand pronouncements led to nothing. Julian had seized the Persian cities of Ctesiphon and Mahoza, which had a large Jewish population, when he was killed by one of his own Christian soldiers at Ctesiphon. The "Babylonian" Jews were jubilant at the fall of the Romans, whom they strikingly called the "Edomites."

From 363 to 378 the orthodox Christian Church was too busy fighting the Arian heresy, which threatened its very survival, to pay attention to the Jews. In 379 Theodosius the Great, (Flavius Theodosius, 347–95) became Roman Emperor of the East. The following year (380) he was baptized a Christian. In 381 Theodosius convened the Second Council of Constantinople to establish church dogma and reaffirm the creed of the Council of Nicaea (325). Theodosius embraced orthodox Christianity and outlawed paganism and the Arian “heresy.” The church fathers lumped the Arian “heretics” with the Jewish ones and enacted anti-Jewish laws. The Fathers of the Church especially hated the Jews. One of them, Saint Ambrose of Milan (Ambrosius of Mediolanum, 340–97), went so far as to fight the emperor over the Jewish issue.

For centuries the “barbarian” peoples whom the Greeks called Keltoi and the Romans called Galli had been invading and sacking Roman cities. In 387 the marauding Celts raided and plundered Rome. It took the Romans some time to push them back. The Jews suffered in both parts of the Roman Empire. In 388 a Christian mob incited by the bishop of Callinicum on the Euphrates (now in Iraq) attacked the Jewish synagogue there and burned it down. Bishop Ambrose happily supported the pillaging, but Emperor Theodosius decided to make this incident a test case of his power against the Church. He ordered Ambrose to rebuild the synagogue at his own expense. The enraged bishop wrote a fiery letter to the emperor calling the Jewish synagogue a place of heresy and abomination. He cried out that the honor of God had been injured, and that the emperor was within the Church, not above it. In 390 Theodosius ordered a massacre of the people of Salonica (Thessaloniki) who had rebelled against him. The furious Bishop Ambrose excommunicated the emperor. Theodosius had to come to Mediolanum (Milan) and humble himself before its cathedral to get Ambrose to lift his excommunication.

The Greek-speaking Byzantine empire played a very important role in Jewish affairs during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. In 392 Theodosius became Roman Emperor of the East and West. After the death of Theodosius (395) and the final division of the Roman Empire into the Western Roman Empire of Italy and the Eastern Roman Empire of Byzantium, the Jews of the East were ruled from Constantinople. In 395 Theodosius’s son Arcadius (377–408) became emperor of the East; his other son, Flavius Honorius (384–423), ruled the West. Arcadius did protect the Jews against violent assault, but Theodosius II (401–50), who succeeded him in 408, at the age of seven, no longer respected their freedom of religion. The Jews were forbidden by imperial edict from erecting new synagogues. They were barred from government service, both civil and military, and had no power over Christians.

The Jews and Christians of the Byzantine empire were caught up in a vicious circle of tragic symbiosis (Ebel 1986). Each group needed the other psychologically. Projection and externalization played a key role in Christian Jew-hatred. The Christians were able to project upon the Jews their unacceptable parricidal, matricidal, and filicidal feelings, and to externalize the unacceptable aspects of their group self. The Jews, on the other hand, had internalized the role of victim. Their group self, group fantasy, or group identity as martyrs was confirmed and reinforced by the Christians.

It was the paradox of survival through persecution (Stein 1978, 1984). This persecution was bloody. Christians, mainly Greeks, raided Jewish synagogues, pillaged and looted Jewish property, and murdered the Jews who aroused their ire.

In 422 the Persians under Bahram Shah Gur (Bahram V) invaded Byzantium, but they were repelled by the Byzantine generals. In 423 the Byzantine emperor Theodosius II ordered the looted Jewish property restored. Some fanatical Christians led by an ascetic hermit named Simeon Stylites (Simon the Pillar, 390–459), rose up against the emperor, who revoked his pro-Jewish edicts. Theodosius II (r. 408–50) was more interested in theology and astronomy than in politics. He was active in Church politics more than in state politics, which he left to his sister Pulcheria and to his wife Eudocia (Athenais, d. 460). The two women were locked in a bitter power struggle. In 438 Theodosius applied the anti-Jewish statutes to the Samaritans, who were growing and prospering. Theodosius could not break away from his deep attachment to his sister, who may have replaced his mother in his unconscious mind. His wife Eudocia went on a year-long pilgrimage to Jerusalem (438–39). In 443 she quarreled with her sister-in-law Pulcheria and moved permanently to Jerusalem.

In 425 Valentinian III (Flavius Placidius Valentinianus, 419–55) became Roman Emperor of "the West." Emperor Theodosius II of "the East" founded the Higher School of Constantinople. A great religious controversy erupted during the reign of Theodosius II between the followers of Bishop Nestorius (d. 451) and those of the archimandrite Eutyches (375–454). The "biphysite" Nestorians deeply believed that Jesus Christ had two natures, one human, the other divine, and that Mary was but the mother of the *man* Jesus of Nazareth, not the mother of God Jesus Christ. The "monophysite" Eutychians believed just as passionately that Jesus Christ had but one nature, and that his humanity was absorbed in his divinity. Unfortunately for himself, Nestorius had offended Emperor Theodosius' powerful sister, Pulcheria. Theodosius convened the Council of Ephesos (431), which condemned the Nestorian doctrine and adopted the Eutychian doctrine that the Virgin Mary was the Mother of God. Nestorius was exiled to his former monastery near Antioch. Not only political intrigue but also powerful unconscious emotions lay behind the "theological" controversy; those involving the disputants' mothers were not the least among them. Valentinian III married Theodosius and Eudocia's daughter, Licinia Eudoxia (437).

In 449, Emperor Theodosius II convened the Latrocinium (Robber Synod) which declared the orthodoxy of Eutychianism. Theodosius's reign saw violent riots between the Alexandrian Christians, Jews, and "pagans." Alexandria was the largest city of the Eastern Roman Empire. In 412 Archbishop Cyril (Kyrillos, c. 375–444) became patriarch of Alexandria. The Roman antipope Novatianus (Novatian, c. 200–258) had inspired a schism in the Christian Church by creating a sect of extremist "rigorists" who condemned apostasy. The zealous Cyril closed the schismatic Novatian churches and drove the Jews out of town. The fanatical Christian priests, led by Cyril, incited the masses to raid the hated Jews and attack them violently. The Jews struck back by spreading the rumor that one of the Christian churches was on fire. When the Christians arrived to douse the flames, the Jews furiously fell upon them and massacred

them. In 414 the rabble-rousing Cyril had his Christian mobs drive the Jews out of Alexandria after having pillaged and looted them.

Orestes, the "pagan" Greek prefect of Alexandria and the enemy of Archbishop Cyril, complained to Emperor Theodosius, and was assaulted and injured for his pains. Orestes was said to have been the lover of the beautiful, learned, and eloquent Alexandrian Neoplatonic philosopher Hypatia (370–415). She was savagely murdered by a group of monks and Cyril's Christian followers. They may have been sexually aroused by the attractive Hypatia; in any event their anxiety and rage were great. The monks branded Hypatia a witch and cited the biblical verse "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Exod. 22:18). They stripped her naked, dragged her through the streets, tore off her skin with sea shells, butchered her in the church and burned down the Library of Alexandria. If *she* was evil, they could remain oblivious to *their* own bad feelings.

Some Jews could not bear such violent persecutions. They longed for salvation and redemption through a Messiah. On the island of Crete a bizarre Jew named Moses declared himself the Messiah and called upon the Jews to follow him back to their ancient lands. Those whose fantasies of rebirth were the most powerful did follow him to the sea, where Moses of Crete told them to jump into the water and repeat the miracle of the Children of Israel leaving Egypt under the biblical Moses. Some drowned, others were rescued by sailors, and Moses of Crete vanished (440). Many Jews then converted to Christianity.

Church fathers like Saint Jerome (347–419/20) and Saint Augustine (354–430) combined a remarkable knowledge of Hebrew and Judaism with a no less remarkable hatred of Jews. Jerome translated the Hebrew Bible into Latin, his version becoming famous as the Vulgate. He considered the dispersion of the Jews all over the world a well-deserved punishment for their rejection of Jesus Christ. He gloated over the sorrow of the Jews who came to Jerusalem to weep and to wail over the destruction of their temple. Augustine similarly composed pro-Church and anti-Jewish polemics. For example, he interpreted the prophecy concerning Esau and Jacob in Gen. 25:23 to mean that every Jew was born to be a slave to the Christians. The saints of the Church were not exactly holy from the Jewish point of view.

The Byzantine emperors gradually deprived their Jews of their civil, religious, and national rights in the Eastern Roman Empire. At the end of the fourth century the emperor Arcadius of the East was issuing edicts against public infringements of the rights of the enlightened Jewish patriarchs, yet he and his brother Honorius, the emperor of the West, forced the Jews to take all their disputes to the Roman civil courts. In 415, the year of the riots in Antioch and of the murder of Hypatia in Alexandria, the emperor Theodosius II wrote to Aurelianus (Orleanus), the governor, to strip the patriarch Rabban Gamaliel VI of his *praefectura*. In 425 Rabban Gamaliel died without male issue, and in 429 the Jewish patriarchate was abolished altogether.

In the great Eutychian-Nestorian schism, the Nestorians were ultimately triumphant. After the death of Emperor Theodosius II (450), the Council of Chalcedon (451) was convened by his sister, Empress Pulcheria, and her husband Marcianus (Marcian) to undo the "scandal" of the Robber Synod. That synod had pronounced

the monophysite Eutychianism the official doctrine of the Orthodox Church. The Council of Chalcedon reversed these decisions, deposed the leaders of the Robber Synod, and dissolved the Eutychian party. It declared that the second person of the Holy Trinity, the Son, Jesus Christ, had two distinct natures, one divine, the other human. This became the Orthodox definition of the nature of Jesus Christ. Nestorius died just before or after the Council of Chalcedon. His rival, the old archimandrite Eutyches, was deposed and exiled, dying soon thereafter.

The Council of Chalcedon made the bishop of Jerusalem a patriarch as well as one of the five princes of the Church in the Roman Empire, both East and West. These five princes of the Church were now the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. Gradually the Byzantine Christian population of Palestine grew and prospered, while Byzantine Jewish Palestine declined and dwindled. By the early fifth century the Jews of Palestine were vastly outnumbered by those of the diaspora. According to Saint Jerome, there were Jewish settlements from Mauritania to India. The Jews of Antioch, the former capital of the Roman Empire of the East, were the prime objects of persecution by the zealous bishops.

The Jews of the Sasanid Neo-Persian empire had serious troubles of their own. The long-reigning Shahpur Shah (Shapur II, r. 309–79) gave them royal protection from persecution by the Zoroastrian magi; his successors did not. They let the priests of Zarathushtra make life unbearable for the Jews. Many Jews fled Persia for Arabia and India (Ben-Sasson 1976:380).

The Aramaic-speaking "Babylonian" Jews corrupted the Persian names of their rulers. The tenth-century Rabbi Sherira Gaon, head of the Jewish religious academy at Pumbeditha, wrote in his famous letter that five centuries earlier King "Tazdigar" or "Iazdigar" of Persia, under Zoroastrian pressure, had abolished the Jewish Sabbath by decree. That king's real name was Yazdegerd Shah (Yazdegerd II, r. 438–57). Ben-Sasson (1976:380) called him "Yazdigar III (440–457)." Sherira Gaon's letter added that "the rabbis proclaimed a fast, and the Holy One, Blessed Be He, sent a crocodile unto him in the night, which swallowed him as he lay on his couch, and the decree was invalidated" (Johnson 1987:163). As wishful thinking and mythmaking, this account is understandable.

In 495/96 there were political upheavals in Sasanid Persia. Kavadh Shah (Kabad or Qobad I, r. 488–96 and 499–531) was deposed by his brother Jamasp Shah, and imprisoned in the Castle of Oblivion in Susiana. Without specifying the date, an undated medieval Hebrew history book, *Seder Olam Zuta* (Minor order of the world), first published in 1513, claimed that the "Babylonian" Jewish exilarch, Rabbi Huna, clashed with his father-in-law, Rabbi Hanina, head of the yeshivah, over the appointment of a *dayan* (judge) that Hanina had nominated but that Huna refused to confirm. The deeper reason for the clash was Huna's wife, Hanina's daughter, whom Hanina felt that Huna had "taken" from him. The furious Hanina took the matter to the Persian governor, who had Huna executed. Hanina brought up his grandson, Huna's young son, Mar Zutra bar Huna (The Little Lord, son of Huna), preparing him for the office of exilarch.

How did Mar Zutra feel, being brought up by his mother's father, who was also

his father's murderer? Could he properly mourn his loss? Mar Zutra's unconscious oedipal wishes had been acted out by his grandfather. His oedipal conflict had not been resolved. His rebelliousness against authority was transferred to the Shah. When he grew up and became the exilarch, Mar Zutra bar Huna led four hundred Jewish warriors in revolt against the Shah and briefly set up an independent Jewish state in "Babylonia." Its capital was Mahoza, across the Tigris River from Ctesiphon. The absence of precise dating is typical of medieval Jewish historiography. Ben-Sasson (1976:380) believed that this revolt happened in 495, when Kavadh Shah was deposed. Other scholars think it happened around 513, during the second reign of Kavadh Shah. Seven years later (502 or 520) Kavadh Shah quelled Mar Zutra's rebellion, beheading and crucifying Rabbi Hanina and Mar Zutra. The medieval Jewish sages put this down to the immorality of their brethren. The exilarch's namesake son, Mar Zutra bar Mar Zutra, left "Babylonia" for "The Land of Israel," where he later headed the Sanhedrin, as did his descendants for seven generations.

The anti-Zarathushtrian Mazdakite religious reform, initiated by Zaradusht-e Khuragan and Mazdak at the end of the fifth century, made things worse for the Jews. Kavadh Shah was converted by Mazdak. For three years (496–99) Kavadh Shah, deposed by his brother Jamasp Shah, was imprisoned in Susiana. With the help of Siyavush (Seoses), a Susian nobleman, in 499 Kavadh Shah escaped to the nomadic, polyandrous Hephthalites (Hua, Hua-tun, White Huns or Hunas), who had taken him hostage in his youth, and now helped to restore him to the throne. Kavadh's son and heir was Khosrow Shah Anushirvan (Khosrow of the Immortal Soul, Khosru or Chosroes I, r. 531–79). Under Zoroastrian magi influence Khosrow massacred the Mazdakites (528) before becoming Shah. The magi persecuted the Jews worse than before.

Khosrow Shah Anushirvan raided the Byzantine empire to the west. In 540 he captured and destroyed Antioch, resettling her Jews in his capital city of Ctesiphon. Across the Tigris River, near the "Babylonian" Jewish city of Mahoza, the Shah built a new city called New Antioch. Khosrow Anushirvan captured parts of Armenia and Caucasia from the Byzantine emperors Justinian I (Flavius Justinianus, 483–565) and Justinus (Justin II, d. 578). Khosrow seized Bactria (now in Afghanistan) in 560 and Arabia in 570. By the time Khosrow Shah died (579), many Jews were living in the Neo-Persian empire. The Syrian Jewish community had merged with the "Babylonian" one. Under Hormizd Shah (Hormizd IV, r. 579–90), the Persians again persecuted the Jews. Other Persian kings may have treated the Jews well. As Johnson (1987:163) pointed out, "When the Persians invaded Palestine and occupied Jerusalem in 624, the local Jews received them warmly." The local Jews had a very good reason; they had been severely persecuted by the Byzantines.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

During the fifth century fierce, anxious, and violent Germanic and Asian tribes swept upon the Roman Empire. Among them were the Goths (in Latin, *Getae*), a Germanic

tribe from southeastern Europe that had probably originated in northern Europe. The Goths were known to the Romans since the first century. The Roman historian Tacitus (56–120) wrote that the Goths used distinctive round shields and short swords, and blindly obeyed their king. The sixth-century Gothic historian Jordanes, author of *De origine actibusque Getarum* (On the origin and acts of the Goths, 551), reported that the Goths had originated in southern Scandinavia and in the first century crossed the Baltic Sea in three ships under King Berig to its south shore, defeating the Vandals and other Germanic tribes and settling in what are now Denmark, Germany, and Poland.

In the second century the Goths under King Filimer, the fifth Gothic king after Berig, migrated south from the Vistula (Wisla) region of what is now Poland, arriving at the shores of the Black Sea in what is now the Ukraine. The other Germanic tribes, displaced by the Goths, moved southward and westward, pushing against the north-eastern Danubian frontiers of the Roman Empire. During the third century the Goths constantly raided the Roman provinces in Asia Minor (now Turkey) and the Balkans, forcing the Romans to evacuate the province of Dacia (now in Romania). The Goths fell into two major groups. Those between the Tyras (Dnestr) River and the Danube River became known as the “Visigoths” (wise Goths or brave Goths); their Late Latin name “Visigothi” was misconstrued as “West Goths.” Those near the Black Sea, between the Tanais (Don) River and the Tyras (Dnestr) River in what are now the Ukraine and Byelorussia, were called Austrogothi (South Goths). In Late Latin this name became Ostrogothi; and because the Latin word *austro* (south) resembles the German word *öster* (easternmost), they came to be called Ostgothen (East Goths). This new division into “West Goths” and “East Goths” was reinforced when the Visigoths conquered Spain and the Ostrogoths ruled Italy.

Around 350 Ermanarich (also called Ermanaric, Ermenrichus, Hermanaricus, Jörmunrekr, or Eormenric) became king of the Ostrogoths. He led them to great victories, ruling a kingdom that stretched from the Black Sea to the Baltic Sea. German myth portrays Ermanarich as a sadistic misogynist: the sixth-century historian Jordanes reported that Ermanarich became enraged at a nobleman who deserted him, savagely executing the man's wife, Sonnhilde (Sunilda), by tying her to two wild horses and driving them apart. Her two brothers, Sarus and Ammius, fell upon Ermanarich and tried to kill him, wounding him severely. This uxoricidal-parricidal myth was taken up by many medieval Germanic writers. In 370–76 the Huns from Central Asia invaded the lands of the Ostrogoths, defeating and subjugating them. King Ermanarich killed himself in despair. In 378 the Visigoths defeated the Romans at Adrianople (now Edirne, Turkey). They briefly became Rome's allies. In the fifth century the Goths invaded the Roman Empire. The Visigoths captured Roman Spain and the Ostrogoths conquered Roman Italy. Two Gothic kingdoms came into being. Ostrogothic Italy was defeated by Byzantium in the sixth century, while Visigothic Spain lasted until the Moorish conquest in the early eighth century.

In addition to the Goths, the Roman Empire was attacked by the Vandals (Wandalen), by the Huns, and by other tribes whom the Greeks called Barbaroi (those who

cannot speak). That name bespoke group narcissism: those who could not speak *their* language were viewed as mute and dumb. The Byzantine empire lost its African colonies to the Vandals. In 406 the Vandals fought their way into Roman Spain. Their first known king was Gunderich (Gunderic, d. 428), king of the Asdingi Vandals, who defeated the Silingi and Alani in the Vandal struggle for ascendancy. In 410 and 418 the Visigoths under Alarich sacked Rome. Gunderich was succeeded by his brother Geiserich (Gaiseric, or Genseric, d. 477), who ruled the Vandals until his death. Geiserich fought Rome and Byzantium, devastating Rome in 455. Rome was weakened by internal strife. The governor of Roman "Africa" (now northern Tunisia and Libya), Bonifacius, who was fighting his own imperial government in Rome, invited Geiserich to join him.

Geiserich transported eighty thousand Vandals from southern Spain across the Pillars of Hercules (now the Strait of Gibraltar) to Africa, moving eastward and sowing death and destruction. In 429–30 Geiserich turned on his ally Bonifacius in Roman "Africa" and went on to crush the combined armies of the Western Roman Empire and Eastern Roman Empire that were sent against him. By 435 the Vandals ruled most of Roman Africa, as well as Mauretania (now northern Morocco and northern Algeria) and part of Numidia (now northern Algeria). A treaty with Rome ratified the status quo and Geiserich briefly became Rome's *foederatus* (subject and ally). In 439 the Vandals turned on Rome and captured Carthage, dealing a critical blow to Roman power in northern Africa. They established a kingdom in North Africa and the Mediterranean—including the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Corsica, and part of Sicily—which lasted until 534. Its center was the province of Zeugitana, named after the Athenian lower class of *zeugitai* (animal yokes). This kingdom later became known as "Barbary," not after the *barbaroi* but after the region's native Berbers, who attacked the Romans in North Africa using their newly domesticated camels.

In 442 Rome recognized the Vandals as masters of Roman proconsular Africa, Byzacena, and part of Numidia. Geiserich's fleet controlled the western Mediterranean sea. In 455 Geiserich crossed the Mediterranean from Carthage to Italy and captured and plundered Rome itself. The formerly pagan Vandals were fanatical Arian Christians and fiercely persecuted the Roman Catholic Church in North Africa. The Roman Emperors of the West and East repeatedly tried to defeat the Vandals. In 460 the Roman Emperor of the West, Julius Valerius Majorianus (Majorian, d. 461), sailed out with a large fleet to overthrow Geiserich. He was defeated in the Bay of Alicante, was forced to sign a humiliating peace treaty, returned to Italy, and was executed by his "friend" Ricimer the following year.

In 468 the Eastern Roman general Basiliscus (d. 477) was given command of the vast Byzantine forces that went to Africa to expel the Vandals. Basiliscus was an incompetent commander, and Geiserich routed him off Mercurius (now Cap Bon, Tunisia). This was a deep narcissistic injury for Basiliscus. His sister, the Byzantine empress Verina, wife of Emperor Leo (Leo I, r. 457–74), secured her husband's pardon for her brother, another unintended humiliation. In 474 the new emperor Zeno (Zenon, d. 491) succeeded Leo in Constantinople. In 475, perhaps to repair the dam-

age to his self-esteem inflicted by Geiserich and his sister, the jealous and power-hungry Basiliscus drove Zeno from his throne, usurping it. For twenty months (475–76) Basiliscus held the Byzantine throne, favoring the Christian Monophysite “heresy” that denied the dual nature of Jesus Christ as both human and divine, and making himself many enemies among the orthodox Christians. During his brief reign a disastrous fire devastated Constantinople with many of its artworks.

In 476 Zeno returned to Constantinople, defeated Basiliscus, and exiled him to Cappadocia, where he was beheaded the following year (477). When he had regained his throne, Zeno concluded a peace treaty with King Geiserich of the Vandals, who had been raiding Byzantine territories in North Africa and the Mediterranean basin. The Jews of North Africa became subjects of the Vandals, whose rule was more benign than that of the Byzantines. Zeno (r. 476–91) ruled the Eastern Roman Empire. In 477 Geiserich was succeeded by his son Hunerich (Huneric, r. 477–84). The fanatical Hunerich persecuted the Roman Church in North Africa. His son and successor, Hilderich (Hilderic, r. 484–96, 523–30), was pro-Roman; he was a close friend of the Byzantine emperor Justinian. Under Thrasamund (r. 496–523) many Vandals adopted Christian Roman culture. In 530 the old Hilderich was deposed by his nephew Gelimer (r. 530–34), a great-grandson of Geiserich. In 533 Justinian sent his able general Belisarius, who destroyed the Vandal kingdom for good (534), receiving Gelimer’s submission. Justinian gave Gelimer an estate in Galatia.

Zeno supported orthodox “biphysite” Christianity, which upheld the dual nature of Jesus Christ as both human and divine, and wrote his *Henotikon* (482) to reconcile the Monophysites, those Christians who believed in the single nature of Jesus Christ, to the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon (451), which had “established” his dual nature. In 486 the two Byzantine political parties, the Blues and the Greens, fought it out in the streets of Antioch. These two factions took their names from colors worn by circus charioteers, who, like modern sports stars, had fanatical partisans among the populace. The political clashes of Blues and Greens were aggravated by religious strife. The Blues were the upper classes who upheld Christian orthodoxy, while the Greens were the lower classes who were zealous Monophysites. The Jews tended to support the ruling classes and the Blues, which angered the Greens. In their rage, the Greens raided and burned the Jewish synagogue of Antioch, murdered some Jews, and threw their bodies into the fire. Zeno reacted to the news by saying that the Greens deserved punishment for not throwing *live* Jews into the flames.

Under the emperor Anastasios I (r. 491–518), who succeeded Zeno, the Jews of Antioch again suffered from Christian violence. In 507 the circus charioteer Calliope, a member of the Green party, came to Antioch to fight the Blues. The Jews supported the latter party, which provoked the Greens into pillaging the Jewish synagogue in the Antioch suburb of Daphne and massacring the worshippers there. The Jews were psychological scapegoats. Every assault upon the Jews was preceded by violent quarrels among the Christians themselves. Internal and external strife was endemic in the Byzantine empire. Not only were there the perennial religious battles between the orthodox and the Arians and the chronic political fights between the Blues and the

Greens, but successive invasions of Goths, Huns, Avars, Slavs, Bulgars, and Persians never ceased to beset the Byzantine empire.

In 476 the Western Roman Empire of Italy fell to King Odoaker (Odoakar, Odoacer, or Odovacar, 433–93), chieftain of the Germanic tribes that the Romans called the Heruli, Sciri, and Rugii. The Byzantine emperor Zeno considered himself heir to the Roman Empire, including the West, but was forced to recognize the reign of Odoaker and grant him the title of patrician. In 488 Zeno dispatched Theuderich of the Ostrogoths (Theoderich or Theodoric I, 454–526), consul of the Eastern Roman Empire, to Italy to fight and expel Odoaker. After a succession of victories at the Isonzo (489), at Mediolanum (Milan, 489), at the Adda (490) and at Ravenna (493), Theuderich forced Odoaker to share authority with him. The Goths were violent and ruthless. Within ten days Theuderich treacherously and brutally murdered Odoaker, his wife, his son, and his chieftains. Theuderich became master of Italy, now an Ostrogothic kingdom.

JEWES AND BYZANTINES

The Roman Empire of the East became the Byzantine empire; it lasted until 1453. In Palestine, Byzantine rule lasted only until the Muslim Arab conquest of 638. During the reign of Zeno (474–91) the Christian rulers persecuted the Samaritans as well as the Jews. The vigorous repression of their religion and the takeover of their holy places led to a great revolt of the Samaritans in 483, which was bloodily suppressed by the Byzantine armies. A large church, the Basilica of the Blessed Virgin, was erected on the site of the holy Samaritan sanctuary on Mount Gerizim at Shechem, the holy mountain of the Samaritans, and the Samaritans were expelled. It was obvious that people's religious feelings and their underlying early personal feelings were highly charged. Fueled by the unconscious projection of their matricidal, parricidal, and incestuous feelings, believers waged religious wars with great fury.

The Byzantine emperor Justinian the Great (Justinianus, r. 527–65) is considered by historians one of the most despotic and tyrannical in Byzantine history. Justinian was as power-hungry as he was greedy for territories. His administrative and fiscal reforms added fuel to the rage of his common subjects at his religious orthodoxy and his suppression of Monophysitism. Many were loyal to the family of Anastasios. In 532 Justinian signed a "Treaty of Eternal Peace" with Khosrow Shah Anushirvan of Persia, and the Byzantine populace rose up against Justinian in the famous "Nika" riot. *Nika* (win) was shouted during the Byzantine chariot races to encourage the charioteers, and both political factions, the Blues and the Greens, united against the tyrannical Justinian. The emperor was saved by the firmness of his wife Theodora and by the military ability of his generals Belisarius (c. 505–65) and Narses (c. 480–574), who not only quelled the bloody Nika revolt but went on to recover the Byzantine territory of Africa from the Vandals (533–48) and of Italy from the Ostrogoths (533–54). This became known as the Twenty Years War.

Justinian codified Roman law into the *corpus juris civilis*, which became known as the Codex Justinianus (529), and erected the famous Hagia Sophia (Saint Sophia) Church in Constantinople. He rigidly suppressed all non-orthodox Christian faiths and practices in his empire. Pagan Greeks, Monophysite Christians, Jews, and Samaritans were forced to convert to orthodox Christianity or suffer expulsion and even death. The tyrant could not suffer diversity and divergence of belief. The Samaritans rebelled once more in 529, but their revolt was quelled ferociously. Their king Julianus son of Sabra was beheaded and his severed head was sent to Justinian with a crown on it. Thousands of Samaritans were massacred. Many others converted to Christianity. Those who fled to Persia could not talk Khosrow Shah Anushirvan into fighting Justinian.

The bloody persecutions of the Byzantine Jews under Justinian abated somewhat under his successors. Justinus (Justin II, r. 565–78), Tiberius Constantinus (Tiberius II, r. 578–82) and Maurice (Mauricius Flavius Tiberius, r. 582–602) had their hands full dealing with their internal and external political enemies. In 591 Maurice (539–602) concluded a peace treaty with Khosrow Shah Parviz of Persia (Khosru the Victorious or Chosroes II, r. 590 and 591–628). Maurice was a relatively benign ruler. He transformed the ruins of the Eastern Roman Empire into a well-organized Byzantine empire. But Maurice's vast campaigns against the Slavs, Avars, and Lombards drained his treasury and led to a revolt in his army led by the "usurper and tyrant" Phocas. Maurice was killed (602) and the persecutions of the Jews resumed under Phocas (r. 602–10) and Heraclius (r. 610–41). After Maurice's death, Khosrow Shah Parviz again made war on Byzantium and wrested Palestine from the Byzantines. In 608 the Jews of Antioch rose up in arms against their Christian tormentors. Under such dire circumstances it was small wonder that the Jews of the Byzantine empire as a whole and of Palestine in particular withdrew into the timelessness and obsessiveness of their talmudic scholasticism.

Some Jews became very excited when the Persian armies of Khosrow Shah Parviz invaded the Byzantine empire in revenge of the murder of the emperor Maurice by the "tyrant" Phocas in 602. Khosrow Shah Parviz defeated the Byzantine armies of Phocas and later of Heraclius, who had deposed and killed the usurper. In 614 the Persian armies captured Jerusalem and all of Palestine, which they held until 628. They massacred the Christians and destroyed their churches. The Jews sided with the Persians, whom they regarded as saviors. An Armenian historian named Sebeos reported that from 614 to 617 the Persians let the Jews rule Jerusalem; later the Persians made peace with the Byzantines and fought the Jews (Ben-Sasson 1976:362). But in 628–29 the emperor Heraclius, having defeated the Avars in Europe, recaptured Palestine from the Persians.

Heraclius had promised the Jews a general pardon, yet the Christian priests and monks led by Archbishop Modestus talked him into letting them punish the disloyal Jews. There followed a wholesale massacre and mass forced conversions of the Jews. Heraclius's astrologers are said to have told him that his kingdom would fall to a nation of circumcised people. Thinking they meant the Jews, Heraclius sought to

convert all Byzantine Jews into Christians, and talked his friend Dagobert (605–39), the Merovingian king of the Franks (r. 612–639), into doing likewise in the Frankish kingdoms of Austrasia, Neustria, and Aquitania.

The Franks were a group of Germanic tribes who had grown and expanded rapidly over Western Europe during the sixth century. Their king Clovis (Chlodwig) had overthrown Roman rule in 486. Dagobert complied with Heraclius's request. In 638 the Muslim Arab armies of the Caliph Omar (Umar) captured Palestine from the Byzantines. Thus began fifteen centuries of Muslim rule in Palestine—first Arab, then Seljuq Turkish, Mamluk (Mameluke), and finally Ottoman (Osmanli) Turkish—interrupted only by the twelfth-century Crusader “Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.”

CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

Christianity became the chief religion of the Roman world in the fourth century. The fifth century saw the demise of the Latin-speaking Western Roman Empire of Italy and the ascendancy of the Greek-speaking Eastern Roman Empire of Byzantium. As the Western Roman Empire declined and disintegrated at the end of the fifth century, and as the Germanic Gothic kingdoms gradually replaced it across southern Europe, the Jews seemed to adapt themselves to their new political and cultural realities. Their new “pagan” rulers were soon “converted” to Christianity.

The new Christian religion was far from monolithic. There were endless “heresies” and purges. The Arians were declared heretics by the Council of Nicaea (325). Nonetheless the Ostrogoths became “heretical” Arians, while the formerly Arian Visigoths eventually became Catholic. Their hatred of the Jews was a matter of degree. The ten centuries of the European Middle Ages saw terrible massacres of Jews by Christians. Some non-Jewish historians ignore medieval Jewish history in general and these massacres in particular. As mentioned in the preface, LaMonte's monumental 849-page book on the Middle Ages has less than twenty-five *lines* on the Jews (LaMonte 1949:10, 22, 23, 107, 120, 337, 366, 403, 470, 488, 703).

The sixth century saw the establishment of the Christian kingdoms in Europe. Byzantium was now the ruler of the entire Roman Empire, but its control of Italy was tenuous. During the seventh century the Jews of the Persian and Byzantine empires were taken over by the newly Muslim Arabs, who from 632 to 711 swept over all of the Middle East, North Africa, and southern Spain. During the first few centuries of the Christian era the Jews settled in increasing numbers in southern Europe, especially in the imperial Roman lands of Italy, Greece, and Spain.

The Jews did not emigrate only because of the wars, conquests, and political upheavals but also due to economic necessity, opportunity, and, last but not least, out of the hopes and fantasies of a better motherland (Stein and Nederland 1989). During the fourth century Christianity became one of the state religions of the Roman Empire. By the time of that empire's division in 395, both the Western Roman Empire

and Eastern Roman Empire were Christian. Rome, the "Eternal City," became the seat of the holy see of the Roman Catholic Church, Constantinople the seat of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

THE "JEWISH MIDDLE AGES"

During the early Middle Ages the Jews became a hated, derided, and persecuted minority within the Christian Roman lands. Historians no longer think that the European Middle Ages were the "Dark Ages." Ben-Sasson (1976:387) thought the European Middle Ages were actually a period of "important advancements in every field of human endeavor." By the time of the great tribal migrations of the fifth century from northern Europe and from central Asia to southern Europe, which ended the Western Roman Empire of Italy, most of the Roman lands had sizable Jewish populations. Some Jewish historians date medieval Jewish history from 632, when the Muslim Arabs began their conquests of the Middle East, North Africa, and Spain. Others move the date as far back as the earliest Jewish settlement in Europe. Biale (1986:59) defined the Jewish Middle Ages in terms of political power:

How to define the Jewish Middle Ages is a thorny question. The very term "Middle Ages" is really only Christian, since Christianity believes in an age between the two appearances of the Messiah. For Jews and Muslims, the term is misplaced. I shall define the Jewish Middle Ages as that period after the Jews had ceased to have a political center in the Land of Israel but still enjoyed political autonomy and a *protected or privileged status* [emphasis mine] in the lands of their dispersion. Many of these characteristics apply as well to the Greco-Roman diaspora, so the beginning of the Middle Ages remains fuzzy.

Did the Jews enjoy the protected or privileged status that Biale described? Certainly they were suspected of disloyalty in the Roman Empire, both East and West, and often persecuted. LaMonte (1949:10-11, 22-23) explained that both Jews and Christians were suspect in pagan Roman eyes:

[O]f all the peoples conquered by Rome in her earlier history, only the Jews, inspired by an exclusive religion and a feeling of racial and national isolationism, successfully resisted Romanization and absorption into the general culture which was Rome's . . . the worship of the emperor (or his genius) became an official cult in Rome, and worship at the altar of the reigning Augustus was a necessary act of allegiance required of every citizen . . . the monotheistic fervor of the Jew or the Christian could brook no compromise with the idolatry implied therein, and both sects refused to comply with the law in this respect . . . the Roman government and people became very suspicious of the loyalty of the groups concerned. When, moreover, they refused to open their doors to any outsiders or to reveal even to government officials what went on in their conventicles, the Jews and Christians were marked down as subversive groups to be carefully watched.

The Roman Jews settled in Trans-Tiber (now Trastevere), a district on the far side of the Tiber River. During the first centuries of the Christian era they numbered some thirty thousand souls. On the Insula Tiberina, a little island in the Tiber River, they erected the first Jewish hospital in Italy. There were Jewish settlements in southern Italy and in Sicily, and by the sixth century there were Jews in northern Italy as well, including Milan (Mediolanum), Ravenna, and Genoa (Genova). Here the Jews met the Germanic tribes that had become politically significant in the fourth century and had spread out in great migrations from southern Scandinavia and northern Germany southward, southeastward, and westward, and occupied most of central Europe. These tribes included the Vandals, Ostrogoths, Alemanni, Angles, Saxons, Burgundii, Langobardi (Lombards), Salian and Ripuarian Franci (Franks), and Visigoths.

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Franks and Jews

The sixth century was the zenith of Byzantine culture in Palestine. The Jerusalem Cardo (north-south thoroughfare) and the famous map of Madaba (Medeba) date from that time. In Europe, the bloody Twenty Years War (535–55) raged between Roman Catholic Ostrogothic Italy and Orthodox Greek Byzantium. The Jews mostly sided with their Italian rulers, while the Latins and Greeks kept switching allegiances. The Byzantine emperor Justinian passed anti-Jewish legislation as soon as he acceded to the throne in 527. In 538 Justinian sent his imperial treasurer, the eunuch General Narses (480–574), to Italy, to assist the brilliant General Belisarius, as well as to spy on him. The Narses-Belisarius rivalry paralyzed the Byzantine armies and let the Ostrogoths recapture Mediolanum (Milan). In 539 Justinian recalled Narses and in 540 he also recalled Belisarius, sending him back to Italy in 544–48. Justinian distrusted Belisarius and failed to supply him with troops; in 552 he sent Narses back to Italy with thirty thousand troops. Narses defeated King Totila of the Ostrogoths at Taginae, and by 554 subdued the “Nika” revolt and captured all of Italy for the Byzantines. Narses was made *exarchos* (overseer or ruler) of Italy, but in 567 he was removed by the new Byzantine emperor, Justinus (Justin II), “for being a bad ruler.” Narses retired to a villa near Neapolis (Naples). The Byzantines kept Ravenna, the Pentapolis (Five Cities) of Rimini, Pesaro, Ancona, Numana, and Osimo, and their “exarchate of Italy.”

In 547 the “barbaric” Germanic Langobardi (long beards) had been allowed by Justinian to resettle in Pannonia (western Hungary) and Noricum (eastern Austria). The pagan Langobardi later became Arian Christians and did not persecute the Jews in the way the Catholics did. In 568–72 the Langobardi under their leader Alboin (d. 572) captured northern Italy, including Ticinum (Pavia) and Mediolanum. Tradition has it that Alboin was assassinated at the behest of his second wife, Rosamund, daughter of the king of the Gepidae, Cunimund, whom Alboin himself had killed, forcing Rosamund to drink from her slain father’s skull. After the death of Alboin (572) and of his successor Cleph (575), there was a period of political instability, until in 584 the Langobard (Lombard) nobles united to elect Cleph’s son Authari their new king and to fight off the Franks, the Byzantines, and the pope.

During the seventh century the Germanic Langobardi’s name was Italianized to Lombardi, and they became Christian. Those whose pagan cults had been suppressed

began the forced conversion of the Jews to Christian Catholicism. The Christian persecution of the Jews was on the upswing. In central and southern Italy, meanwhile, the Jews were under the Byzantine rule of the exarch of Ravenna. The authority of the pope, who was the bishop of Rome, was such that the Byzantine exarch of Ravenna had to share his power with the pope both in Byzantine southern Italy and in Lombard northern Italy.

Pope Gregory the Great (540–604), who occupied the Holy See of Rome from 590 to 604, was *relatively* benign to the Jews: he did not persecute them with the same wrath and violence as did some of his predecessors and successors. Gregory enforced very strictly the Roman Justinian Code, which outlawed the holding of Christian slaves by Jews at a time when barbarian prisoners of war were commonly sold into slavery. This caused the Jews, who mediated the slave trade, vast economic losses. Slavery was considered natural and widely accepted in the early European Middle Ages.

The Romans called the western Celts “Galli” (cocks) because of their feathered garments, and their country “Gallia” (Gaul). Roman Gaul was settled by Greeks, and subsequently by Jews, as early as the first century B.C.E. By the fourth century C.E. there were Jewish settlements in southern Gaul, including Narbo Martius (now Narbonne), the capital of Gallia Narbonensis, Arelas (Arles), the Gallic metropolis in the late Roman Empire, Avennio (Avignon), capital of the Vaucluse, Burdigala (now Bordeaux), capital of Aquitania in southwest France, and Massilia (now Marseille), the oldest town in France. During the fifth century Roman Gaul was captured by the Goths, the Franks, and the Burgundii, a Baltic tribe that settled in the Savoy. The invaders mixed with the local Roman and Gallic population and accepted Christianity, some in its “heretical” Arian and others in its “Catholic” variety. The Church became especially powerful. The Visigoths captured Spain and annexed Septimania in southern Gaul.

In 480 the Germanic Burgundii captured the country they called Burgundia (French Bourgogne), comprising at first northeastern Gaul but later most of central and southern Gaul, Lugdunum (Lyon), and Vienna (Vienne). It became a great medieval kingdom. The Christian persecution of the Jews grew harsher. In Burgundy marriage between Jews and Christians was outlawed. The Germanic Franks occupied Burgundy in 534 and went on to seize most of Gaul. The Franks did not like the Jews any more than the Romans did. Discriminatory legislation against the Jews was widespread. The psychological irony was that the just-converted Christians were furious with the Jews for not converting to Christianity themselves.

Fifth-century Gallia (now France) was a mixed Celtic, Gallic, and Germanic Frankish kingdom. The Franks were divided into Salians and Ripuarians. In 415 the Visigoths under Atawulf (Ataulphus) settled in Spain, where Atawulf was murdered at Barcinona (Barcelona). In 418 the patrician Roman leader Constantius (Constantius III, d. 421) recalled the Visigoths from Spain to Aquitania Secunda, in southwestern Gaul, between the lower reaches of the Garonne and Loire Rivers. In 417 Constantius married Galla Placidia, the half-sister of Emperor Honorius who had been kidnapped by Atawulf. Wallia, the Visigothic chieftain, was succeeded by Theuderich (Theoderich or Theodoric I, d. 451). In 421 Emperor Honorius appointed Constantius his coemperor.

In 451 the patrician Roman general Flavius Aetius (d. 454) and King Theuderich of the Visigoths defeated the fearful *flagellum Dei*, Attila the Hun, in the "Battle of the Catalaunian Plains," also known as the Battle of Morica. Theuderich died at that battle, whose site remains unidentified. Some historians believe that the "Catalaunian Plains" were near Châlons-sur-Marne in the Champagne-Ardenne region. Attila retreated and in 452 attacked Italy, but an epidemic decimated his forces. He died the following year (453).

Later Frankish historians, wishing to glorify the semimythical fifth-century King Merowech (Meroveus) of the Salian Franks, had him join the Romans and the Visigoths in defeating Attila. Saint Gregory of Tours (originally Gregorius Florentius, 538–594), author of the *Historia Francorum*, did not mention Merowech's part in that battle. In 454 Aetius was murdered by Emperor Valentinian III (r. 425–55), egged on by his successor, Petronius Maximus (396–55), and by the eunuch Heraclius. After Valentinian died (455) Petronius Maximus forced Valentinian's widow Eudoxia to marry him. Petronius Maximus came to a bad end. A Vandal fleet that may have been invited by Eudoxia approached Rome. Petronius Maximus was caught and torn limb from limb by an enraged Roman mob.

Merowech founded the "Merovingian" Frankish dynasty, which lasted until 751. Merowech's son Childerich (Childeric I, d. 481/482) reigned at Turnacum (now Tournai, Belgium) from 457 to 481/482, defeating the Visigoths at Aurelianum (Orléans) in 463. Childeric's son Chlodwig (Clovis I, 466–511) murdered several of his close male relatives to become the king of the Salian Franks. Chlodwig united them with the Ripuarian Franks, had both tribes embrace the Christian faith, and established the Frankish empire. In 486 the Franks, led by Chlodwig, defeated the Romans and settled in Gaul (Gallia). Chlodwig fought the Visigothic rulers of Spain and southern Gaul. During the sixth century the Merovingian Frankish kings extended their kingdom in central Europe. The Frankish empire included Germanic, Slavic, and Magyar tribes, as well as the Jews. During that century the Roman Catholic Church became a powerful force in the new Frankish empire, often holding life-and-death power over the Jews. Between the sixth and ninth centuries the Frankish empire grew by the gradual conquest and annexation of Burgundy, Bavaria, Alemannia, Thuringia, Saxony, and Lombardy, until it included most of western and central Europe. The growth of their empire made the Franks feel great and special. In the eighth century they began to call themselves the "Roman Empire."

The fifth-century Merovingian Frankish capital was Turnacum in the north. The Kingdom of Reims (Kingdom of Cologne) in the east comprised parts of what is now Germany. From the sixth to the eighth century, dynastic struggles repeatedly divided the Merovingian Frankish empire into four kingdoms. Neustria (the new land) in the west, whose capital was first Suessiones (now the French city of Soissons) and later Paris, comprised most of what are now northwestern France, southern Belgium, and the Netherlands; Austrasia (the east land) in the east, with its capital at Mediomatrici (now Metz), comprised what are now northeastern France, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland; Burgundia in the south, with its capital at Cabillonum (now Chalon-sur-

Saône), comprised what are now central France and northern and central Italy; and Aquitania in the southwest, with its capital at Burdigala (now Bordeaux), comprised the rest of the Frankish territories. Septimania or Gallia Narbonensis, with Narbo Martius (now Narbonne) as its capital, in the south of Gaul, was part of Visigothic Spain, having been captured by the Visigoths as early as 413.

The Frankish kings waged endless fratricidal wars. Chlodwig's wife was Chlothilde (Clotilda or Clotilde, 474–545); his eldest son Theuderich (Theoderich, Theodoric, or Thierry) was illegitimate. When Chlodwig died in 511, his empire was divided among his four sons: Theuderich (d. 533/34) became king of Reims, Chlodomer (Clodomir, 496–524) became king of Aurelianum (now Orléans), Childebert (498–558) was made king of Paris, and Chlothar (Clotaire, Chlothachar, Lothar, Lothaire, or Lothair I, 500–561) was crowned king of Suessiones. In 524 Chlodomer died; Childebert and Chlothar murdered all of his sons. Chlothar, Theuderich, and Childebert shared the kingdom of Aurelianum. In 531 Chlothar and Theuderich destroyed Thuringia, and in 532 fought the Visigoths.

In 533/34 Theuderich was succeeded by his son Theudebert (Theodebert or Thibert, c. 495–547) as king of Reims. In 555 Theudebert's son Theudebald (Theodebald, Theobald, Thibault, Thibaut, or Thibaud) died without heirs; in 558 Childebert died as well, making Chlothar the sole ruler of the Frankish lands. Chlothar's son by his wife Aregund was King Chilperich of Suessiones (Chilperic I, 539–84), a brutal, sexually perverted, and emotionally disturbed warrior whom the Frankish historian Saint Gregory of Tours compared to Nero and Herod the Great. Chilperich was murdered by an unknown assassin when his son and heir, Chlothar of Neustria (Clotaire or Lothair II, 584–629) was four months old. In 613 Chlothar of Neustria seized Austrasia and Burgundy, but kept his three kingdoms separate. In 623 he crowned his eighteen-year-old son Dagobert (605–39) king of Austrasia in Metz. In 629 Dagobert became King of all the Franks, deposing Pippin of Landen (Pepin I, d. 640) as Mayor of the Palace. In 631 Dagobert sent an army into Spain to help the Visigothic king Schwindila (Schwintila or Swinthila, r. 621–31), who captured the last Byzantine strongholds in Spain. Margolis and Marx (1985:305) praised Schwindila as "mild and just," calling him "the Catholic Leovigild." One of Schwindila's successors was Receswind (Recceswinth, r. 649–72), who promulgated a common law known as *Lex Wisigothorum Receswinthiana* or *Liber Judiciorum* (654).

In 634 Dagobert moved his Frankish capital from Metz to Paris, appeasing the Austrasian nobles by making his three-year-old son Sigebert (Sigebert III, 630/31–56) their king. Sigebert was governed by Bishop Chunibert of Cologne and by Duke Adalgisile. When Dagobert died (639), Pippin of Landen regained his power in Austrasia, but died the following year. From 639 to 640 Pippin replaced Duke Adalgisile as Sigebert's governor. From 642/643 to 656 the governor was Pippin's son, Grimoald. Without knowing it, Pippin of Landen founded a new Frankish dynasty, the Carolingians. While the Merovingians were the nominal rulers, their Mayors of the Palace became the actual rulers of the Frankish kingdom. Pippin of Landen had a daughter named Ansegisel. She married Begga, son of Bishop Arnulf of Metz.

Their son was Pippin of Herstal (Pépin d'Héristal, or Pepin II, d. 714), who in 687 became King of all the Franks. He was succeeded by his son Charles Martel (Charles the Hammer, 688–741). Charles Martel was succeeded by his son Carlmann (Carloman, 715–54), who was deposed and succeeded by his brother Pippin the Short (Pepin III, 714–68).

During the eighth century the Carolingians were no longer satisfied with de facto rule as mayors of the palace. In 751 Pippin the Short deposed Childerich (Childeric III, d. 755), the last Merovingian king, becoming King of all the Franks. Childerich spent the last four years of his life in the Sithiu Monastery, near Saint-Omer, in the Pas de Calais, in what is now northeastern France. Another famous monastery had been founded in the village of Saint-Denis, north of Paris, on the right bank of the Seine River. The Frankish empire was divided into *Francia Occidentalis*, *Francia Media*, and *Francia Orientalis*. Saint Gregory of Tours, the sixth-century author of the *Historia Francorum*, reported that Saint Denis (Dionysius, d. 258), the patron saint of *Francia Occidentalis*, was one of seven bishops sent to Gallia (Gaul) to convert the "heathen" Celts and Gauls to Christianity during the reign of the Roman Emperor Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius (r. 249–51). Saint Denis became bishop of Paris, but was martyred during the savage persecution of the Christians under Emperor Publius Licinius Valerianus (Valerian, r. 253–60). In 626 the bones that people considered Saint Denis's remains were buried at the village of Saint-Denis. The Merovingian king Dagobert of the Franks (d. 639) founded the abbey church of Saint-Denis in the early seventh century on top of the tomb of Saint Denis. It was the first major Gothic church in *Francia Occidentalis*.

PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

As the "pagan" Franks progressively became Christian, the Jews fared continually worse in the Frankish empire of what they called "Ashkenaz" (Germany). The Council of Aurelianum (Orléans, 533) outlawed intermarriage between Jews and Christians. In 536 the Burgundian city of Matisco (now Mâcon) became an episcopal see. In 538 another council spoke harshly against such marriages and forbade all Jews to show up in public among the Christians for four full days between the Lord's Supper on Maundy Thursday and Christ's resurrection on Easter Monday. Several centuries later the Council of Clermont (1095) outlawed Jewish-Christian "intermarriage," calling it abhorrent to the Church. In 541 the Church spoke out against handing Christian slaves back to their Jewish masters. The Council of Matisco (Mâcon, 581) ratified the anti-Jewish interdictions and made them church law.

The Jews were also persecuted in Visigothic Spain. The Visigoths had defeated the Franks and other Germanic, Celtic, and Gallic tribes to get into Spain. In 507 King Chlodwig of the Franks (Clovis I) defeated King Alarich of the Visigoths (Alaric II) at Vouillé, northwest of Pictones (now Poitiers). The Visigoths lost most of their territories north of the Pyrenees to the Franks. Their remaining kingdom was now in

Spain and Septimania (southwestern France), with its capital at Toledo. King Leovigild (d. 586), the last Arian Visigothic ruler of Spain, restored and strengthened Visigothic rule in Spain, and King Reccared of the Visigoths (Reccared I, r. 586–601) converted from Arianism to Catholicism. The native, Gothic, and Roman populations of Spain merged into a “Spanish” nation that embraced Catholicism as its state religion. In 613 King Sisibut of Visigothic Spain (r. 612–20) ordered the Jews of his kingdom to convert to Catholicism. Those who refused were exiled. Many Jews converted, but many others fled Spain for the Frankish lands, especially Provence, taking refuge in the homes of fellow Jews.

King Dagobert of Austrasia (r. 628–39) united Neustria, Austrasia, Burgundy, and Aquitaine under his rule, becoming King of all the Franks. Dagobert commanded the Jews of his realm to embrace Christianity or leave his kingdom. As previously mentioned, Jewish myth has it that the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, scared by a prophecy about his kingdom being overrun by “a circumcised people,” had counseled Dagobert to convert the Jews by force. This myth may have arisen after the fall of the eastern lands of the Byzantine Arabs to the circumcised Muslim Arabs in 632 to 640.

Some scholars think of the year 632 as the beginning of medieval Jewish history, and of the late seventeenth century as its end (Ben-Sasson 1976:385). According to these scholars medieval Jewish history differed from medieval Christian history in several respects. While the status of the Christian city declined during the Middle Ages and the villages and fortified castles gained in importance, the Jews became increasingly urbanized. By the eighth century most European Jews were no longer farmers but city dwellers. During the Middle Ages tensions between cities and their surrounding villages kept growing. Furthermore, the Jews were now under the domination of ethnic groups such as Germans, Slavs, and other groups that were just beginning to integrate Christianity with their pagan and tribal cultures. The Jews represented the ancient, classical culture to these groups. The new ruling nations were beset by inner conflict between their old tribal cultures and their new Christian religion. The new cultures consisted of a welding Christian-Jewish element, of a dying classical element, and of the primal and tribal element.

According to some scholars the tribal and primitive elements of the surrounding culture gradually penetrated Jewish culture, which became increasingly national and urban. The more they were persecuted, the more the Jews felt themselves to be God’s chosen people. They acted superior, aristocratic, and haughty toward the outside world. “A continuous national unity was merged with the Jews’ belief in their divine election and was steadily reinforced by the urban character of Jewish life” (Ben-Sasson 1976:389). This may have been an additional cause of Christian Jew-hatred, reinforcing the unconscious projection (Loewenstein 1951).

The seventh and eighth centuries saw the great Muslim conquests and the passage of the Jews of Spain under Muslim rule. Spain remained under Visigothic rule until 711. Preoccupied with their religion, the Visigothic kings of Spain convened many church councils in their capital of Toledo. There were *eighteen* councils in

Toledo from c. 400 to 702. In 631 King Schwindila (Swinthila), who had been kind to the Jews, was deposed by Sisinand (r. 631–36), who convened the anti-Jewish Fourth Council of Toledo (633), which ruled that the Jews must not be converted by force any longer, but all Jews who had already converted must remain Christians. If a converted Jew was caught practicing his old religion, he was subject to severe penalties. The Sixth Council of Toledo (638) ruled that Jews could not live in the realm. The Eighth Council of Toledo in 653 ratified the anti-Jewish edicts. In 654 King Receswind (Recceswinth) imposed the *Lex Wisigothorum Receswinthiana* on all his subjects. The Ninth Council of Toledo (655) made it mandatory for all converted Jews to attend church services on both Jewish and Christian holidays.

The Church became increasingly powerful, the Visigothic kings of Spain increasingly weaker. In the sixth century Toledo became the residence of the Visigothic court of Spain. During the late seventh century the Visigothic kingdom was further weakened. In 680 King Wamba of the Visigoths was deposed and Spain was torn by civil war. The Twelfth Council of Toledo (681) was convened by King Erwig of the Visigoths and passed an avalanche of anti-Jewish laws. Jews who resisted conversion to Christianity and baptism were to be flogged one hundred lashes, have their heads shaved, have their property confiscated, and be exiled. Jews had to observe all Christian holidays on pain of one hundred lashes. Under King Egica (r. 687–702) the persecution of the Jews only became worse.

As the Europeans lumped all Arabs, Muslims, Kurds, Persians, Turks, and Moors under the name of "Saracens," so the Arabs called all the Europeans *frangi*, the Arabic corruption of the word *franci*. Erikson (1968:41) called this defensive process "pseudo-speciation." The need for enemies and allies stems from the externalization of our deepest and earliest feelings (Volkan 1988). As the new "Roman Empire" was being revived and Christianized, absorbing many tribes and peoples from all over Europe, its Jews became objects of loathing, fear, and hatred. They were blamed for all manner of evil, from the murder of Jesus Christ to slave-trading to usury to poisoning the Christian wells when there was a plague. They were viewed as children of the devil (Trachtenberg 1983). There were several unconscious psychological processes involved in the Christian hatred for the Jews: the *displacement* of feelings of rage at their feudal masters and overlords, the *externalization* of unacceptable aspects of their own selves, and the *projection* of unacceptable parricidal and filicidal feelings.

Jew-hatred was rife among the Christian masses and within the Roman Catholic Church. When the Carolingian Frankish dynasty died out in 987, Hugues le Grand's son, Hugues Capet, became king of Francia Occidentalis (France). When he died suddenly in 996, many people suspected his Jewish physicians of having poisoned him. During the reign of the second Capetian king, Robert the Pious (Robert II, 970–1031), the sixth Fatimid caliph of Islam, the fanatical and paranoid Caliph Hakim of Egypt (996–1021), began to persecute both Jews and Christians, destroying and defiling churches and synagogues.

Medieval France was a hotbed of Jew-hatred. From 1007 to 1010 rumors spread that the Jews of Orléans had written their Palestinian Muslim friends asking them to

destroy the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The Jews were persecuted. The Jews of Limoges were driven out of town and the Jews of Rouen were massacred when they refused to embrace Christianity. The Christians unconsciously projected their deicidal (i.e., parricidal) feelings upon the Jews. The Jews of Muslim Andalucia were similarly persecuted by the fanatical Almoravides and Almohades. Many fled to Morocco and then to Egypt, including Moses Maimonides (1135–1204), the rationalist medieval Jewish philosopher, theologian, and physician. Maimonides wrote texts that became Jewish catechisms, such as *The Guide to the Perplexed*.

The Greek-speaking Byzantine Christian rulers of the East were equally adept at persecuting the Jews. The civil codes of Theodosius (r. 408–50) and Justinian (r. 527–65) were full of anti-Jewish legislation. The Jews of Constantinople had occupied a central section of the city known as the Copper Market. They were driven out of this area and made to settle an outlying suburb known as Stenon (Stanor). The Byzantine emperor Phocas (602–10) ordered the forced conversion of all Byzantine Jews by baptism. The Jews of Antioch rebelled in 608, killing Archbishop Anastasios. In 610 the blond and gray-eyed Heraclius (575–641) defeated and deposed Phocas. From 614 to 628 the Byzantine Jews helped the Persians seize Byzantine lands and hold on to them. In 641, when the anti-Jewish Heraclius died, the Byzantine people rose up against the Queen Mother, Martina, and her son Heraclion. The Jews joined the raid on the Church of Hagia Sophia (Saint Sophia).

During the late Middle Ages the Jews of the Byzantine empire were no less persecuted than were those of the Frankish or Visigothic kingdoms. Benjamin of Tudela, the twelfth-century Spanish Jewish traveler, had a simple explanation for Jew-hatred: "Most of the [Christian Greek] hatred towards [the Jews of Constantinople] comes because of the [Jewish] tanners who pour out their dirty water outside their houses and thus defile the Jewish quarter. For this the Greeks hate the Jews, whether good or bad, and hold them under a heavy yoke. They strike them in the streets and give them hard employment" (Johnson 1987:170). But the Christian hatred of the Jews—the projective Christian view of the Jews as a symbol of evil, the highly discriminatory Christian legislation against the Jews, and their persecution up to the point of exile and murder—had deeper emotional reasons within the Christian psyche.

LIVING IN THE PAST

Their growing hatred by the Christians caused the Jews to withdraw from their painful reality. Medieval Jews referred to the eastern Frankish kingdom (Germany) as Ashkenaz, an obscure biblical Hebrew name (Gen. 10:3). The first reference to Germany (or Europe) as Ashkenaz occurs in the Hebrew text of *Midrash Bereshith Rabba* (Greater Genesis interpretation) composed in Palestine in the fourth or fifth century. The Jews similarly referred to the western Frankish kingdom (France) as Zarephath and to Spain as Sepharad, both obscure biblical Hebrew place-names (Obad. 20). This is very interesting from the psychogeographical point of view. The choice of

name was based on the fantasy that the Franks would save the Jews from their tormentors.

The biblical Ashkenaz was Noah's great-grandson, Japheth's grandson, Gomer's son, and brother to Riphath and Togarmah (Gen. 10:3; 1 Chron. 1:6). Jeremiah had prophesied that the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz would fight and defeat the Babylonians (Jer. 51:27). No one could identify the geographical location of Ashkenaz, which made it easier for the Jews to transplant this entity to Europe. Ashkenaz became the fantastic medieval Hebrew name for Germany; Jews who migrated from Germany to other countries were called Ashkenazi, Askenazi, Eskenazi, etc.

The Hebrew name Sepharad, a very obscure biblical name, occurs only once in the entire Bible: "And the captivity of Jerusalem, which is in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the south" (Obad. 20). The fantasy behind the name choice was that the Jews of Spain would be conquerors rather than vanquished. In reality the Jews were persecuted by the rulers of Spain, who had embraced Christianity: "Sepharad" was no better than "Ashkenaz." When the Turks began to conquer vast territories during the late Middle Ages the Jews began to call Turkey by the name of Ashkenaz's brother, Togarmah. This was psychogeographical fantasy (Stein and Nederland 1989). Yerushalmi (1982:36) explained this fascinating phenomenon:

On the whole, medieval Jewish chronicles tend to assimilate events to old and established conceptual frameworks. Persecution and suffering are, after all, the result of the condition of being in exile, and exile itself is the bitter fruit of ancient sins. It is important to realize that there is also no real desire to find novelty in passing events. Quite to the contrary, there is a pronounced tendency to subsume even major new events to familiar archetypes, for even the most terrible events are somehow less terrifying when viewed within old patterns rather than in their bewildering specificity. Thus the latest oppressor is Haman, and the court-Jew who tries to avoid disaster is Mordecai. Christendom is "Edom" or "Esau," and Islam is "Ishmael." Geographical names are blithely lifted from the Bible and affixed to places the Bible never knew, and so Spain is "Sefarad," France is "Zarefat," Germany is "Ashkenaz." The essential contours of the relations between Jews and gentiles have been delineated long ago in rabbinic aggadah, and there is little or no interest in the history of contemporary gentile nations.

The rigidity of these "old patterns" was such that the Jews lived in past fantasy rather than in present reality.

To repair the damage to their self-esteem, the Jews denigrated the glories of their persecutors. A medieval Hebrew book entitled *Sefer Nitsakhon Yashan* (Book of the old disputation) called the magnificent Gothic cathedral of Speyer an "ugly abyss" (Wagenseil 1681). The German king and "Holy Roman" Emperor Heinrich (Henry III, 1017–56), builder of the great Gothic cathedrals at Speyer, Worms, and Mainz, was called "evil King Heinrich." The wicked king, it says, sent for Rabbi Calonymus of Speyer and demanded to know in what way Solomon's Temple could have been superior to "Henry's ugly abyss" (Ben-Sasson 1976:554).

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF JEW-HATRED

The dramatic and tragic phenomenon of Jew-hatred, which only since the late nineteenth century has been called "anti-Semitism" (Marr 1879), has shocked and fascinated many scholars (Lazare 1903; Levinger 1925; Valentin 1936; Koppel 1942; Pinson 1946; Sartre 1946; Parkes 1946, 1963; Massing 1949; Byrnes 1950; Flannery 1965; Schorsch 1972; Korey 1973; Poliakov 1974–81; Grosser and Halperin 1978; Katz 1980; Wilson 1982; Arendt 1983; Gager 1983; Trachtenberg 1983; Dobkowski and Wallimann 1983; Curtis 1985; Gerber 1986; Dinnerstein 1987; Almog 1988). Few of them could explain the persistence and irrationality of Jew-hatred.

Jewish scholars and psychoanalysts, some of whom had to leave their European homelands due to Nazi persecution in the 1930s, have been intrigued by Jew-hatred (Fenichel 1940; Davidson 1943; Loebowitz-Lennard 1945; Simmel 1946; Brenner 1948; Ackerman and Jahoda 1950; Adorno et al. 1950; Loewenstein 1951; Schoenfeld 1966; Stein 1977). Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), who also personally suffered from anti-Semitism, had several converging explanations for it. Freud was obsessed with the Oedipus complex and the father-son rivalry. He believed that the Jews had murdered their "father" Moses but would not admit their guilt. Freud believed that Jew-hatred was overdetermined, i.e., that it had several causes, some conscious, others unconscious. Freud's eloquent prose is worth quoting in full (Freud 1939:90–91):

The poor Jewish people, who with their habitual stubbornness continued to disavow the father's murder, atoned heavily for it in the course of time. They were constantly met with the reproach: "You killed our God!" And this reproach is true, if it is correctly translated. . . . "You will not admit that you murdered God (the primal picture of God, the primal father, and his later incarnations)." There should be an addition declaring: "We did the same thing, to be sure, but we have admitted it and since then we have been absolved." Not all the reproaches with which anti-semitism persecutes the Jewish people can appeal to a similar justification. A phenomenon of such intensity and permanence as the people's hatred of the Jews must of course have more than one ground. It is possible to find a whole number of grounds, some of them derived from reality, which call for no interpretation, and others, lying deeper and derived from hidden sources, which might be regarded as the specific reasons. Of the former, the reproach of being aliens is perhaps the weakest, since in many places dominated by anti-semitism to-day the Jews were among the oldest portions of the population or had even been there before the present inhabitants. This applies, for instance, to the city of Cologne, to which the Jews came with the Romans, before it was occupied by the Germans. Other grounds for hating the Jews are stronger—thus the circumstances that they live for the most part as minorities among other peoples, for the communal feeling of groups requires that, in order to complete it, hostility towards some extraneous minority, and the numerical weakness of this excluded minority encourages its suppression. There are, however, two other characteristics of the Jews which are quite unforgivable. First is the fact that in some respects they are different from their "host" nations. They are not fundamentally different, for they are not Asiatics of a foreign race, as their enemies maintain, but composed for the most part of remnants of Mediterranean civilization. But they are none the less different, often in an indefinable way different, especially from the Nordic peoples, and the intolerance of groups is often,

strangely enough, exhibited more strongly against small differences than against fundamental ones.

Freud was alluding to what he called the "narcissism of minor differences." He went on to ascribe Jew-hatred to Jewish group narcissism and to the Jewish practice of circumcision (Freud 1939:91-92):

The other point has a still greater effect, namely that they defy all oppression, that the most cruel persecutions have not succeeded in exterminating them, and, indeed, that on the contrary they show a capacity for holding their own in commercial life and, where they are admitted, for making valuable contributions to every form of cultural activity. The deeper motives for hatred of the Jews are rooted in the remotest past ages; they operate from the unconscious of the peoples, and I am prepared to find that at first they will not seem credible. I venture to assert that jealousy of the people which declared itself the first-born, favourite child of God the Father, has not yet been surmounted among other peoples even to-day: it is as though they had thought there was truth in the claim. Further, among the customs by which the Jews made themselves separate, that of circumcision has made a disagreeable, uncanny impression, which is to be explained, no doubt, by its recalling the dreaded castration and along with it a portion of the *primaeval* past which is gladly forgotten. And finally, as the latest motive in this series, we must not forget that all those peoples who excel to-day in their hatred of Jews became Christians only in late historic times, often driven to it by bloody coercion. It must be said that they are all "misbaptized." They have been left, under a thin veneer of Christianity, what their ancestors were, who worshipped a barbarous polytheism. They have not got over a grudge against the new religion which was imposed on them; but they have displaced the grudge on to the source from which Christianity reached them. The fact that the Gospels tell a story which is set among Jews, and in fact deals only with Jews, has made this displacement easy for them. Their hatred of Jews is at bottom a hatred of Christians, and we need not be surprised that in the German National-Socialist revolution this intimate relation between the two monotheist religions finds such a clear expression in the hostile treatment of both of them.

Whether or not Freud was right on every count, his analysis was incisive. It was written prior to the Holocaust in which six million Jews were murdered. After the war some of Freud's Jewish followers who had fled to the United States embarked on psychoanalytic studies of Jew-hatred (Loewenstein 1951).

Friedländer (1971), himself a victim of Nazi persecution, called Jew-hatred (anti-Semitism) a "collective psychosis." Friedländer (1978:92-95) reviewed the psychohistorical studies of Jew-hatred. He cited Freud's view that we are dealing with an overdetermined phenomenon, one which has many different causes. He pointed out that the Jew, like witches and demons, served the Christian psyche as "the most enduring symbol of Evil known to Christianity." The Jew, he said, "fulfills a single function from the sociological and the psychological point of view: he allows the society in question to distinguish Good from Evil, the Pure from the Impure, what is itself from what is 'other' . . . the Jews represent above all the deviant group that allows a society to define its own limits." In psychoanalytic terms this unconscious process is known as "splitting."

Friedländer (1971) pointed out the unconscious projection involved in Jew-hatred. The Christians hate the Jews because they unconsciously project upon the Jews everything they can't stand about themselves. This is what Freud meant when he wrote that the Christian hatred of Jews was at bottom a hatred of Christians. Furthermore, wrote Friedländer, the religious self-segregation of the Jews helped to arouse Christian hostility, as did the Jewish belief in their being God's Chosen People. The Christians imagined the Jews to be foreign and attributed all manner of treason to them. The concentration of Jews in the most visible sectors of society, such as finance in the Middle Ages, their unusually rapid upward social mobility, and their participation in extremist ideological movements reinforced the Christian hatred for them.

The European Jews, added Friedländer, served to reinforce the social cohesion and integration of their Christian persecutors, especially at times of political or social crisis in Christian society. During such crises the tension between Jews and non-Jews becomes exacerbated, and the role of the Jew seems more threatening to the non-Jewish society. Friedländer cited the psychoanalytic notion that the Jew was the symbol of God the Father in the collective unconscious of the Christians, whereas the Christian child identified with God the Son (Jesus Christ), whom the Jews killed—or so he was told. "The Christian imagination sees . . . in the conflict between Jews and Christ a reflection of old personal conflicts with the father." Friedländer cited the studies by Ackerman and Jahoda (1950), Adorno et al. (1950), Gough (1951), and Loewenstein (1951) showing the psychopathology of the anti-Semitic mind.

Friedländer (1978:94) nevertheless thought that all these sociological and psychological explanations did not amount to a true psychohistorical study of Jew-hatred, because "the diachronic element is still missing . . . one must study the transformation of the general functions in specific, and changing, historical contexts." The manifestations of Jew-hatred ranged from laws prohibiting Jewish ownership of Christian slaves in the early Middle Ages to mass murders of Jews in our own time. The common psychological elements of projection, splitting, scapegoating, and cohesion by exclusion have remained.

Stein (1987:149) thought that "the underlying core of the conflict lies in Christian ambivalence toward the heavy conscience derived from Judaism . . . the Jews in turn recoil against . . . the successful Christian revolt against the repressive moral burden . . . that Jews dare not admit to be their wish." Stein (1987:156) believed that Judaism never abolished the original sacrifice of the son, moving instead to animal sacrifice and then to self-sacrifice. The Jews themselves, identifying with the sacrificial son, became the sacrifice. Dying, martyrdom, and sacrifice became part of the Jewish group self.

THE *JUDENSAU* AS BAD MOTHER

To understand the projective roots of the Christian persecution of the Jews, it is illuminating to examine the later Middle Ages. The fantasies of medieval Christians

about the Jews revealed their innermost preoccupations. Medieval Christians viewed the Jew as the devil incarnate (Trachtenberg 1983). The devil was usually pictured with goat's legs and beard, a long, sharp, swordlike penis, and woman's breasts. This was a "contaminated" externalization of the internalized bad father and "phallic" mother in the medieval child's fantasy. Medieval Germans imagined that the Jews rode a *Judensau* (Jews' sow), that the sow was the Jews' mother, that they drank her milk and ate her excrement, and that Jewish women gave birth to piglets (Shachar 1974).

The Christian fantasies about the Jews and their sow were unconscious projections of their own infantile, unacceptable wishes. The strict upbringing of medieval children, especially in matters of toilet training, produced very painful "bad" feelings in them. The infant wanted to suck his mother's milk and eat her excrement, to carve her up in pieces, and to devour her. He feared both his parents even as he loved them. Most medieval Christians were peasants who lived with pigs and sows all their lives. It was natural for them to displace their painful feelings about their mothers and fathers to the sow and to the devil, which were unconscious externalizations of their internalized early parents. The profound Christian fear and hatred of the Jews derived from the unconscious projection upon the minority of "evil" feelings and wishes within the Christian mind itself.

The Christians' unbearable feelings and wishes included decide (which unconsciously equals parricide), fratricide, infanticide, bloodthirst, incest, and matricide. The Christians were unconsciously telling themselves, "*We do not wish to kill our children and our fathers! The Jews are the filicides and parricides.*" The medieval Christians, who believed that they drank their savior's blood during the Eucharist through the transubstantiation of the sacrament of the wine, thought that the Jews actually drank the blood of Christian children. The "bloodthirsty" Jews were accused of having killed Jesus Christ, the son god of the Christians, and of murdering Christian children and of drinking their blood or using it for their Passover ritual. The tragic irony of this ritual-murder libel was that the Passover ritual of the Jews had originated in their attempt to avoid child sacrifice in the first place.

In conclusion, from the fifth to the early seventh century, the Jews spread all over eastern, southern, and western Christian Europe. They settled and became minorities in the new kingdoms that replaced the old Roman Empire. These included the newly established Frankish empire of central and western Europe, the Visigothic kingdom of Spain, and the Byzantine lands of eastern Europe and the Mediterranean basin. In all of these Christian lands the hatred and the persecution of the Jews kept surging during early medieval times. Laws were enacted progressively barring the Jews from many occupations. Other laws forced them to convert to Christianity and to attend all Christian feasts. Still others imposed sentences of one hundred lashes, shaving of the beard, confiscation of the property, and banishment on Jews found guilty of offending the Church. Many Jews were put to death as well.

In 825, when Bishop Agobard of Lugdunum (Saint Agobard of Lyon, c. 774–840) railed against the Jewish slave trade, he failed to mention that the Jews had been

officially authorized, indeed commissioned, by the Burgundian and Frankish kings, including Emperor Charlemagne, to buy and sell slaves. Neither did he say that most slaves were pagan Slavs who had been taken prisoner by German Christians, sold to Jews, and resold to Muslims. The Latin word for slave and for Slav, *sclavus*, was one and the same. In the ninth century the slave trade was legal, socially, and psychologically acceptable, and deemed economically necessary (Grayzel 1969:312). No one thought it was wrong, because people had little empathy for the feelings of others, especially slaves. The sanctimonious Bishop Agobard was enraged about the Jews' refusal to surrender to the Church without charge those slaves who converted to Christianity while passing through the Christian lands.

26

Arabs, Muslims, and Jews

Jew-hatred was not confined to Christians. It took a different form among the Semitic Muslim Arabs. The Arabs were an ancient polytheistic and nomadic desert people. In the seventh century they became Muslims. The Muslims called themselves *muamineen* (believers or faithful) and those who refused to accept their religion “infidel” (faithless). The Arabic word *umma* means “community” or “nation” and *dhimma* means “protection.” The Muslim prophet Muhammad called his community of believers *umma*, an Arabic word derived from *umm* (mother). Those “infidels” who were members of the People of the Book, such as Jews and Christians, were believed to have formed an *umma* of their own and were called *dhimmi*, which meant that they had bought the protection or patronage of the Muslims.

The *dhimmi* were subject to discriminatory restrictions imposed by the dominant Muslims, such as the ban on carrying arms and on riding horses. Benjamin of Tudela, the twelfth-century Spanish Jewish traveler who visited the Jewish communities of Europe and the Near East in 1159–72, found that the twenty-five hundred Jews of Istanbul were silk craftsmen and merchants of all kinds, and many were rich men, but none were allowed by law to ride a horse, except the Byzantine king’s physician (Johnson 1987:169). While such discriminatory restrictions were rationalized, their unconscious aim was to make the Muslims feel superior and the *dhimmi* feel inferior.

The pre-Islamic Arabs were Semitic nomads roaming the deserts of the Middle East. The Assyrian inscriptions of the ninth century B.C.E. used the term “Arab” to refer to the nomadic desert people inhabiting the far north of the Arabian peninsula. The sedentary people of the south were not then called Arabs. The ancient Hebrews similarly used the term “Arab” to designate the desert nomads rather than a particular ethnic group (1 Kings 10:15; 2 Chron. 9:14, 21:16; Isa. 13:20; Jer. 3:2, 25:23; Ezek. 27:21; Neh. 2:19, 6:6). The mythical biblical patriarch Joktan (Gen. 10:25) was identified as the father of several ancient Arabian kingdoms, and many Arab scholars like to identify him with Qahtan, their own mythical forefather.

From the fifth century B.C.E. to the sixth century C.E. there were several important kingdoms in Arabia, such as Maeen, Sheba, Ophir, Qathban, and Hadhramaut (the Court of Death). The Arabs worshipped many gods, chief among whom was Allah, the Arabic counterpart of the Canaanite father god El, Elah, or Eloha. The Greeks and Romans extended the term “Arab” to all the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula and

the term "Arabia" to all the desert areas of the Middle East. "Arab" now means anyone whose mother tongue is Arabic.

The nomadic desert Arabs are known as *badaween* (Beduin), the settled Arab farmers as *fellaheen*. Islam is generally held to have been founded in what is now Saudi Arabia in the early seventh century C.E. by Muhammad ibn Abdallah ibn Abdul-Muttalib (c. 570–632) of the Meccan tribe of Kuraish; Sharon (1988) believed that Islam was born late in the century in Palestine. Muhammad was rebelling against the prevailing polytheistic and polydemonic religion of the Arabs. His basic teachings were that Allah was the one and only God, that man must submit to Allah in all things, that Muhammad himself was Allah's true Prophet, that those who rejected him would be punished, that heaven and hell were waiting for the present generation, and that the world would come to an end with the Great Judgment.

At the time of Muhammad most Arabs lived in nomadic tribal groupings in the desert. They worshipped numerous gods and demons. The psychology of the Arabs is very different from that of Westerners (Hamady 1960; Patai 1973). Life in the desert made for the development of unusual family dynamics. Survival was hard, and bloody battles were an everyday occurrence. The conflict between father and son was especially acute in such families, but was heavily suppressed. The internal conflicts generated in such families gave rise to gods and demons via splitting, externalization, and projection.

The Arabic word "Islam" means submitting to (or making peace with) Allah. Islam comes from the same root as *salaam* (peace). Muhammad may have developed Islam out of his inner conflict of feelings about his father Abdallah (Slave of Allah), who died soon after Muhammad's birth. To the boy Muhammad his father Abdallah's death was an abandonment; it was also a triumph, for it left Muhammad with no rival for his mother's affections other than his uncle, who took over the father's role. Muhammad may have been enraged at his father for leaving him, idealizing his father's image within himself and longing for his father while coveting his mother at the same time.

Muhammad was born around 570 C.E. His name means "praised" in Arabic, and the name choice may well have expressed his parents' feelings about the child (Falk 1975–76). Muhammad was raised by his uncle Abu Talib and by his widowed mother Amina. There was no father around to check his oedipal feelings for his mother, which were transferred in his youth to another wealthy widow, much older than himself, by the name of Khadijah. Muhammad loved her dearly and married her when he was twenty-four or twenty-five, taking no other wife in her lifetime, although it was customary among Arabs to have several wives. Their daughter Fatima became very special to Muhammad.

At the age of forty (around 610) Muhammad had a midlife crisis. The approaching reality of his own death and his inner emotional conflict led him to feel that he was selected by Allah to be the Arab prophet of his true religion. He had a vision in a cave, an unconscious symbol of the maternal womb, in which he was commanded to preach to the Arabs. The cave was on the al-Hirah mountain near Mecca. During the next twenty-two years Muhammad had further visions and revelations. This seems to

have been Muhammad's way of resolving his inner conflict. He submitted to the father figure Allah while assuming the role of the favorite son and being symbolically reborn at the same time. His zeal to convert the Arabs to Islam was fueled by his deepest personal feelings.

The Semitic Arabic language is very different from the Indo-European languages. Arabic is much less differentiated. There are only three vowels: *a*, *e/i* and *o/u*: the *e* and *i* sounds are interchangeable, as are the *o* and *u* sounds. Even the *a* and the *e* can be interchangeable, as in *al-* and *el-*. This makes for great variety in transliteration. The word Muslim is also rendered as "Moslem," the name Muhammad is rendered as Mohammed, Mehmed, Mehmet, and Mahomet, the word *harem* is also spelled *harim*, and so forth. Islam preaches submission to Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Great Father of the patriarchal Arabs.

Like the Canaanite deity El, Allah, the father god, was one of the ancient gods of the Arabs but by no means the only one. Muhammad did away with all the other Arab gods, including the goddesses. But the Arabs continued to believe in supernatural beings. In addition to Allah most Muslims also believe in prophets, saints, angels, devils, spirits, and other supernatural beings. Margolis and Marx (1985:248) echoed many Jewish historians in claiming that Judaism had spawned Christianity as well as Islam. Mamlak (1987) called this view a "pernicious fiction." In psychoanalytic terms it is a group-narcissistic fantasy. Islam, while appearing to incorporate the Jewish and Christian prophets and saints, actually grew out of the polytheistic religions of Arabia. The Koran (Reader) is the sacred scripture of Islam. Its text consists of Muhammad's revelations.

Let us briefly examine the history of the Jews under Arab rule. During the third century the Arab tribes of al-Aus and al-Khazraj seized Yathrib (now Medina) from the Jews, who became their subjects. The Jews became increasingly Arabized, differing from their Arab neighbors only in their religion. They spoke, read, and wrote Arabic, and composed florid poetry in the Arab literary manner. Only Jewish scholars could read and write Hebrew. The Jews ransomed their coreligionists who were taken captive by the Arabs during battles. Jews and Arabs lived in tribal groupings in the Arabian peninsula until the early seventh century.

After his visions and conversion at the age of forty, Muhammad tried to convert his fellow Arabs to his new religion of Islam, but he made few converts while making many enemies. His first converts were his wife Khadijah, his son-in-law Ali, and his father-in-law Abu Bakr. Muhammad's uncle, Abu Talib, died in 619. Muhammad went on preaching. Although he was a wealthy merchant of Mecca, he greatly upset his fellow citizens, much of whose revenue came from the pagan shrine of the Qaaba, a large meteorite revered by the Arabs as divine. By the year 620 Muhammad was practically a pariah, at war with his fellow Meccans. His only converts were in Yathrib. In 622 some of his fellow Meccans plotted to murder Muhammad. He fled to Yathrib, whose name was changed to al-Medina (The City [of the Prophet]). This flight is known in Muslim history as the *hijrah*, *hegira*, or *hejirah*. The lunar Muslim calendar counts the years from that date, as in A.H. 1350. Muhammad, who was in all likelihood a

high-level narcissistic personality with a grandiose self (Kernberg 1975; Kohut 1977), was enraged with the Jews, especially the Kainukaa, for failing to accept his new religion.

Muhammad had grand visions of uniting all of Arabia, including the Jewish tribes, under his new banner of Islam. Unconsciously, he may have been trying to repair the internal image of his mother. Muhammad was not only struggling with the image of his father (Allah), he was also fighting his mother city of Mecca, which had failed to accept his new religion and had turned against him. This may have been a displacement of his rage at his own early mother. Medina was his new idealized good mother.

In 624 Muhammad defeated the Meccans at the Battle of Badr on a day since known in Islam as "The Day of Deliverance." Muhammad wreaked vengeance on the Jewish tribe of the Kainukaa, which had opposed him, besieging them in Medina. Deserted by their Arab allies of the al-Khazraj tribe, the Kainukaa surrendered to Muhammad. The chieftain of the al-Khazraj, Shaikh Abdallah ibn Ubay, talked Muhammad out of massacring the entire Jewish tribe, whom Muhammad drove into exile. Most of the Kainukaa are said to have wound up in Palestine.

In 625 the Meccans defeated Muhammad's forces at the Battle of Uhud (Ohud), wounding Muhammad himself. One of the Meccan commanders, Khalid ibn al-Walid, later had a change of heart, embracing Islam. The Prophet wreaked vengeance on the Jewish Arab tribe of the Banu Nadhir, accusing them of plotting against him with the Meccans. The Banu Nadhir were driven out and fled to the highlands east of the Jordan River (now the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan). In 627 the Meccans joined a coalition of Beduin tribes to fight Muhammad, but the prophet won the Battle of Mecca through artful deception, and the al-Aus, his allies, massacred over six hundred Meccans and Beduin. The beautiful Jewish war widow Rihana was forced to convert to Islam and added to Muhammad's harem.

In 628 Muhammad's forces fell upon the Arab Jews of Khaibar, besieging their fortress. The Jewish warrior Markhab and his brother were killed by Muslim fighters such as Ali and Zubair. The Jewish tribal chief, Shaikh Kinana, was tortured and killed, while his wife Safia was taken by Muhammad. Zainab, the widow of Markhab's brother, was said to have poisoned Muhammad's food, making him ill for the rest of his life. Muhammad had her executed. The Prophet harbored anti-Jewish feelings for the rest of his life, and they abound in the Koran.

By 628 Muhammad was the ruler of Arabia. His hometown of Mecca with its black meteorite, the Qaaba, was proclaimed the true seat of Allah on earth. Muhammad had liberated and purified his early mother (Mecca) and recreated his father (Allah). Muhammad claimed to have restored the cult of Islam as it had been founded by Ibrahim (Abraham), father of Ismail (Ishmael), the mythical biblical ancestor of the Arabs. In fact, nowhere in the Bible is there any direct connection between Ishmael and the Arabs. In 629 Khalid ibn al-Walid, the victor of the Battle of Uhud, embraced Islam and fought for Muhammad, who gave him the name Saif-Allah (Sword of Allah). Muhammad died in 632 and was succeeded by his father-in-law, Abu Bakr as-Siddiq (Abu Bakr the Righteous, 573–634). Abu Bakr took the titles of *khalifa* (caliph),

meaning "vicar," "deputy" or "successor," and Rasul-Allah (Allah's messenger). That year signaled the beginning of the bloody Muslim Arab conquests, which lasted until 711 and spread over all of the Middle East, North Africa, and Spain.

Between 633 and 638 the Muslim Arab commanders Khalid ibn al-Walid Saif-Allah (d. 642) and Amr ibn al-As (d. 663) conquered Syria, Egypt, Iraq, and Persia for the caliphs Abu Bakr as-Siddiq and Omar ibn al-Khattab (Umar I, 586–644). In 636 the Arabs destroyed a huge Byzantine army in the Battle of the Yarmuk Valley in Syria. Prior to Islam, the Arabs had already defeated the Persian army of Khosrow Shah Parviz at Dhu-Qar in 611. Some of the northwestern Arabs had been Christianized. Khosrow Shah Parviz destroyed the Lakhmid and Ghassanid Christian Arab states in Syria and western Iraq. This further precipitated the Arab attacks on Persia. The last Sasanid king of Persia was Yazdegerd Shah (Yazdegerd III, r. 633–51). In 636/37 the Arabs defeated the Persians in the battle of al-Qadisiyah on a canal of the Euphrates River, near al-Hirah, where Muhammad had his vision in the cave. The Persian commander, Rustam, was killed. Ctesiphon fell to the Arabs. Yazdegerd Shah fled to Media, organizing new resistance. In 642 the Arabs again defeated the Persians at Nehavand, south of Hamadan. After fleeing to a succession of provinces Yazdegerd Shah was assassinated (651).

In 638 Caliph Umar (Omar I) founded the city of Kufah in Iraq, which later became the seat of the Abbasid caliphate. After Omar's death his successor Uthman (Othman, r. 644–50) conquered the rest of Persia. The Arabs went on to conquer all of North Africa. Dark-skinned Arabs who conquered North Africa mixed with the fair-skinned Berber tribes of that vast region to form the Moors. The Arabs called western North Africa the Maghreb or Maghrib (West). The Berber warrior Tariq ibn Ziyad led the Moorish armies in the invasion of Spain. Gibraltar (Jibl al-Tariq, or Mount Tariq) is named after him.

Jews had been living in Arabia long before the advent of Islam. Jewish historians proudly mention that during the late fifth and early sixth century a Sabaeen king of Yemen named Dhu-Nuwas assumed the name of Joseph and became a Jew. His historical significance is negligible. His kingdom was wiped off the map by the Ethiopians in 525 and he left no noticeable trace on culture, art, or science. The wish to make their people look great even as a minority in dispersion makes historians exaggerate the importance of minor figures.

US AND THEM

Within less than a century, between 632 and 711, the Muslim Arabs conquered all of the Middle East, North Africa, and Spain. They left the Jews and Christians of their newly conquered lands in their place but imposed special taxes, such as the *jizyah* (head tax or poll tax) and *kharaj* (land tax), upon the infidel *dhimmi* (the protected people). Moreover, the infidel had to wear special garb distinguishing them from the Muslim believers. They were forbidden to ride horses, bear arms, build houses higher

than Muslims, pray loudly, or build new synagogues or churches. All these laws were enacted because of the Muslims' fear of losing their imagined superiority and their group cohesion and boundaries. Group boundaries are psychologically important. They protect the group's sense of self. As Stein (1987:5-6) put it:

Human beings universally erect symbolic boundaries to provide inner cohesion by delineating where "we" end and where "they" begin—and to make certain that the outside is kept at bay. Such markers are sometimes conspicuous, for instance, the Great Wall of China of antiquity and the Berlin Wall of today. They are often built into the fabric of one's language. For instance, among Navahos, the word *indeh* signifies "the people," the Navaho themselves, while the word *indah*, differing from the former by only a single phoneme, refers to "the enemy" beyond the boundary of [the] Navahos (Boyer 1986). Armenians have the term *odar*, which unflatteringly condenses into a single image everyone who is not Armenian (Khantzian 1985:6); Jews likewise have a similar term, *goyim* (one which, although in official denotation simply means "nations," in connotation is unmistakably pejorative toward the outside world).

In a classical us-and-them, black-and-white splitting process (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry 1987), the Muslims split their world into *Dar al-Islam* (the abode of Islam) and *Dar al-Kharb* (the abode of War). Non-Muslims were tolerated in *Dar al-Islam*, but the need for group boundaries and the fear of the "alien" made the Muslims impose special taxes and status on them.

The early Muslim rulers regarded the non-Muslim "aliens" in their realm as "protected" people who had to show their submission by paying special taxes. The so-called "Terms of Umar," attributed to the conquering Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab (Umar I, 586-644), assumed the *dhimmi* "children" to have asked for and bought the protection of the caliph, the great father of the Muslims. In exchange for paying the *jizyah* (head tax or poll tax) and *kharaj* (land tax), these "aliens" received the *dhimma* (protection) of their Muslim rulers, were granted freedom of worship, and were allowed to organize themselves into religious communities. The *dhimmi* were infantilized, being protected by and dependent on their Muslim "parents."

Ninety percent of the world's Jews at that time lived under Muslim rule as *dhimmi*. The ancient Babylonia, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia were all under Arab rule. Jews were now able to resettle in their ancient homeland of Palestine, which they called Eretz Yisrael (the land of Israel). Most Jews, however, preferred the wealth and culture of Spain to the desolation of the "Holy Land." The fiscal policy of the Muslim rulers, which based taxes on land area rather than on farm yield, drove Jewish farmers out of the countryside into the cities. After the discriminatory taxes pushed Jewish farmers out of the villages, they took up commerce, which the Muslims respected. As merchants, the Jews could live safely in the cities. This began the process of Jewish urbanization. One might have expected the Jews and the Muslims to integrate and to live in harmony. However, just as the Jews divided the world into "Israel" and the *goyim*, so the Muslims split up their world into Muslims and infidels.

In reality the Muslim territories were not one "abode" or "house" united under a

single "father." There were perennial wars among local chieftains, among the various sects such as Sunnis and Shiites, and among ethnic groups, as well as among the great dynasties of the caliphs (successors to the Prophet). Here is one scholar's description of the unconscious splitting process operating in the Arab and Muslim view of the world:

The idea of the national unity of all Arabs is a very new concept. Historically, the Arab world view was wrapped in the Islamic outlook, which considered all Muslims one nation. Although national states have been in existence within the domain of Islam for centuries, the traditional Muslim religious law, the so-called *sharia*, recognizes only one indivisible Muslim entity, the *umma Muhammadiyya* or "Muhammadite nation." The same view is expressed in the often-quoted old saying, *La unam fi'l-Islam* (There are no nations in Islam), which has its counterpart in the similarly monochromatic view of the non-Muslim world: *al-kufri millatun wahida*, literally "Unbelief is one nation," meaning that all of non-Muslim humanity constitutes something like one national unit. The opposition between these two large sectors of the world is expressed even more succinctly in the juxtaposition of the *Dar al-Islam* (House of Islam) and the *Dar al-Harb* (House of War) which, ever since the foundation of Islam, have stood arrayed against each other. (Patai 1973:204-5)

This psychogeographical fiction was a potent psychological reality in Muslim minds (Stein 1987).

The *Dar al-Islam* was ruled by the *khalifa* (caliph), held to be the Prophet's direct successor. The caliphate was an office over which great Arab dynasties like the Umayyads, the Abbasids, and the Fatimids fought savagely. The first or "orthodox" caliphs (632 to 661) were Muhammad's father-in-law Abu Bakr as-Siddiq (r. 632-34), Umar ibn al-Khattab (Omar ibn al-Khattab, r. 634-44), Uthman (Othman, r. 644-56), and Ali (r. 656-661), Muhammad's first cousin and son-in-law, the husband of Muhammad's favorite daughter Fatima (Fatma).

The second caliph, Umar I, expelled all Jews and Christians from Arabia. Some Jews remained nevertheless. In 635 the Caliph Umar seized Damascus, whose Arabic names are Dimashq and Esh-Shams (the sun), after the pre-Islamic Arab sun god. In 636 Umar seized the rest of Syria and Palestine. His great commanders such as Khalid ibn al-Walid Saif-Allah, Amar ibn al-As, and Abu-Ubaideh pushed far and wide, conquering the entire Middle East. In 637 the Muslim Arabs drove the Persians back to Iran, becoming the new rulers of the Middle East. They plundered the ancient Parthian and Persian capital of Ctesiphon, renaming it al-Madain and abandoning it a century later, under Caliph al-Mansur, when the new "round city" of Madinat as-Salaam (The City of Peace, now Baghdad) to the north became the seat of the Abbasid caliphate.

In 638 the Muslim Arabs captured Jerusalem, naming it al-Quds (The Holy One). In 640 they captured Egypt and in 641 Persia itself. After Muslims and Jews were living in close proximity and getting used to one another, the Muslim fear of losing their boundaries or their sense of superiority had abated, and the anti-Jewish laws were relaxed or not so strictly enforced.

THE GREAT MUSLIM SCHISM

Wars and assassinations kept tearing up the "House of Islam." In 657 the third caliph, Uthman, was murdered at the Battle of Siffin and was succeeded by Muhammad's son-in-law, Ali. In 658 Muawiya, the disaffected Umayyad ruler of Syria, seized Egypt. In 661 Ali was murdered by the fanatical Khawarij (Kharijites or Seceders), a group of Iraqi nomads led by Ibn Wahhab, who seceded from Ali's camp and refused to accept arbitration between Ali and Muawiya. Some Muslims regarded Ali as a martyr. Ali's son Hassan ruled briefly as the fifth caliph, but Muawiya's Umayyads soon threatened him with force of arms. Muawiya forced Hassan to abdicate in his favor.

Ali's murder precipitated a great rift in Islam. The Sunni (traditionalist or orthodox) Muslims, who were the mainstream of Islam, separated from the more extreme Shiite (sectarian) Muslims, who believed in Ali's martyrdom. Hassan died in 669 and was believed by the Shiites to have been murdered by the Umayyads. The Arabic word *imam* means leader or pattern. The Koranic term *imam* means religious leader, referring to Ibrahim (Abraham) and to other community leaders. The Shiites believe in Ali as the first Imam. While Sunnis identify the caliph with the Imam as the Prophet's successor, Shiites hold the Imam to be his true successor, with absolute spiritual authority. Some Shiites also believe in "hidden Imams," Imams who are not known to ordinary mortals as such.

The caliphs of the house of Umayyah are called the Umayyads. Muawiyah was the first Umayyad Caliph (r. 661–80). His successors were Yazd (Yazid I, r. 680–83), Muawiyah II (683), Marwan (Marwan I, 683–85), Abd al-Malik (685–705), Waleed (Walid I, 705–15), Sleyman (Suleyman, 715–17), Umar (Omar) II (717–20), Yazd (Yazid II, 720–24), Hisham (724–43), Waleed (Walid II, 743), Yazd (Yazid III, 743–44), Ibrahim (744), and Marwan II (744–49). Sharon (1988) believed that Islam was born in Palestine when Abd al-Malik, then the Umayyad governor of Syria, sought to create a center of worship for the Syrian Arab believers. That center was Jerusalem, known in Arabic as al-Quds, and Abd al-Malik's inscription in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, which dates from 691, tells this story. In 693 Abd al-Malik won Mecca and its Qaabah from Muhammad's nephew Abdallah ibn Zubayr, and in 695 Abd-al-Malik prepared the pilgrimage to Mecca and made it into the holiest city and center of Islam. The Umayyads imposed the *jizyah* not only on the non-Muslim *dhimmi* but also on recent converts to Islam. This humiliation and other harsh aspects of Umayyad rule eventually led to the Abu Muslim revolt in the eighth century.

NEW MESSIAHS

Umayyad rule was a time of fresh troubles for the Jews. No sooner had Islam taken over in the lands of the Middle East and North Africa than fresh Jewish prophets, redeemers, and Messiahs appeared on the scene. Margolis and Marx (1985:258–59) felt that the messianic Jewish longing for rebirth was linked to Shiite Muslim fundamentalism:

Deep in the [Jewish] people's soul burned the spark of the Messianic hope, ready to be fanned into flame by any one who appealed to their imagination. There were those who were given to "calculating the end" by deftly manipulating the obscure numbers in [the Book of] Daniel. In the most distant provinces of Persia, the Shiite sect of Islam had its seat; its tenets centered in the exaltation of the religious head in succession to the Prophet and in the belief in the "hidden imam" and his "return." Here in the eighth century the Jewish masses were stirred by a pretender to the Messianic dignity who came from a place named Shirin. He held out the promise of a miraculous restoration of Palestine.

This messianic pretender was a psychotic Jew who was variously known as Shirini, Sherini, Shirin, Serene, Serenus, Zonrias, and Zonorias. He may have been one of the Jewish refugees from Constantinople after the horrific Arab siege of 711–18. Caliph Umar II (r. 717–20) had introduced severe laws governing the behavior of the infidel. In 717 he had led the last Arab siege of Constantinople, which was finally repelled by the Byzantine emperor Leo the Isaurian (Leo III) in 718. Shirini seems to have been one of the Byzantine Jews who fled to Syria at that time. He was able to attract many desperate Jewish refugees to his messianic delusions. Caliph Yazd II (r. 720–24) rid himself of this Messiah by having him arrested and tried for heresy by the Jewish courts.

THE ISSAVITES

Historians have had trouble dating a second eighth-century Jewish Messiah named Abu Issa (Isaac Obadiah), an illiterate tailor from Isfahan. Grayzel (1969:266) placed Abu-Issa in the reign of Caliph Abd al-Malik (685–705), before Shirini, who was active around 719–22. Margolis and Marx (1985:259) and Sachar (1958a:162), on the other hand, dated Abu Issa after Shirini, around 749/50, when the Umayyads were massacred by the Abbasids, who came to power. Over ten thousand Jews are said to have flocked to Abu Issa's banner. There are many myths about Abu Issa. One of them tells of a battle between Jews and Muslims during which Abu Issa had his followers roped off and declared his magical power to ward off the enemy's arrows that way. Abu Issa's revolt against the caliphs, however, was short-lived. He was either killed in battle (Sachar 1958a:162) or committed suicide (Grayzel 1969:267; Margolis and Marx 1985:259). His Issavite followers lasted in Damascus until the tenth century.

The lack of clarity as to the dates and circumstances of Abu Issa's life is symptomatic of the overall lack of Jewish chronological historiography between the first and the sixteenth century. We have seen that this was due to the Jewish inability to mourn the great losses and hurts of the past. This refusal to mourn gave rise to Jewish messianism. A third eighth-century Messiah was Yudghan ar-Rai (the Shepherd) of Hamadan, who seems to have followed Abu Issa. We know little about his life. Grayzel (1969:267) dated him about the same time as Shirini. Others dated Yudghan a few years after Abu Issa. Margolis and Marx (1985:259) called him "a disciple" of Abu Issa.

THE ABBASIDS

The Shiite Muslims established their own religious center in Persia, where Islam was supplanting the traditional Mithra and Zarathushtra faiths. During the first half of the eighth century they were joined by the Abbasids, an Arab clan descended from Muhammad's uncle, Abbas, who hated Umayyad rule. In 747 the Persian leader of the Abbasid revolt, Abu Muslim, united his own clan and most Shiites in a successful uprising against Caliph Marwan II, and in late 749 or early 750 Abu-'l-Abbas as-Saffah, the head of the Abbasid clan, became the first Abbasid caliph.

Arab wisdom had it that unless you killed all your enemies, one of them would kill you. Caliph Marwan II was defeated and killed, and the Umayyad clan in Damascus was massacred (750). One Umayyad prince, though, named Abd-ar-Rahman, survived. He fled to Spain with his followers, where he sought to gain power over the Berber-Arab Moors. Abu Muslim became governor of Khorasan (Khurasan) province under Abu-l-Abbas. From 750 to 756 Abd-ar-Rahman was fighting the emir of Córdoba, the Berber leader of the Muslims of al-Andalus, which was the Arabic name for Spain, derived from the Vandals. In 756 Abd-ar-Rahman defeated the emir of Córdoba at Alameda, and in 780 he set up the Umayyad emirate of Córdoba.

The city of Kufah, founded in 638 in central Iraq near the Euphrates River, was the first seat of the Abbasid caliphate. The first Abbasid caliph Abu-l-Abbas died in 754 and was succeeded by his brother, Abu-Jaafar Abdallah al-Mansur (the Victor, c. 712–75). Al-Mansur feared the power of Abu Muslim and had him treacherously murdered (755). Al-Mansur at first lived near Kufah, like his brother, but his grandiose self was such that he needed ever greater achievements and monuments of his own. In 762 al-Mansur began building a new city, with circular walls around it, on both banks of the Tigris River, north of the old Seleucia and Ctesiphon, on the site of a Persian village named Baghdad (the God-given). He named his new city Madinat as-Salaam (City of Peace). About 2.7 kilometers (1.5 miles) in diameter, with three concentric walls, it was called "the round city." Al-Mansur soon moved the capital of the caliphate to his new capital of Madinat as-Salaam, whose name reverted to Baghdad.

ISMAILIS AND FATIMIDS

The history of Islam is a succession of splits, schisms, and rifts. In the eighth century a serious schism developed among the Shiites. Some Shiites believed in "hidden Imams," and there was no general agreement on how many Imams were to rule before the Mahdi (divinely guided one) was to appear. In 765 the sixth Imam, Jaafar ibn Muhammad, died, and the Shiites could not agree on his successor. The majority did not accept Jaafar's eldest son, Ismail, as his successor, preferring the younger son, Musa al-Kazim. Those who accepted Ismail as the seventh Imam called themselves the Ismailiyah, whereas those who accepted Musa and his successors through the

twelfth Imam called themselves the Ithna Ashariyah (Twelvers). Some Ismailis believed that Ismail ibn Jaafar was the last Imam. They became known as Waqifiyah (Stoppers) and Sabiyah (Seveners).

The Ismailis became increasingly narcissistic and paranoid. During the eighth and ninth centuries the Ismailis came to see themselves as the only true believers and developed special rites of initiation into their sect. During the early tenth century the Ismaili leader Ubayd-Allah set himself up as the first Fatimid caliph in Tunis, North Africa, claiming direct descent from the Prophet Muhammad himself through his daughter Fatimah, the seventh Imam, Ismail, and his son, Muhammad ibn Ismail, through a line of "hidden Imams." In late-eleventh-century Persia the Ismaili leader Hassan-e-Sabbah (d. 1124) founded the extremist Ismaili warrior cult of the Nizaris, whose motto was "nothing is true; everything is permitted." The Nizaris unconsciously split off and projected all evil upon their enemies, and held the murder of their enemies to be their religious duty. They seized the fortress of Alamut in Daylam, near Kazvin, from the Seljuq Turks, and became the murderous *hashasheen* (assassins), named after the hashish that they smoked.

In 778 the Frankish king Charlemagne invaded Spain but was turned back at Zaragoza and defeated at Roncesvalles. The Umayyad emirate of Córdoba in southern Spain, established in 780 by Abd-ar-Rahman I, became the Western Caliphate of Córdoba under Abd-ar-Rahman III in 929. The famous Abbasid caliph Harun ar-Rashid (766–809) reigned from 786 to his death. Despite his *Arabian Nights* fame, he began the decline of the caliphate. The caliphate was far from being a united empire. There was great strife amongst its constituent tribes, peoples, and faiths. In 1012 it broke up into numerous emirates.

Did the internal strife among the Muslims affect their feelings about the Jews? The Jews were the traders of the *Dar al-Islam*. They occupied the caravan routes from northwest Arabia to northwest Africa and Spain. They may have founded the Arabian city of Yathrib, later known as Medina. They may also have introduced date-palm culture into Arabia. There were several feuding Arab Jewish tribes in Arabia such as the Kainukaa, the Banu-Nadhir, and the Kuraiza, who were considered *cohanim* (priests). There was considerable intermarriage between Jews and Muslims. Many present-day Israeli Jews who came from Muslim countries resemble the Muslims of their countries of origin in looks, speech, food, and habits more than they do their fellow Jews from western countries. Yet the Israeli Jews from the Arab countries never call themselves "Arab Jews," only "Oriental Jews." They are defending themselves against a negative self-image.

The Jewish political institutions that had remained since Babylonian, Parthian, and Persian rule, such as the office of *resh galutha* (exilarch), continued under Muslim Arab rule. The name Bustenai (Bustanai), that of the first Persian Jewish exilarch under the Muslims, means "the orchard man." This gave rise to a myth according to which the Persian king, Khosrow Shah (Khosrow III, r. 632–33) or Yazdegerd Shah (Yazdigerd III, r. 633–51), dreamt that he was cutting down the trees of the orchard. A venerable old man snatched the ax from the Shah's hands and hurled it at his forehead.

The Shah prayed for mercy and promised to nurse into a big leafy tree the twig he was about to cut down. When he woke up his forehead was in fact bloody.

The perturbed Shah, the myth goes on, summoned a Jewish dream interpreter who told the king that the cutting down of the wood symbolized the Shah's wish to root out the royal seed of David, and that the dream signified his failure to do so. The dream interpreter's daughter had married a son of the exilarch and was pregnant at the time. The Shah ordered her cared for in every way, and her newborn son was named Bustanai. He grew up intelligent, learned, and well-mannered. Summoned before the Shah, out of deference to his king he did not even lift a finger to drive away a wasp that was stinging him. This Bustanai was made exilarch of the Jews. In another version of this myth it was the Caliph Umar who removed an older exilarch from office to make the sixteen-year-old Bustanai the new exilarch. The caliph moreover bestowed the beautiful young Persian captive princess Yazdundad ("Izdundad" or Yazd's Gift), daughter of Khosrow Shah and sister to Yazdegerd Shah, upon Bustanai as his wife.

It was the fantasy of the "Babylonian" Jews that their leaders were descended from the royal house of David in Judah. There was no evidence for this royal descent, and the entire story is clearly mythical, even the story within the story. If the story is a myth, it is best interpreted psychoanalytically. There are obvious elements of grandiose fantasies, of the oedipal father-son struggle, and of symbolic castration in this story. The wasp sting may symbolize sexual penetration. Bustanai's sons later sought to have Yazdundad's sons delegitimized as the offspring of a slave, but the Jewish *geonim* (heads of the great academies of Sura and Pumbeditha) pronounced Yazdundad free, Jewish, and legitimate.

YESHIVOTH AND GEONIM

The Jewish *yeshivoth* (academies) of Sura and Pumbeditha in Muslim Arab Mesopotamia (now Iraq) regularly received *sheiltoth* (queries) from Jews all over the world about questions of Halachah (Jewish law). The Jews maintained the psychogeographical fiction that these Arab lands were "Babylonia." The head of the yeshivah was known as *rosh yeshivah veGaon Yaacob* (head of the academy and pride of Jacob). This title was later abbreviated as *gaon*, which in modern Hebrew means "genius." The title was added to the sage's name, as in "Rabbi Saadiah Gaon."

The *geonim* (plural of *gaon*) wrote answers to the queries they received. These answers, known as *teshuvot* in Hebrew and *responsa* in Latin, were recorded, saved, and cherished by the recipients, who idealized the *geonim* as superhuman, almost divine. This gave the *geonim* unprecedented power, greater than that of the exilarch (Ben-Sasson 1976:423). They were the pride of the Jews. Indeed, the Jews, a persecuted, dispersed, despised people, had little else to be proud of. Johnson (1987:169–232) called the rule of the *geonim* a "cathodocracy," the rule of the *cathedra* (teacher's

chair). The Jewish faith in the great sages was commensurate with the lack of security of the faithful. Since the Babylonian Talmud, with its dozens of volumes and thousands of pages in Hebrew and Aramaic, was no longer handy for practical daily usage, Yehudai Gaon, a blind scholar who became *gaon* of Sura in 760, composed a code of Jewish behavior.

27

Franks and “Saracens”

THE KARAITE SCHISM

By the eighth century the Jewish world was divided between the Muslim East and the Christian West. In the East, shortly after the fall of the Umayyads and the rise of the Abbasids in Islam, a serious schism arose in “Babylonian” Jewry. It was known at first as the Ananite and later as the Karaite schism. Its initiator, Anan ben David, a scholar who had lived in the eastern provinces of Persia and a scion of the Jewish exilarchal family, was later said by his Rabbanite foes to have coveted the office of the exilarch, Solomon Isaac Bustanai, who had died heirless in 765, during the reign of the second Abbasid caliph Abu-Jaafar Abdallah al-Mansur (r. 754–75).

Anan ben David, an obsessional reformer who wished to do away with all Jewish oral tradition and law and return to the strict constructionism of the Torah, was said to have been influenced by the Isavites and Yudghanis. He was rigid, ascetic, fanatical and extremely stubborn, all unconscious character defenses against the early feeling of helplessness. His followers were noted by their asceticism and by their longing for Zion, another display of the inability to mourn, to accept one’s losses, and to adjust to the pain of life. Anan ben David was followed by Benjamin Nehawendi (c. 800–850), a rabbinical judge (*dayan*) from Persia. The Ananites were known for a while as Bnai Mikra (Children of the Scripture). Later on they called themselves Karaim, while their traditionalist opponents were called Rabbanim. This clear-cut division served the psychological defense of splitting.

The *geonim* of Sura and Pumbeditha suspected Anan of heresy, and had his brother Josiah (Hassan or Hananiah) made exilarch by Caliph al-Mansur, the second Abbasid caliph. This appointment was opposed by Anan’s followers, who were at first known as Ananites, but in the ninth century merged with the larger fundamentalist sect of the Karaites. Anan himself wrote his *Book of Commandments*, which became their bible. Since the death of Abu-Issa there had been other messianic revolts among the Jews. Yudghan ar-Rai (the Shepherd) of Hamadan had declared himself Prophet and Messiah and attracted a following. It is not by accident that these rebels came from the remote provinces of Shiite Persia. The fundamentalist and fanatical belief of the Shiites in martyrdom may have fueled the messianic zeal of these new Jewish “prophets.”

Anan ben David, the man whose revolt led to the Ananite or Karaite schism, himself hailed from Persia and was said to have been influenced by the Shiites there.

The election of his younger brother to the great office of *resh galutha* was a deep narcissistic injury to Anan, who reacted with rage. In 767 he had himself elected counter-exilarch by his followers and was soon thrown in jail by the caliph. The Muslim jurist and theologian Abu Hanifah (699–767), a fellow prisoner, counseled Anan to bribe the vizier and to seek trial by the caliph himself. At this trial Anan portrayed himself as the leader of a new religion, separate from Judaism, and was set free. Anan preached strict adherence to the written law of the Bible, rejecting the Mishnaic and talmudic interpretation of the *geonim*. The Karaites developed from the Ananites in the ninth and tenth centuries. The best-known ninth-century Persian Jewish leaders of these fundamentalist Jews were Benjamin ben Moses al-Nahawandi (c. 800–850), from the town of Nahavand, south of Hamadan, Iran—his work seems to have attempted a conciliation with the Rabbanites—and Daniel al-Qumisi of Tabarestan (now Mazandaran), who rejected all attempts by the rabbis to deny the enormity of the great destruction by substituting synagogues for Temple worship, insisting “that public mourning for the destruction and entreaty for the redemption must continue incessantly and must be performed in Jerusalem” (Ben-Sasson 1978:451).

Al-Qumisi's fiery oratory led to the creation of a Karaite sect known as the Mourners of Zion or the Shoshanim (Roses, or people of Shushan). These people gathered in Jerusalem, lived austere, and spent most of their time mourning the destruction of the Temple and praying for its restoration. Their mourning, however, was not true mourning, which involves the gradual giving up of one's losses: it was a pathological mourning that involved the refusal to accept past losses and the ardent wish to restore what had been lost (Mitscherlich 1975; Volkan 1981). Akha of Sabkha Gaon, a scholar who was displaced by a younger colleague at the academy of Pumbeditha and left for Palestine, composed a book of *sheiltoth* (queries) with their discussions and answers (*responsa*). These two works led to the *Halachoth Gedoloth* (Great rules), a compendium that acquired a popularity akin to that of the Bible among Jews of the East. Natronai Gaon of Sura (taught 853–56) compiled the daily blessings in Hebrew for the Jews of Lucena (Alicena) in Spain. The first complete *siddur* (arrangement or order) of prayers was compiled by Amram Gaon of Sura (taught 856–74) for the Spanish Jewish communities.

One of the sages of “Babylonian” Jewry in those days was Saadiah ben Joseph al-Fayyumi Gaon (882–942), who from 915 headed the academy of Sura. He was born in Egypt and his native tongue was Arabic, but he mastered Hebrew as few before him had. He covered the foundations of Hebrew grammar in his *Sefer haLashon* (Book of language), a Hebrew dictionary titled *Agron* (Compendium), and the *Sefer haEmunoth vohaDeoth* (Book of beliefs and opinions), which was his greatest religious and philosophical work. He also translated the entire Old Testament into Arabic. His work had a great effect on Jews throughout the world.

Why did the Jews of Spain and Germany rely so totally on the *geonim* of faraway Babylonia, in the Muslim Arab caliphate, for spiritual guidance? What were the reasons

for this dominance of "Babylonian" Jewry over European Jewish communities? Margolis and Marx (1985:257) thought that "a unifying influence radiated from the eastern seats of learning, and the farthest communities of the west were brought under the sway of an age-long tradition of which the Talmud was the authoritative expression." This explanation does not illuminate the emotional reasons for this unifying influence. Part of the reason for the great trust put in the "Babylonian" *geonim* by the Jews of Spain was precisely the fact that they were so far away. In the fantasy of the Spanish Jews, their "Babylonian" cousins were great in learning, full of authority, and totally reliable. The Spanish Jews believed that the Babylonian exilarch was a direct descendant of the royal house of David in Judah and that the *geonim* were modern versions of prophets and High Priests. Most of the Spanish Jews had seen very few of the Babylonian Jews in person.

Some Jewish historians thought that the Jewish centers in Palestine and Babylonia dominated the rest of the world's Jews throughout the Christian Roman, Byzantine, and Persian periods (315 to 638). After the Muslim conquest of the Middle East, the Babylonian Jews still maintained this "hegemony," while Palestine under the Arabs had lost it. It was not the *resh galutha* (exilarch) but the *geonim* who were highly respected by Jews everywhere. One should bear in mind, however, that the persecution of the Jews by the Muslims was growing during the ninth century.

The Abbasid caliphs who came to power in 749/750 and ruled the "House of Islam" from Baghdad were relatively enlightened rulers. Harun ar-Rashid (Aaron the Upright, r. 786–809), the fifth and most famous among them, was not particularly interested in the Jews except as sources of tax revenue.

Al-Mamun (813–83) was an enlightened caliph who was a patron of the arts and sciences. Under him persecution of the Jews was relatively rare. Under the "brutal" and "lecherous" Caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–61) the Jews were forced to wear the infamous yellow badge for the first time. In 850 a law was enacted forcing the infidel to wear yellow headgear, yellow buttons, yellow belts, dresses, and elbow pieces. Jews and other *dhimmi* could ride only donkeys and mules. The infidel were barred from office in the Muslim judiciary, from Muslim public baths, from employing Muslims, and from restoring their houses of worship. The head tax was doubled.

CALIPHS, SULTANS, AND VIZIERS

The Abbasid caliphs ruled the "house of Islam" from Baghdad for five centuries (750–1258), but their realm was far from unified. It was torn by sectarian, ethnic, and tribal strife. Shiites warred with Sunnis, and Arabs fought Persians, Greeks, Copts (Egyptian Christians), and Berbers. There were numerous autonomous states within the caliphate and secessionist movements everywhere. In Iran and Central Asia the power of the Turks was growing. King Mahmud of Ghazna (r. 998–1030) was the first Mus-

lim Arab ruler to use the title of *sultan*, an Arabic word that originally meant one who had spiritual authority. Later the term came to mean one who had political power; under the Seljuq (Selçuk) Turks "sultan" became the regular title of the ruler. The caliph conferred the title of sultan on various Muslim sovereigns, including the Seljuq Turkish emirs. Under the Ottoman Turks the sultan was also the caliph, but the title was actually claimed retroactively by the sultan when he needed it politically. The Arabic word *wazir* (in Turkish, *vizir*; in English, *vizier*) roughly means "minister." The caliph's chief minister, the grand vizier of Baghdad, often manipulated his caliph, as did the "emir of emirs," the commander in chief of the Muslim army.

During the tenth century the fortunes of the "Babylonian" Jews ebbed and flowed with the whims of the caliphs and with the ups and downs in the economic and political fortunes of the Muslims. The second half of that century saw the disintegration of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad. The Fatimid dynasty were able to remove Egypt from the caliphate and set up their own caliphate there. The Fatimids ruled Syria and Palestine from Cairo (al-Qahirah), a city founded in 969 by the Fatimid general Jawhar ar-Rumi (the Roman). Fatimid rule in Egypt lasted until 1171, when the Kurdish general Salah ad-Din al-Ayyubi, whose name the Europeans corrupted into Saladin, displaced the Fatimids, founding his own Ayyubite dynasty. It was Saladin who defeated the Crusaders in Palestine in 1187. Meanwhile, the Seljuq Turks moved from Central Asia into the Middle East, capturing Iran and the two halves of the Baghdadi caliphate. The Abbasid caliphs became puppet rulers.

The Arab Jews played an important role in the foreign trade of the Baghdadi caliphate from its inception in the seventh century to its decline in the tenth. The Arabic language had become the principal language of the entire "House of Islam" from Mecca to Cordoba. Most Jews now spoke Arabic, while Hebrew was spoken only by scholars and Aramaic mainly by Kurdish Jews who were descended from the Babylonian exiles. Arabic was fused with Hebrew by Jewish scholars and written in Hebrew characters, as were both German and Spanish in medieval Europe. Despite many Muslim laws discriminating against them, Jews rose to prominence in all the arts and sciences of the Muslim world. In 711 Tariq ibn Ziyad, the Berber leader of the Moorish forces, defeated the Spanish Visigoths at the Battle of Xeres (Jerez) de la Frontera, northeast of the Gulf of Cádiz in southwestern Spain. From 711 to 715 the Muslim Moors conquered most of southern Spain. The Jews were relieved. Under the Muslims their persecution was alleviated and they were allowed to live and to prosper.

The conquest of Spain by the Muslims marked a new era in the fortunes of the Spanish Jews, known as the golden age of Spanish Jewry. If the name Sepharad did not express the earlier Spanish Jewish fantasy of conquest, it may well have expressed the feelings of relief of many Jews after their liberation by the invading Muslims. Indeed, the Jews quickly adapted to the culture of their new Muslim rulers. Many Jews became important officeholders in the Moorish government of "al-Andalus," including court physicians, poets, astrologers, and scribes.

THE CAROLINGIANS

In Central and Western Europe, the Jews were persecuted. Pippin the Short began the Carolingian Frankish dynasty, named after his eldest son, Carl (in Latin, Carolus), better known as Charlemagne (Carolus Magnus, 742–814). In 754 Pope Stephanus (Stephen II, d. 757) anointed Pippin and his sons Charlemagne and Carlmann at the Abbey of Saint-Denis. Charlemagne was then only twelve. The fratricidal rivalry between Charlemagne and his younger brother Carlmann (Carloman II) led to Carlmann's death at the age of twenty (771), probably murdered by his own brother's henchmen. Charlemagne became sole ruler of the Franks. Carlmann II's widow, with her children and a few loyal supporters, fled to the court of King Desiderius of the Lombards (r. 756–74). Charlemagne repudiated his Lombard wife and provoked open conflict with Lombardy. In 772 King Desiderius broke his alliance with Charlemagne, made war on Pope Adrian, and occupied several papal states, demanding that the pope recognize Carlmann II's sons as the legitimate heirs to the Frankish crown. Pope Adrian appealed to Charlemagne for help.

In 773 the vengeful and ambitious Charlemagne crossed the Alps, conquering and annexing the Lombard kingdom and restoring the papal states to the pope, who became his ally. In 774 Charlemagne captured Ticinum (Pavia), the Lombard capital, after a long and brutal siege, and was crowned with the iron crown of the Lombard kings of Italy. King Desiderius was forced into a monastery at Leodium (now the Belgian city of Liège), where he later died. Charlemagne was now King of all the Franks and of the Lombards. He had a high-level narcissistic personality with a grandiose self that forever demanded more achievements, more conquests, and greater titles. Pope Adrian received his rescuer Charlemagne as *patricius Romanorum*. Charlemagne's conquests gave him power over the pope, who depended on Charlemagne to defend him from his enemies.

FORCED CONVERSIONS

Charlemagne's appetite for power and territories was insatiable. His narcissism was such that he could neither tolerate any encroachment on his territory nor any thwarting of his will. When the "pagan" Saxons in what are now the German *Länder* of Niedersachsen (Lower Saxony) and Nordrhein-Westfalen (North Rhine-Westphalia) raided his lands in the Lower Rhine region (772), Charlemagne became so furious that for over thirty years (772–804) he savagely exterminated the Saxons. In 775 Charlemagne decided to convert the Saxons to Christianity. After several bloody campaigns against them, the Saxon nobility swore allegiance to the Frankish Charlemagne, and mass baptisms of Saxons were performed. In 777 Charlemagne held a diet at his capital of Paderborn, on the Pader River in northern Germany (now in North Rhine-Westphalia), where the Saxon nobles signed their submission to him.

The Paderborn diet was attended by "Saracen" (Arab, Berber, or Moorish) emis-

saries from northern Spain, who asked Charlemagne to help their revolt against the Umayyad emir of Córdoba. In 778 Charlemagne crossed the Pyrenees, invaded Spain, and besieged Zaragoza, capital of Aragon in northeastern Spain. The siege was withstood by the Moors, and the humiliated Charlemagne retreated across the Pyrenees into Gaul. Worse, the Basques and Gascons attacked his retreating army, inflicting heavy casualties. The Frankish Breton leader Hruodlandus (Roland) was killed in the battle against the Gascons in the mountains near Roncesvalles (Roncevaux), giving rise to the twelfth-century *Chanson de Roland*. This narcissistic injury only whetted Charlemagne's vengefulness. Charlemagne fought on in Spain by proxy through loyal Spanish nobles, capturing Barcelona and establishing his southwestern border south of the Pyrenees. In the *Chanson de Roland*, the battle is actually between the Franks and the Moors.

The Saxons had not really been subdued. After Charlemagne's defeat in Spain (778), the Saxon leader Widukind (Wittekind, d. 807) repeatedly attacked Charlemagne in the Lower Rhineland (778–82). The furious Charlemagne ordered the wholesale massacre of 4500 Saxon prisoners of war (782/783). Widukind fled to Denmark, yet the Saxons went on fighting the Franks. Charlemagne used forced conversions, wholesale massacres, and mass deportations to "pacify" the Saxons. In 785 he negotiated a peace treaty with Widukind, who accepted Christian baptism at the Ardennes mountain town of Attigny, the ancient residence of the Frankish kings, with Charlemagne as his godfather. Despite his ultimate capitulation, Widukind became the Saxon national hero.

In 788, aided by his second son Pippin (Pipino of Italy, or Pepin the Hunchback, d. 810), Charlemagne defeated his cousin and former brother-in-law, Duke Tassilo of Bavaria (Tassilo III, 742–94), the last descendant of King Agilulf of the Lombards to rule Bavaria. Charlemagne annexed Bavaria to his kingdom. Charlemagne also conquered the Avars and the Slavs of eastern Europe, establishing his southeastern frontier south of the Danube River. In 795 Pope Adrian I was succeeded by Pope Leo III. Four years later (799) Pope Leo became threatened with deposition by the Romans, some of whose leaders had charged him with misconduct. Just as the person of the High Priest of the Jews in ancient Jerusalem had to be unblemished, so did that of the Roman *pontifex maximus*. Some members of Adrian's family therefore attacked the new pope's face and eyes, hoping to render him damaged and unfit for the papacy. Leo recovered and fled to Charlemagne's court at Paderborn, where they discussed the founding of the "German" nation. Paderborn is considered the birthplace of the "Holy Roman Empire."

In 800 Charlemagne went to Rome, staging a show trial of Leo III and his enemies that exonerated Leo and restored him to the papacy. On Christmas Day 800, having greatly expanded his kingdom, the grandiose Charlemagne had himself consecrated *imperator augustus* by Pope Leo III in Rome. Modern historians say that Charlemagne founded the "new Roman Empire" of the West, later called the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation."

Was it Charlemagne's grandiose self that led him to claim direct succession from

the Roman Emperors? Why did he "revive" the ancient Roman Empire? Charlemagne's coronation in 800 was meant to "heal" the fourth-century rift between the Western Roman Empire of Italy and the Eastern Roman Empire of Byzantium. In actual fact the creation of a second Christian empire caused endless trouble with Byzantium, whose emperors, in a psychohistorical fiction, had been considered the "Roman" Emperors since the fifth century. Charlemagne's coronation as *imperator augustus* in 800 was the acting out of yet another psychohistorical fantasy: Charlemagne was in no way Roman, and the Roman Empire of the West had disappeared in the fifth century. It could not be revived by proclaiming a Germanic Frankish king the new "Roman Emperor." To explain this fantastic and irrational notion, the Frankish historians such as Aimoin (960–1010) argued unconvincingly that the Roman Empire had merely been "suspended" when the last Roman Emperor, Romulus Augustulus, abdicated (476), and was now being "restored" or reinstated.

The defunct Roman Empire was "revived" by none other than the Germanic tribes that had destroyed it. Its loss had never been mourned properly and the Christianized Frankish tribes may have harbored collective guilt feelings over their destruction of Mother Rome. The revival also had to do with Charlemagne's insatiable hunger for higher titles. In 812 the Byzantine emperor Michaelis recognized Charlemagne as the Roman Emperor of the West in return for the territories of Istria, Venice, and Dalmatia. The Frankish empire was being invaded in its turn by various "pagan" tribes such as Slavs, Avars, Norsemen, and Magyars. Charlemagne mercilessly drove them out, massacring many thousands of his enemies. Yet the Frankish empire soon split not only into two kingdoms but into two separate "nations."

EAST FRANKS AND WEST FRANKS

As mentioned, ethnicity is in the mind (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry 1987). A person's ethnic identity can change upon moving to another country, or upon joining another ethnic group. In the course of human history, entire peoples have changed their names and their ethnic identities. The Franks, originally a German-speaking tribe, used the Latin language, which in the West Frankish lands gradually changed to French. When the kingdom of Francia was partitioned by the Treaty of Meersen (890) into Francia Occidentalis (the West Frank land) and Francia Orientalis (the East Frank land), these two territories were developing in different cultural and linguistic directions. Francia Occidentalis was a mixture of Gallic, Roman, and Frankish cultures, but Latin, the *lingua franca* of medieval Europe, was its predominant language. In Francia Orientalis the native language and culture were German, although Latin was the official language. The language of Francia Occidentalis remained Latin, which gradually became French, while the Latin of Francia Orientalis slowly gave way to the native German. These two countries gradually developed into what are now France and Germany.

In 792 the Frankish nobles conspired to place Pippin the Hunchback on the Frank-

ish throne. Charlemagne nipped the revolt in the bud. Pippin the Hunchback died four years before his father. In 813 the bereaved and aging Charlemagne crowned his only surviving legitimate son, Ludwig der Fromme (Louis the Pious, or Louis le Débonnaire, 778–840), as his coemperor and successor at Aquisgranum (Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle). Ludwig der Fromme was the fifth child of Charlemagne's second wife, Hildegard the Swabian.

King Ludwig der Fromme ruled Aquitaine through his counselors. When his father Charlemagne died in 814, Ludwig der Fromme became the new "Roman" Emperor. Ludwig der Fromme had three sons by his first wife, Irmengard of Hesbaye (now in Belgium): Lothar (Lothaire I, 795–855), Pippin (Pepin of Aquitaine, d. 838), and Ludwig der Deutsche (Louis the German, 804–76). In 817, at the assembly of Aquisgranum (Aachen), Emperor Ludwig der Fromme, like his father before him, divided his empire among his three sons. He made his twenty-two-year-old firstborn son Lothair his coemperor, giving Aquitaine to Pippin and Bavaria to Ludwig der Deutsche. But, unlike Ludwig der Fromme, Charlemagne was over seventy and near death when he made that decision, whereas Ludwig der Fromme was only thirty-nine. This rash decision brought him serious trouble. The younger sons were deeply jealous and envious of their elder brother.

In 818 Ludwig der Fromme lost his beloved wife, Irmengard. Her death was a severe blow for Louis as well as for her eldest son, Lothar. Four months after Irmengard's death, Ludwig, unable to mourn, married Judith of Bavaria. In 823, when Ludwig was forty-five, Judith bore him a new son, Carl der Kahle (Charles the Bald, or Charles II, 823–77). Torn between his various sons, the deeply ambivalent Ludwig der Fromme wished to create a kingdom for his youngest son, Carl, provoking bloody revolts by his furious older sons. In 829 Ludwig der Fromme gave Alemannia to his six-year-old son Carl. The enraged Lothar, backed by his two younger brothers, Pippin and Ludwig, rebelled against his father and deposed him.

Ludwig der Fromme could not contain the fraternal rivalry and jealousy among his four sons or calm their parricidal and fratricidal feelings. The sons had equally ambivalent feelings for their father. Such feelings could not be laid to rest by political devices. In 830 the Assembly of Noviomagus (now Nijmegen, the Netherlands) restored Ludwig der Fromme to the throne, and another assembly at Aquisgranum (Aachen) gave Italy to Lothair. In 832 Ludwig took Aquitaine away from his rebellious son Pippin and gave it to Carl. Lothair's younger brothers, Pippin and Ludwig der Deutsche, restored their father to power by waging bloody wars against their elder brother.

In 833 all three sons of Ludwig der Fromme—Lothar, Pippin, and Ludwig der Deutsche—backed by Pope Gregory IV, rebelled once more against their father. They held a council at Sigolsheim, Alsace, which formally deposed Ludwig as king of the Franks and emperor of the Romans. Lothar defeated his father, Ludwig der Fromme, at the Battle of Lügenfeld (Field of Lies, 833), where Ludwig was abandoned by his followers. Ludwig had to do public penance at Saint-Médard in Soissons. Lothar once more became sole "Roman" Emperor, but soon had to retreat into Italy. The

murderous father-son war went on. In March 834 Pippin and Ludwig der Deutsche again made peace with their father Ludwig der Fromme and restored him to the throne. Lothar remained his father's enemy. In 837 and 838 Ludwig der Fromme gave more territories to his youngest son, Carl der Kahle. The second son, Pippin, died in 838 and his Aquitanian subjects were left kingless, psychologically like being left fatherless. The "Roman Empire" was partitioned between Lothair and Carl. Bavaria was left to Ludwig der Deutsche. The Aquitanians and Ludwig der Deutsche felt left out and deprived; in 839, enraged, they rebelled against Ludwig der Fromme once more. Ludwig der Fromme died in 840 while attempting to uphold the partition against their rebellion. The Frankish "Roman Empire" was in disarray.

Between 840 and 843 there were prolonged wars among the Frankish rulers over the various "Roman" kingdoms. The Treaty of Verdun (843) temporarily settled the issue of the partition of the Carolingian Frankish empire. The Franks became divided geographically rather than ethnically. Lothar kept the imperial title and reigned over Francia Media, comprising all the lands from the Low Countries to Italy. Carl der Kahle ruled Francia Occidentalis, which comprised most of what is now France, as well as the southwestern parts of what is now Belgium. Ludwig der Deutsche ruled Francia Orientalis, which comprised most of what is now Germany, as well as parts of what are now Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, the Czech Republic, and Poland.

Each time its ruler died, Francia Media was divided. When Lothar died (855), Francia Media was divided among his three sons: Lothar (Lothair II, d. 869) ruled all the lands north of the Alps; Carl (Charles, d. 863) reigned over Provence, including its Rhône regions; Ludwig (Louis II, 822–75) received the imperial title and Italy. Lothar's kingdom was called Lothringen (Lotharingia). It comprised what are now the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, eastern France, and northwestern Germany. When Carl of Provence died (863), his kingdom was divided between Lothar, who ruled the Rhône regions, and Ludwig der Deutsche, who received the rest of Provence.

MOTHER JOAN OF THE ANGELS?

Pope Leo IV also died in 855. A few weeks later he was succeeded by Pope Benedict III (d. 858). The "Holy Roman Emperor," Ludwig the Bavarian (Louis II), did not confirm Benedict's election; Ludwig set up Anastasius the Librarian as antipope. Benedict was imprisoned; but later Ludwig dropped his opposition and Benedict was consecrated. No pope reigned in between. Nonetheless during the late Middle Ages a legend appeared that in 855–58 a female pope named Joan had reigned in Rome as Pope John VIII. (The actual Pope John VIII reigned from 872 to 882.) The myth of Pope Joan first appeared in a thirteenth-century Latin text entitled *De septem donis Spiritu Sancti* (Of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit) by a French Dominican monk named Etienne de Bourbon, who dated Joan's reign around 1100.

A thirteenth-century Polish Dominican monk named Martin of Troppau wrote

another Latin text entitled *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* (Chronicle of the popes and emperors) calling the female pope Johannes Angelicus (John of the Angels), dating her election as pope in 855 and claiming that she died at childbirth and was buried on the spot. This myth was taken very seriously. Late medieval papal processions avoided the particular Roman street where this was said to have happened. Martin of Troppau said that Joan had been born in Mainz of immigrant English parents and fell in love with an English Benedictine monk; she dressed as man, followed him to Athens, acquired great learning, and moved to Rome, becoming cardinal and pope. The myth of Mother Joan of the Angels was so powerful that in the fifteenth century it was accepted as historical fact by the Church itself. The Council of Constance (1415) wrote this myth into the church canon.

Pope Pius II (1405–64) and Cardinal Cesare Baronius (1538–1607), a church historian and apologist, doubted the story of Pope Joan. The Protestant theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, like the French Calvinist David Blondel, used the story to attack the Catholic Church (Blondel 1647). Church historians wrote learned treatises on the fable. The myth continued to fascinate the Christian mind well into our own century. In 1961 the gifted Polish film director Jerzy Kawalerowicz (b. 1922) made a historical film entitled *Matka Johana od Anioly* (Mother Joan of the angels) which won the Jury Prize at the Cannes Film Festival. The myth of Pope Joan sprang from the inner need for a bountiful mother to take the place of the severe father.

LOTHRINGEN

The Frankish kingdom of Lothringen (Lotharingia) was repeatedly divided. Its territory kept growing smaller. Upon the death without heirs of Lothar II (869), Lothringen was divided between his two uncles, Ludwig der Deutsche (d. 876), who took the northern lands, and Carl der Kahle (d. 877), who acquired the Rhône regions of the kingdom of Provence. After they died, sovereignty over Lothringen was contested for fifty years, until it was seized by King Heinrich of Germany (Henry I, 876–936), of the Saxon house of Burgenbau (925). Heinrich created the duchy of Lothringen. His successor, Otto the Great (912–73), gave the duchy to his brother, Archbishop Bruno of Cologne (d. 965), who in 959 again divided it into Ober-Lothringen (Upper Lorraine) in the south and Nieder-Lothringen (Lower Lorraine) in the north. In 1190 Lower Lorraine became the duchy of Brabant (now a province of Belgium); Upper Lorraine was simply called Lorraine. The dynasty of Gérard de Châtenois ruled Lorraine for four centuries (1048–1431). In 1480 Lorraine was united with Bar and Vaudémont, and in the sixteenth century became a prosperous duchy, but in the seventeenth century it was occupied by France, and in the eighteenth century became a French *généralité* under a royal intendant. Its size had shrunk to what is now the northeastern French region of Lorraine.

Ludwig der Deutsche founded the East Frankish dynasty that ruled Germany from 817 to 911. The Treaty of Meerssen (870) divided the Frankish lands between Carl der Kahle and Ludwig der Deutsche. Francia Occidentalis, the western Frankish lands of Carl der Kahle, eventually became France; Francia Orientalis, the eastern Frankish lands of Ludwig der Deutsche, became Germany. The German name for Germany, Deutschland, came from the older name Teutschland, meaning "the land of the people."

THE EMERGENCE OF FRANCE

Between 850 and 1180 France emerged as a nation with a powerful monarchy. In 987, after the death of the Carolingian king Lothaire (941–86), Hugues Capet (938–96) was elected king of Francia Occidentalis, a landmark in France's emergence as a separate nation. The East Franks viewed themselves as successors to the Teutons, who thought of themselves as *the people* (*teutsch*). They gradually abandoned the appellation of Franks altogether, leaving it to the West Franks, and called themselves *teutsch* (German), while they called the West Franks *Franken* and their country *Frankreich* (kingdom of the Franks). The West Franks continued to call themselves *Franci* and their country *Francia*. All the Romance language—Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Galician, Catalan, Romansch, Provençal, Romanian—evolved by a gradual process of differentiation from Latin. As the French language evolved from Latin, the word *francus* (Frank) became *françois*, which later became *français* (French). The name *Francia* became France. The West Franks called the East Franks *allemands*, after the Alemanni, one of the many Germanic tribes. Many Germans were not Alemanni at all, which did not stop the *françois* from lumping them together under this appellation.

GERMAN KING AND ROMAN EMPEROR

After 855, when the Germanic Frankish empire broke up, Teutschland or Germany included many small counties and several great duchies such as Sachsen (Saxony), Bayern (Bavaria), Franken (Franconia) and Schwaben (Swabia). Lothringen (Lorraine) was gradually divided between France and Germany. In 911, when the last East Frankish Carolingian king, Ludwig das Kind (Louis the Child or Louis IV, r. 900–911) died, the powerful German dukes elected one of their own, Conrad Herzog von Franken (Duke Conrad of Franconia, d. 918), as King Conrad of Germany. Conrad did not become "Roman Emperor." In 915 the Pope John X crowned as "Emperor of the Romans" the Lombard duke Berengar (Berengario del Friuli or Berengar I, d. 924), a grandson of Ludwig der Fromme, who had been king of Italy since 888.

The German king Conrad resented Berengar's election as "Roman" Emperor. So did his successor. In fact, in 919 Conrad had two successors. The dukes of Saxony

and Franconia elected Heinrich von Sachsen (Henry I, 876–936), also known as Heinrich der Vogler (Henry the Fowler), German king, while the East Frankish nobles and the dukes of Swabia and Bavaria elected his rival, Duke Arnulf of Bavaria. Heinrich forced Duke Burchard of Swabia into submission (919) and two years later subdued his rival Arnulf of Bavaria (921). Heinrich founded the Saxon (Liudolfing) dynasty of the "Holy Roman Empire," which ruled Germany until 1024. In 924 Emperor Berengar of Italy was assassinated by one of his own men, a murder that may have been planned by the German king. Heinrich defeated King Gisibert of Lothringen, annexing his lands to Germany (925). He strengthened the German army, encouraged the growth of German towns, and secured the borders of Christian Germany.

In 936 Heinrich von Sachsen was succeeded by his son Otto the Great (Otto I, 912–973), one of the most important medieval German kings. Fraternal rivalries were passionate. Three years later (939) Otto's brother, Prince Heinrich, and Duke Eberhard von Franken rose up against their king. Otto quelled their rebellion, subdued the powerful dukes, and broke up their duchies. In 940–42 Otto and his French ally, Duke Hugues le Grand (Hugh the Great) of the Franks, the count of Paris, warred against King Louis IV of France. But in 942 Otto and Louis struck a deal, and Otto turned against Hugues le Grand. In 945 Louis IV was captured and imprisoned by Hugues le Grand, but a year later the duke released the captive king under public pressure.

In 947 Otto made his erstwhile rebel brother, Prince Heinrich, duke of Bavaria. King Rudolf of Burgundy (Rudolph II, d. 937) married off his sixteen-year-old daughter Adelheid (Saint Adelaide, 931–99) to King Lothar of Italy (r. 931–50), son of Hugh of Arles. In 950 King Otto of Germany and his brother Heinrich defeated Hugues le Grand, and King Lothar of Italy died. In 951 Lothar's youthful widow, Adelheid, who was still mourning the loss of her husband, was seized and imprisoned at Garda by Lothar's old rival, Berengar of Ivrea (Berengar II, d. 966), a grandson of Emperor Berengar. Berengar wanted to force Adelheid to marry his son Adalbert, assuring his claim to the throne of Italy.

Four months later Adelheid escaped from her imprisonment by Berengar at Garda (August 951). Hugues le Grand, excommunicated by both French and German councils and by the pope, submitted to King Louis IV. After many conquests that expanded his German kingdom, Otto was invited by the twenty-year-old Adelheid to save her from her forced marriage to Adalbert, son of Berengar of Ivrea. Otto married Adelheid, invaded Italy, defeated King Berengar, assumed the iron crown of the kings of Lombardy, and became king of both Germany and Italy, making Berengar his vassal. In 960 Berengar and his son Adalbert attacked Pope John XII in Rome, who appealed to Otto of Germany. Otto came to the pope's rescue and was crowned emperor of the Romans (962). The pope nonetheless negotiated with Berengar. In 963 Otto deposed Pope John XII and imprisoned Berengar in Germany, where he died three years later.

Otto had his problems at home as well. His marriage to Adelheid and the influence of his brother Heinrich upset his son Liudolf (Duke Ludolf of Swabia, 930–57). In 953 the German dukes, led by Conrad the Red of Lothringen, Archbishop Friedrich

of Mainz, and Otto's son Liudolf, once more rose up against Otto, but a Magyar invasion forced them to desist and to fight the foreign invaders. The Huns, Ostrogoths, and Avars had settled in the Roman provinces of Pannonia and Dacia (in what are now Hungary and Romania); during the late ninth century the fierce Finno-Ugric Magyars from beyond the Ural mountains conquered most of Hungary and Transylvania. In 955 Otto defeated the Magyars at the Plain of Lechfeld, between Swabia and Bavaria, halting their westward expansion and solidifying the new Hungarian kingdom. Otto's son Liudolf, deserted by his allies Conrad and Friedrich, surrendered to his father and was reconciled with him; yet Liudolf died two years later (957). The oedipal struggle had ended in the father's victory. Nonetheless, the Saxon dynasty was known as the Liudolfings.

Otto allied himself with the Roman Catholic Church. He made his brother and chief adviser Bruno archbishop of Cologne and duke of Lothringen. In 962 Pope John XII crowned the fifty-year-old Otto *imperator augustus*, reviving the imperial title of the Carolingian Frankish kings, which had been allowed to lapse since 899, and legitimizing the German king's claim to the Middle Frankish kingdom, including Italy, Burgundy, and Lothringen. The title of Roman Emperor had been held by various European rulers between 899 and 962, such as King Louis the Blind of Provence (Louis I' Aveugle, 880/82–928), the Frankish emperor from 901 to 905, and Berengario del Friuli (Berengar I, d. 924), king of Italy from 888 and Roman Emperor from 915. But during that time the old Carolingian Frankish traditions had lapsed. Otto restored the old Carolingian traditions forcefully. His "Roman Empire" comprised Saxony, Lorraine, Franconia, Bohemia, Moravia, Bavaria, Swabia, Italy and Burgundy. Each had its own *Herzog* (duke), *Fürst* (prince or sovereign) or *König* (king), who served as feudal vassals of the emperor. The territory of Otto's empire, Francia Orientalis, comprised most of present-day Germany and parts of Austria, Switzerland, eastern France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and northern and central Italy.

Only in 1254 did Latin documents first refer to a *sacrum Romanum imperium* (Holy Roman Empire). Modern historians call King Otto I of Germany the first "Holy Roman" Emperor, yet Otto himself never claimed either the holy or the Roman title. These terms are a modern psychohistorical fantasy, conveying the impression (or wishful thinking) that the new "Roman" Empire was blessed by the pope and that emperor and pope lived happily together. Nothing could be farther from the truth. There were deep conflicts between popes and emperors. As Voltaire said, the "Holy Roman Empire" was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire. Otto and his predecessors were simply called *imperator augustus*. His son and successor Otto II (955–83) was called "Roman Emperor," but not "holy."

The first four "Holy Roman Emperors" were German Saxon dukes. The "pagan" Slavs and Magyars of eastern Europe were gradually Christianized. King István of Hungary (Vajk, or Saint Stephen, 977–1038) reigned from 1001 to 1038, completing the Christianization of the Magyars and building the authority of the Hungarian crown upon that of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1024 the Salian Frankish or "Franconian" dynasty took over the "Roman Empire."

In 1054 occurred the Great East-West Schism between Rome and Constantinople, between the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches, which had been brewing for centuries. The great rift involved religious doctrine, political power, language, culture and ideology, but most of all it had to do with feelings of jealousy. A forgery called the "Donation of Constantine" had the fourth-century Roman Emperor bestow sovereignty in the West on the pope. The Roman popes fought both the Byzantine patriarchs and the German emperors. Like the "Holy Roman" Emperors of Germany, the popes claimed succession to the ancient Roman Emperors. Pope Leo IX (1002–54) excommunicated the Orthodox patriarch Michaelis Cerularius (1000–1059), but died before his papal excommunication bulla could be delivered to the patriarch. The patriarch retaliated by excommunicating the pope. The "Latin" Crusader capture of Constantinople in 1204 further alienated the Eastern Orthodox. The Council of Lyon (1274) and the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1439) made "peace overtures" to Byzantium—on Western terms—that were rejected. The rift in Christianity became permanent.

While the Crusades were ravaging Europe and Palestine, there was perennial strife between the princes of the "Holy Roman Empire." In 1125 Duke Lothar of Saxony (Lothair II, 1075–1137) became German king. His election by his fellow *Fürsten* was a victory for elective monarchy over hereditary succession. During his reign two German families, the Welfs and the Hohenstaufen, became powerful political parties, waging civil war against one another. The Welfs were called "Guelphs," their latinized family name. The Hohenstaufen were called "Ghibellines," the latinized corruption of the name of their castle, Waiblingen (Wiblin), whose name became their battle cry. The Guelphs supported Lothair, while the Ghibellines fought against him. The two clans had supporters in Germany and in Italy, who continued their battles for centuries, intervening in the power struggles between the popes and "Holy Roman" Emperors. In 1133 Lothar (Lothair II) became "Holy Roman" Emperor. Some historians call him Lothar III, because the first Lothar (Lothair I, 795–855) had a son, also named Lothar (835–69), who ruled "Lotharingia." The Hohenstaufen dynasty took over in 1138, but several of their rivals became "anti-king" emperors. There was an interregnum from 1254 to 1273, when the Habsburg dynasty took over. Only after the mid-fifteenth century was the German empire called *heiliges römisches Reich deutscher Nation* (Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation). The Jews of this "Holy Roman Empire" were treated by its rulers as *servi camerae nostrae* (selfs of our chamber).

Servi Camerae Nostrae

"ROMAN" POPES VERSUS "ROMAN" EMPERORS

How did the fantastical term "Holy Roman Empire" become the official historical designation of this essentially German political entity? What did this "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" have to do with the Jews? The built-in conflict between pope and emperor over the control of Europe led to many clashes. Conflict between emperor and pope was inherent in the very structure of the new "Roman Empire." They vied with each other for the domination of Europe. The pope crowned the emperor, whose chief duty was the protection of the Church and the enforcement of its discipline. Who was to rule the other, the pope or the emperor? The conflict ostensibly erupted over the symbolic issue of investiture, but the real issue was the father-son conflict. *The pope was usually an old man; the emperor was usually young.* They almost naturally fell into the oedipal struggle.

Important bishops and abbots of the medieval Christian church held both spiritual and temporal power, being feudal lords as well. Just as the overlord invested his vassal with a fief, so did the cardinal invest a bishop with his holy office, while the king invested him with his temporal fief. Who had the right to invest bishops and abbots with their ring and staff, the symbols of their office? Both pope and emperor wished to have this form of control over the clergy, and through them over the whole empire. The "Holy Roman Empire" had two great father figures: the emperor and the pope. Who was to rule? The conflict fascinated the European Christian population.

The emperor and the pope (holy father) unconsciously vied for the role of the great father of the empire. The Roman Catholic Church was called *mater ecclesia* (mother church). Not only were most Christians torn between their loyalties to their two great fathers, the pope and the emperor, they also had to suppress their rage at their feudal masters and overlords. The Jews were the tragic objects of the psychological processes of displacement, externalization, and projection, helping maintain the Christian sense of self. Identifying with the aggressor, the Jews gradually internalized the distorted Christian image of them and developed bad aspects of their own self. To mark themselves off from the evil Jews, the Christians forced the Jews to wear special badges, such as the double circle, which in Nazi times became the yellow Star of David.

In 1075 the conflict over investiture embroiled King Heinrich of Germany (Henry IV, 1050–1106) with Pope Gregory VII (d. 1085). Heinrich had a traumatic childhood. His father died in 1056, when he was only six years old. Heinrich became German king but, being a minor, his mother Queen Agnes became regent. The powerful archbishop Anno of Cologne abducted the little king, and enriched his episcopal see from the royal treasury. Queen Agnes resigned as regent in favor of Anno, who recognized Alexander II as pope (1064). The pope, the German dukes and princes, the cardinals, and the archbishops increased their power at the emperor's expense.

In the meantime, the Normans had come to power in France. The Germanic Northmanni (Northmen, Norsemen, or Normans) were "pagan" Viking pirates from Scandinavia who moved south in the eighth century, raiding the European coastal settlements. The Normans were what a modern psychologist would consider pathological personalities: violent, unstable, restless and reckless, prone to fighting, foolhardy, crafty, cunning, treacherous, and terrible. During the ninth century their attacks on the northern coastlands of Francia Occidentalis grew fierce and frequent. By 900 they had settled in the valley of the Lower Seine River. The Norman leader Rollo (Rollon, d. 930/32) raided Scotland and Ireland and fought the Franks. In 876 the Normans invaded the city of Rotomagus (now Rouen in Normandy). In 911, after decades of warfare, King Charles le Simple of Francia Occidentalis signed the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte with Rollo, giving him the lands south of the "mouth" of the Seine River and the city of Rotomagus.

The Normans extended their rule westward, adopted the French language, and became Frankish knights. Their lands became known as Normandy. During the tenth century they consolidated their rule in Normandy, and during the eleventh they raided southern Italy, capturing Naples and Sicily. The Norman lords also befriended King Edward the Confessor of England (1003–66), who gave them high positions in his government. In 1066, on his deathbed, Edward named his nephew Harold Godwinson (Harold II, 1020–66) as his heir. The Norman duke Guillaume le Conquérant (William the Conqueror, 1028–87), claiming that Edward had promised him the English crown, crossed the English Channel, invaded England, defeated and killed Harold at the Battle of Hastings, and became King William of England.

When King Heinrich of Germany attained his majority at age fifteen (1065), Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen was regent. In 1066, the year the Normans conquered England, Heinrich dismissed the greedy Adalbert and assumed the German throne. The adolescent Heinrich married Bertha, daughter of the margrave of Turin, but in 1069 he was deeply disappointed in her and sought to divorce her. His character was unstable. After King Heinrich imprisoned Duke Magnus of Saxony and deprived Duke Otto of Bavaria of his duchy (1070), the German dukes were up in arms. From 1073 to 1075 Heinrich had to subdue a revolt in Saxony.

Heinrich had one of his minions invested by the Lombard bishops as the new archbishop of Mediolanum (Milan). Pope Alexander II, supporting the reformist Patarine Party nominee, excommunicated the bishops who had consecrated Heinrich's nominee. In 1073 Alexander II died and Gregory VII became pope. At first Heinrich

was Gregory's ally, but after defeating the Saxon rebels he defied the pope and once again nominated his court chaplain as archbishop of Mediolanum. Pope Gregory VII sent King Heinrich a striking epistle comparing himself to the biblical Samuel and the young king to the biblical Saul. "I am the father," the pope was saying, "and you are the son. Obey me."

King Heinrich rejected Pope Gregory's offer to negotiate the investiture issue. Gregory threatened to depose and excommunicate the king. Heinrich summoned a bishops' council at Worms and forced them to depose Pope Gregory (January 1076). Gregory convened a synod that excommunicated and deposed King Heinrich, absolving all his subjects of their oaths of fealty to their king. The bishops who had taken part in the Worms assembly were also excommunicated. Many bishops surrendered to the pope. In October 1076 a powerful coalition of German princes met to discuss the election of a new German king, forcing Heinrich to promise to seek absolution from the pope. An assembly was to be called at Augsburg the following year (1077) with the pope's participation to settle the issue.

In January 1077, to thwart the plans of the rebel German princes to depose him, King Heinrich IV secretly did penance at Canossa in Tuscany, central Italy, before Pope Gregory VII. Legend has Heinrich stand barefoot in the snow for three days before the castle of Countess Matilda of Tuscany at Canossa, where the pope absolved Heinrich and lifted his excommunication and his deposition. But the rebellious German princes considered this a breach of their agreement with the king. They elected Duke Rudolf of Swabia "anti-king," and civil war broke out in Germany. In March 1080 the pope once more called a synod, excommunicated and deposed King Heinrich, and recognized Rudolf as German king. Heinrich sought to heal his narcissistic injuries through vengeance. Rudolf died in October 1080. The thirty-year-old Heinrich quelled the rebellion, invaded Italy, occupied Rome, removed Pope Gregory VII from the throne of Saint Peter, installed his minion Archbishop Guibert of Ravenna as Pope Clement III, and had the new pope crown him Roman Emperor Heinrich IV in March 1084.

In 1122 Pope Calixtus II (d. 1124) and "Holy Roman" Emperor Heinrich V of Germany (1086–1125) signed the Concordat of Worms, which gave the Church the right to free election of bishops and abbots and to their investiture. In Germany, the emperor had the right to be present at elections and to invest those elected with their lay rights and obligations before they were consecrated, while in Burgundy and Italy he could only invest them with those rights after their consecration. This was supposed to be a compromise between the spiritual power of the pope and the temporal power of the emperor, but it did not hold up very long.

FRIEDRICH BARBAROSSA AND THE POPES

The imperial diets of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" were held to settle conflicts between the emperor and the estates (classes) of the empire, which

included the *Kurfürsten* (elector princes), the secular princes, the princes of the Church, the knights, and the burghers. The imperial diets became increasingly important during the late Middle Ages. They were often convened by the emperor himself to give legitimacy to his actions and policies or to pass resolutions against his rivals.

The Normans had extended their rule from northern France to southern Italy. In 1152, when King Conrad of Germany (Conrad III, 1093–1152) died, his nephew Friedrich Barbarossa von Hohenstaufen (Frederick Red Beard, 1122–90) was elected and crowned king of Germany. Pope Eugenius III (d. 1153) did not hasten to confirm Friedrich as emperor. The pope feared the fiery religious rebel Arnaldo da Brescia (Arnold of Brescia, 1100–1155), leader of the republican Roman commune, and the Norman rulers of Naples and Sicily. Arnaldo was a serious threat to Eugenius. In 1143 the Roman *renovatio senatus* had expelled his predecessor, Pope Innocent II (d. 1143), revived the ancient Roman Senate, and proclaimed Rome a republic. In 1145 Arnaldo was reconciled to Pope Eugenius III, who sent him to Rome as a penitent, but Arnaldo soon allied himself with the Roman rebels and resumed his antipapal preaching. In 1148 Eugenius excommunicated Arnaldo, who agitated for reform and soon controlled the Roman commune.

To ensure his imperial title, Barbarossa refused to recognize his predecessor's treaty of alliance with Byzantium against Sicily. This forced Pope Eugenius III to sign the Treaty of Constance (1153) with Friedrich, promising Barbarossa the imperial crown. Friedrich in return undertook not to make peace with the republican Roman commune or with the pope's Norman enemies without the pope's agreement. The young king also won over his vassal princes and rivals. He created the rank of *Reichsfürst* (imperial prince) for his chief vassals, confirming his chief rival, Heinrich der Löwe (Henry the Lion, 1129/1130–1195), the most powerful North German prince, as duke of Saxony and Bavaria. In return Heinrich der Löwe gave Barbarossa his support for the next twenty years (1156–76).

In late 1153 Pope Eugenius III died and the English Pope Adrian IV (d. 1159) succeeded him. Anxious to be crowned emperor, Barbarossa went to Italy in 1154, defeating Arnaldo da Brescia, the radical Christian religious reformer who led the Roman commune. From 1154 to 1176 the tenacious Friedrich Barbarossa crossed the Alps into Italy no less than six times. Arnaldo had rebelled against the pope and had been excommunicated. Barbarossa captured Arnaldo and handed him over to the pope. Arnaldo was tried for heresy, condemned, and handed back to the emperor for execution. Barbarossa did not hesitate. Arnaldo da Brescia was hanged, his body burnt, and his ashes cast into the Tiber. In 1155 the grateful Pope Adrian IV crowned Friedrich Barbarossa of Germany "Emperor of the Romans" amid hostile demonstrations from the angry Roman commune.

The Normans now ruled Naples and Sicily. In late 1155 the young "Roman" Emperor, whose German troops were reluctant to stay in Italy, returned to Germany, leaving the English pope helpless against the Norman king Guglielmo il Malo of Sicily (William the Bad, 1120–66). In 1156 Pope Adrian IV had to sign a humiliating peace treaty with the Sicilian king (the Concordat of Benevento), which violated the

pope's Treaty of Constance (1153) with the emperor. The pope and the emperor agreed that Cardinal Rolando Bandinelli (the future Pope Alexander III, 1105–81) would explain the new concordat to the emperor and his princes at the imperial diet of Besançon the following year. Adrian now hated Barbarossa for his humiliation by Sicily. Their ensuing conflict engulfed all Europe. Meanwhile Friedrich Barbarossa wed Princess Beatrix of Burgundy (1156), acquiring her lands.

In 1157 Emperor Friedrich held the imperial diet of Besançon. Pope Adrian IV sent Cardinal Rolando Bandinelli with a Latin letter that called the "Roman Empire" a *beneficium* (benefit) of the *sancta ecclesia* (holy church). Pope Adrian demanded that the emperor observe the terms of the Concordat of Worms (1122) and desist from investing bishops. Seeking to inflame his emperor against the pope, Imperial Chancellor Rainald von Dassel (1118–67) translated *beneficium* as "fief." Interpreting the pope's letter as a claim by Adrian on his empire as a papal fief, Emperor Friedrich rejected this claim out of hand and proclaimed that he held the imperial throne "through the election of princes from God alone." To get God on his side and counter the pope's *sancta ecclesia*, the narcissistic Friedrich Barbarossa called his realm *sacrum imperium* (holy empire), not a fief of the pope. The pope denied that he had meant "fief," saying that *beneficium* meant "benefit." Nonetheless, the emperor used the pope's letter as a pretext to invade "his kingdom" of Italy.

In 1158 the German Kaiser began his second Italian campaign. He seized Mediolanum (Milan) and convened an imperial diet at Roncaglia, where Friedrich laid claim, as "Roman Emperor and King of the Lombards," to all imperial rights, including the appointment of the imperial governors in every town of the empire. In 1159 Mediolanum and other Lombard cities revolted against their emperor. Barbarossa laid siege to Milan. Pope Adrian IV died before he could excommunicate the emperor. The conclave of cardinals that elected the new pope held a tumultuous and disputed voting session. Cardinal Orlando Bandinelli (c. 1105–81) was elected Pope Alexander III and recognized by King Guglielmo il Malo of Sicily. In 1160 the emperor convened the Council of Pavia, which elected Cardinal Ottaviano de Monticello (d. 1164) Pope Victor IV. There were now a pope (Alexander III) and an antipope (Victor IV). Pope Alexander III excommunicated Barbarossa. France, England, Spain, Hungary, Lombardy, and Byzantium sided with the pope against the emperor. Barbarossa had only his ally Heinrich der Löwe in his struggle against the pope.

In 1161 Barbarossa crossed the Alps into Italy for the third time and moved against the pope. Pope Alexander III fled to France (1162), where he remained for four years. His papal court was at Sens from 1163 to 1165. Alexander rallied the political and military support of King Louis le Jeune of France (Louis the Younger, or Louis VII, 1120–80) and of King Henry of England (Henri d'Anjou, or Henry II, 1133–89), who ruled both the English and the French lands. In 1164, however, when Henry II quarreled with his chancellor, Archbishop Thomas à Becket (1118–70), Pope Alexander III supported the latter. In late 1164 Becket was exiled by Henry. In 1170

Becket returned to England and was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral when four knights of King Henry took his angry words literally. Becket was canonized by Pope Alexander III in 1173.

In 1162 Emperor Manuel of Byzantium threatened to ally himself with France against the "Holy Roman Empire" of Germany and to recognize Pope Alexander. Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa sacked and burned Mediolanum. When Barbarossa was in Italy, the English scholar John of Salisbury (1115/20–80) asked rhetorically in his *Historia pontificalis* (History of the popes, 1163), "Who made the Germans judges of the nations?" Barbarossa met Louis VII of France at Saint-Jean-de-Losne on the Saône River, but they could not agree. Neither could Alexander prevail upon Friedrich to rejoin the Church. Barbarossa was a proud and stubborn man. In 1164 the antipope Victor IV died and was succeeded by Paschal III (d. 1168).

In 1165 Friedrich Barbarossa left Italy again to deal with problems back home in Germany. Pope Alexander III returned to Rome. At the diet of Würzburg the proud Friedrich swore never to recognize Pope Alexander III. In 1166 King Guglielmo il Malo of Sicily died, and Emperor Friedrich returned to Italy for the fourth time, seized Rome, and forced the pope back into exile. In 1167 the Lombard towns of northern Italy formed a league against the emperor (the Lombard League). A malaria epidemic decimated Barbarossa's forces, killing Chancellor Rainald von Dassel, and the Lombard League drove Friedrich back to Germany.

In 1174 Barbarossa led his fifth expedition into Italy. His war with the Lombards ended without either side being defeated. The Lombards signed the Armistice of Montebello in which they declared themselves his subjects, but in 1176 he lost the support of his chief ally, Heinrich der Löwe of Saxony and Bavaria, by refusing to cede Henry the imperial city of Goslar. This narcissistic and self-destructive refusal cost Friedrich the war. He was defeated by the Lombard League at Legnano. Barbarossa was forced to sign a peace treaty with Pope Alexander III (the Treaty of Anagni), and in 1177 Barbarossa also signed the Peace of Venice, which acknowledged Alexander III as the true pope. In the Piazza San Marco, in front of St. Mark's Church, Pope Alexander III gave Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa the kiss of peace.

Heinrich der Löwe also brought his own destruction upon himself. The proud duke not only refused Emperor Friedrich his military help but also made enemies among his fellow German princes by challenging them in territorial feuds. Some German princes resisted Heinrich der Löwe, and several wanted to see his downfall. Upon returning to Germany, the vengeful Friedrich Barbarossa got the Saxon nobles to bring legal charges against their duke, Heinrich der Löwe, for having broken the King's General Peace (*Landfrieden*). Barbarossa used the Saxon nobles' charges against their duke to begin legal proceedings against Heinrich der Löwe in the King's Court. Heinrich der Löwe refused to answer the charges.

In 1180 Barbarossa convened a council of the German princes at the Hessian town of Gelnhausen, northeast of Offenbach, which deposed Heinrich der Löwe and deprived him of his duchies. The Diet of Würzburg (1180) banned Heinrich der Löwe

and gave his Bavarian duchy to Otto of Wittelsbach. Heinrich der Löwe, who was married to Mathilda of England, fled to England, taking refuge with King Henry II. Thereafter the German feudal system became rigid: only those German princes who received their land directly from the emperor became *Reichsfürsten* (imperial princes). In 1183 the Treaty of Constance recognized Barbarossa's de jure sovereignty over the Lombards but reduced his de facto power. In 1186 Friedrich married his son Heinrich (Henry VI, 1165–1197) to Princess Constance of Sicily. In 1190, while leading the Third Crusade to Palestine, Barbarossa drowned while crossing the Saleph (Seleph) River in Armenia (now the Göksu River in east central Turkey).

LaMonte (1949:274) felt that although Friedrich Barbarossa failed in his Italian campaigns, "Frederick nevertheless had been a strong king in Germany and had made himself feared and respected throughout the Western world." Waite (1977:467) thought that Barbarossa had failed in everything he did: "He had failed in five campaigns against the Italian city-states; he had failed to unify the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation; and he had failed during the Third Crusade, and had drowned while bathing in the Seleph (Saleph) River in 1190." Yet after his death a German legend grew up around Barbarossa. He became "the heroic leader who never died. Even now he sits at a great oaken—or is it marble?—table in a secret cave, deep in enchanted slumber. While Germany is troubled, disunited, despised, his red beard keeps growing. But one day, when the beard has encircled the entire table—and when Germany needs him most—the great leader will shake off the sleep of the centuries, arise in glory, and establish a magnificent, all-powerful Reich" (Waite 1977:286). Eight centuries later, in 1942, true to this myth, and ignoring Barbarossa's failures, Chancellor Adolf Hitler of Germany named his disastrous invasion of Russia "Operation Barbarossa," an indication of Hitler's self-destructive streak (Waite 1977:464–68). Hitler failed just as miserably in Russia as Barbarossa had in Italy.

Depending on one's point of view, the "Holy Roman Empire" lasted either 1006 or 844 years—from Charlemagne's coronation in 800 or from Otto's coronation in 962, to its dissolution by Napoleon and the abdication of Emperor Franz (Francis II) in 1806. From 1309 to 1377 the papacy was driven from Rome by the emperors into exile at Avignon, France, outside the empire. In a striking psychogeographical fantasy, comparing themselves to the biblical Jews who had been exiled by Babylon in 586 B.C.E., the popes called it their "Babylonian captivity."

The "Holy Roman" Emperor first had to become German king, elected by the *Kurfürsten*. This made him subject to extortions of bribery and favors by these princes. Later—at times many years later—he was crowned by the pope in Rome, if the pope did not contest his choice. The pope often laid many conditions before he agreed to crown the emperor. The "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles of Luxembourg (Karel Václav, or Charles IV, 1316–78), king of Bohemia and Germany from 1347, made the empire a German institution. In a deal with Pope Clement VI (1291–1352), Charles undertook to leave Italy to the papacy and to enter Rome only for the day of his coronation. In 1354 Charles IV nevertheless invaded Italy, and in 1355 he was crowned in Rome as "Holy Roman" Emperor. His successor Maximilian called Charles of

Luxembourg "the father of Bohemia and the step-father of the empire" (LaMonte 1949:694, Previt -Orton 1951:307).

In 1356 Emperor Charles of Luxembourg issued a golden bull proclaiming the special rights of the seven German *Kurfürsten* as *domini terrae* (lords of the earth). This document "legalized anarchy and called it a constitution" (LaMonte 1949:695; Bryce 1970). The seven electors included the king of Böhmen (Bohemia), the princes of Sachsen (Saxony), Brandenburg, and Pfalz (Palatinate), and the archbishops of Köln (Cologne), Mainz (Mayence), and Trier (Treves). In 1623, during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), the electorate of the prince of Pfalz was transferred to the prince of Bayern (Bavaria), and in 1648 both were named electors. In 1692 the prince of Hannover was made the ninth elector.

The Latin phrase *sacrum Romanum imperium* was first used at the beginning of the great German interregnum (1254). The title *sacrum Romanum imperium nationis Germanicae* (Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation), which the Germans translated as *heiliges römisches Reich deutscher Nation*, was first used by Emperor Friedrich III (1415–1493), who became German king in 1440 and "Holy Roman" Emperor in 1452. The title indicated that the emperor's power was confined to Germany and did not include Italy. In 1508 Maximilian assumed the Latin title *imperator electus* (elected emperor), in German *erwählter Kaiser*.

The "Holy Roman Empire" was a diffuse political entity. How did this entity come into being, and why was it called the "Holy Roman Empire"? There were three "heterogeneous and often incompatible" medieval views of the empire: the papal view, the imperial (Frankish) view, and the popular (Roman) view (Goetz 1990, 20:629). The papal view saw the empire as the secular arm of the Church. The imperial view held the Frankish emperor to wield absolute power and to be answerable to God alone. The popular view had the "Holy Roman Empire" created through a delegation of the powers of the Roman people.

None of these views fitted political and historical reality. The "Holy Roman Empire" existed in the minds of those who gave it that name. It was more secular than holy, more German than Roman, more a collection of warring principalities than an empire. It was more a psychogeographical fiction than a geopolitical entity. Its creation and functions derived from unconscious fantasies. The revival of the "Roman Empire" by the Frankish kings was the acting out of an infantile fantasy of bringing the lost mother back to life. The Jews, who lived in their own fantasies, became the imaginary *servi camerae* of the "Roman" Emperor but also the *personificatio diaboli* of the Church. Let us explore how the European Christian population and the minority Jews reached an increasingly tragic victimizer-victim relationship.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

At the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century the Carolingian Frankish traditions gave way to the feudal system in Europe. This system was political,

economic, and social at the same time. These distinctions were somewhat blurred in the Middle Ages. Feudalism developed from the social and political organization of the Roman Empire, with some German tribal modifications. It began with the breakdown of the Frankish empire, the growth of tenurial and personal dependence, the development of immunities, and the usurpation of public functions by private individuals (LaMonte 1949:208).

The political feudal system included the economic and social manorial one. The feudal system comprised the lord-vassal relationship, the medieval monarchy, land tenure, and "the means whereby the military establishment, the judicial machinery, the bases of taxation, and the monarch's advisory council were obtained" (206). Its basic feature was the tenure of land, honors, or rights from a lord by his vassal through fief. This word came from the old German word *fihu* (cattle, cow, or property), which survives in the modern German word *Vieh*. Theoretically all land in the realm was the property of the king, the supreme overlord, who invested his vassals, the dukes, with their fiefs. Feudal society was rigidly stratified and hierarchical, with the king at the top of the ladder and the peasant serfs at its bottom.

The investment of the vassal with his fief was ritualized. The vassal knelt before his overlord or suzerain, put his hands in the overlord's, and declared himself the overlord's man and vassal. The overlord kissed the vassal, raised him to his feet, and promised the vassal his protection. The vassal then took an oath of fealty, vowing to serve his lord, to be loyal to him, and to perform the acts and services due him. The lord now invested his vassal with his fief by giving him some physical symbol of it. In this the lord and vassal unconsciously repeated the father-son relationship in the patriarchal family. The kings invested the dukes with their duchies, and the dukes invested the counts and lesser nobles under them with their fiefs, creating the hierarchical ladder in which each noble had his vassal and his overlord, all the way up to the king.

The economic system that underlay feudalism was the manorial system. Near the bottom of the feudal political ladder was the lord of the manor (*seigneur*), who owned a single manor. Under him were *servi* (serfs, slaves, or villeins) who held his land by tenure (the French word for holding) in return for various goods, services, or money that they had to provide their lord with. The manorial system kept the peasants in bondage to the lord (*seigneur*). Land tenure by the peasants was unfree. They were subservient if not servile to the lord of the manor, and could be dismissed at his will or whim.

The feudal *droit du seigneur* (lord's right) in France and Italy was the *ius primae noctis* (law of the first night)—the right to enjoy his tenants' wives and daughters sexually on their wedding night. There is scant documentary evidence for this custom, mostly records of vassals paying off their lords to avoid its enforcement. The lord had the right to select the vassal's bride and to perform the wedding ceremony. If the lord was the psychological father of the vassal, then this practice could be understood as unconscious incest. In the eighteenth century, a time of fierce class struggle, this *diritto feudale* played a key role in Beaumarchais's plays, *Le Barbier de Seville*

(1775), from which Sterbini adapted the libretto for Rossini's opera *Almaviva, ossia L'inutile precauzione*, better known as *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, and *Une Journée folle, ou les Noces de Figaro* (1778), from which Lorenzo da Ponte adapted the libretto for Mozart's great opera *Le Nozze di Figaro*.

As with the oedipal father-son relationship in the medieval family, the serfs were ambivalent about their lords. On the one hand, they enjoyed the protection of their lord, but on the other hand they were unhappy with their enslavement and exploitation by the lord of the manor. The vassal secretly hated his overlord, even though he may have loved him at the same time. These feelings had to be denied, suppressed, or repressed in order to survive in the feudal system. They erupted during the great peasant revolts.

The feudal and manorial systems received great impetus from the collapse of Carolingian Frankish rule. They flourished between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. The manorial system became part of the larger feudal system, which was the prevailing social, economic, and political system of Europe from the dissolution of Charlemagne's empire in the ninth century to the rise of the absolute monarchies in the fourteenth. Under the ideal feudal system all land was owned by the king. Beneath him was a hierarchy of dukes, counts and barons, the dukes holding land directly from the king and the barons from the dukes.

The feudal system sprang from the ambivalent emotional relations in the medieval Christian European family, a patriarchal group in which the paterfamilias held the power. The wife was the property of her husband, and the children had to respect and obey him unquestioningly. There was little empathy for children's and women's needs and feelings, which were neither understood nor heeded. Children were disciplined severely for bed-wetting, soiling, talking back, crying, getting in the way, and every other natural activity. Women were used, abused, and married off.

As the son had to obey and serve his father unquestioningly, so did the vassal his overlord. The oath of fealty was a psychological defense against the natural feelings of rage that the son harbored against his father, the vassal against his lord, and the duke against his king. As the father feared the hidden rage and rebellion of his son, so did the lord fear his vassal's. The numerous cases of princes and dukes rebelling against their fathers and kings support this view.

THE DEVIL AND THE JEWS

The abuse of children by their parents led to the development of widespread disorders of the self, of bad aspects of one's self that one could not accept. When these abused children became parents themselves, they raised their children in the same way. They did unto their children what had been done unto them. Children often grew up traumatized, harboring deep feelings of fear and rage. These feelings were in turn revived in the feudal system, with the overlord playing the role of the father and the vassal

that of the son. The fear and the rage could not be expressed directly at the overlord. They needed an outlet, and found it through displacement and projection. The bad aspects of the self were externalized upon an enemy.

This is where the Jews came in handy psychologically. The sufferings of the Christian vassals and serfs were blamed upon the Jews, and their accumulated rage displaced onto them. Medieval Christian Europe treated its Jewish minority as the repository of evil. The devil was quite real to medieval Europeans, and to them the Jews were his children (Trachtenberg 1983:18–19). Christians fervently believed that the Jews had murdered Jesus Christ, that they were the children of the devil, that they deliberately denied what they knew to be gospel truth, that they refused to accept the true Messiah, that they killed Christian children for their Passover rituals, that they poisoned the Christians' wells to bring about terrible plagues, that they exploited good Christians by lending them money at exorbitant interest rates, and that they were evil slave traders. The Jews were blamed for every evil plaguing the Christian body and soul.

The tragic irony was that the Jews were deprived by the Christians of every basic right and forced to exercise the "evil" trades of money-lending and slave-trading that the "good" Christians so despised. The Church banned usury. The Jews lent money at high risk, against little security, at about 43 percent interest (LaMonte 1949:366). This was deemed usurious by the Christians and reinforced the Christian view of the Jews as children of the devil. The Christian feelings of hatred and loathing for the Jews derived from widespread processes of externalization, projection, and displacement (Volkan 1988).

Naturally the vassals often harbored resentment at their overlords, while the serfs both loved and hated the lord of their manor. These feelings could not be expressed for fear of loss of livelihood, protection, and life itself. They had to be suppressed, repressed, and even denied. The unconscious cauldron of fear, envy, rage, and guilt feelings found an outlet in the Jews, who became the object of all these painful feelings. The indentured peasants continued to chafe under the yoke of feudal serfdom. At the end of the Middle Ages there were great peasant revolts in Europe, which were brutally quelled.

JEWISH SLAVERY OR JEWISH POWER?

In the "Holy Roman Empire" of Germany the Jews often became pawns in the struggle between pope and emperor. The Roman Catholic Church usually persecuted the Jews, while the "Roman" Emperors often protected them. We have a clear picture of this state of affairs from the anti-Jewish letters of Archbishop Agobard of Lugdunum (Lyon, 769/79–840), a contemporary and bitter enemy of "Roman" Emperor Ludwig der Fromme (778–840). The Jews were forced into the slave trade by their Christian rulers who needed slave labor yet would not take on this dirty work; nonetheless, in 825 Agobard called the Jews abominable slave traders. Ludwig der Fromme gave

them his royal protection, granting them many rights and privileges and making them *servi camerae nostrae* (serfs of our chamber) (Ben-Sasson 1976:410–11).

The church councils of Meldi (Meaux, 845) and Paris (846) passed anti-Jewish resolutions and revived the old anti-Jewish canons of the Church. But King Charles the Bald of France, asserting his authority against the Church, refused to adopt these canons as state law. In 936 Otto the Great was crowned German king at Aachen (Aquisgranum), the royal city of Charlemagne. Henceforth, until the sixteenth century, most German kings were crowned at Aachen. In 955 the German king Otto I defeated the Magyar rebels at the battle of the Lechfeld. Otto, however, was happy being German king and laid no claim to the title of Roman Emperor. In 965, allied with the Church, King Otto placed "Jews and merchants" under the authority of the bishop of Magdeburg (Ben-Sasson 1976:394). The Church was gaining ground in its struggle to control the Jews. The bishops became the "protectors" of the Jews, which was not unlike entrusting a tiger with the protection of a lamb.

THE CRUSADER HORRORS

The Crusades of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries brought death and destruction to the European and Middle Eastern Jews. The word "Crusade" derives from the Latin *crux* (cross). Saint Matthew said that Jesus Christ had enjoined the Christians to bear it: "No one is worthy of me who does not take up his cross and follow me" (Matt. 38:10). This was now interpreted as an injunction to holy war. Previously pilgrimage to the "Holy Land" was undertaken as a form of penance. The Crusader became a pilgrim and a warrior rolled into one.

The First Crusade was preached by Pope Urban II in 1095. Soon bands of Christian outlaws, vagabonds, and other emotionally disturbed characters were gathering in western Europe under the rallying cry of *Deus volt*. In 1096 the Crusader gangs went on a murderous rampage along the Rhine River, massacring the Jews everywhere. The "protection" of the Jews by the medieval "Roman" Emperors and Catholic bishops was proven worthless by the Crusader massacres of 1096. Marauding gangs of Crusader rabble savagely slaughtered tens of thousands of innocent Jews in the great Rhenish cities of France and Germany.

The medieval German kings often proclaimed a *Landfrieden* in the midst of general warfare. The public truce aimed at protecting all noncombatant groups from the savagery of the territorial wars in Europe. In 1103, to have his excommunication by the pope lifted, the German king and "Holy Roman" Emperor Heinrich (Henry IV, 1050–1106) vowed to go on a Crusade and proclaimed his *Landfrieden* of Mainz, which granted Jews, priests, monks, virgins, merchants, and other unarmed people his royal protection. Friedrich Barbarossa proclaimed his General Peace in 1152. The public peace was supposed to protect the Jews. Hilberg (1985:23) thought that the Jews were psychologically dependent upon their "protectors" and denied the reality of the impending catastrophe:

The psychological dependence of European Jews is illustrated by the following incident. In 1096, when the Jewish communities of Germany were warned by letters and emissaries from France that the Crusaders were coming to kill them, the Jewish leadership of Mainz replied: "We are greatly concerned with your well-being. As for ourselves, there is no cause for fear. We have not heard a word of such matters, nor has it been hinted that our lives are threatened by the sword." Soon the Crusaders came, "battalion after battalion," and struck at the Jews of Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and other German cities.

Biale (1986:64–65), using the word "pogroms" anachronistically, and translating *Landfrieden* literally as "Land Peace," believed that their protection by Christians was actually Jewish power:

[I]f [the Jews] were dependent on the good graces of secular or religious rulers for their very existence, this was very much the norm in the Middle Ages. For instance, in 1103, following the Crusader pogroms of 1096, the Jews were granted royal protection through the Land Peace (*Landfrieden*) of the German king. This Land Peace included a variety of groups in need of protection, such as priests, monks, widows, orphans, virgins, and merchants.

Biale's German king was "Holy Roman" Emperor Heinrich, whose General Peace of 1103 forbade all feuds among the great nobles of his empire for four years. Heinrich included "his" Jews in his proclamation of the General Peace of Mainz. His attempt to protect the Jews seems to have been fruitless, for the European Jews continued to be persecuted and massacred. The blood libels against the Jews began in the twelfth century. In 1144 the Jews of Norwich, England, were publicly accused of murdering a Christian child (Ben-Sasson 1976:482). In 1171 thirty-one Jews of Blois (Bloyes), on the Loire River in central France, were wrongfully accused of the ritual murder of a Christian youth and burnt at the stake (Chazan 1968:14–15).

Benjamin de Tudela, a twelfth-century Spanish Jewish traveler, described the Jews of Europe and Byzantium as "an overwhelmingly urban people" (Johnson 1987:170). During the twelfth century the European Christian concept of the Jews as the property of the king emerged clearly. The German kings and "Roman Emperors" decreed that the Jews were the property of their royal chamber (*servi camerae nostrae*). Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa wrote in the preamble to the "Rights of the Jews of Regensburg" in 1182 that he was deeply concerned for the welfare of his Jews, who belonged to the imperial chamber by virtue of the special prerogative of his dignity.

The medieval European kings regarded the Jews of their lands as their own private property. During the early thirteenth century various French kings and princes wrote each other demanding the return of "their" Jews (Ben-Sasson 1976:478–79). There is considerable debate among Jewish historians as to the meaning of *servi camerae*. Potok (1978:311) felt it was plain slavery: "The potential income to the royal treasury from the taxes that could be levied against a Jewish community and from a share in its business profits made Jews attractive to kings who were constantly in need of cash for their courts and for their armies. The status of the Jews began to

change. By the end of the first century of the crusades, the Jews were *servi camerae regis*, servants of the royal chamber. . . . The Jews were now the protected slaves of kings." Biale (1986:66) disputed Potok's simplistic notion of *servi camerae*:

The notion of the Jews as enslaved has a long theological background, going back to the Church fathers of late antiquity, but this formulation had little effect on actual law. The term *servi camerae* begins to appear in reference to the Jews as early as Louis the Pious of France (ninth century), but it seems to have found its clearest expression in the privilege that Frederick II of the Holy Roman Empire gave to the Jews in 1236, in which he calls them *servi camerae nostrae*. Although the concepts of serfs of the [royal] chamber came to have a humiliating meaning and could subject the Jews to threats of financial extortion from the king, its main significance was that the Jews paid taxes directly to the royal coffers. They were therefore protected against taxation by local lords, which was a considerable privilege.

Whether Potok was right or Biale, it is clear that the notion of *servi camerae nostrae* was in the mind of the German kings, not of the Jews. But the Jews were forced to act out this fantasy, to accept it, and to internalize it. The Jewish self-image as second-class citizens, servants and slaves of the Christians, became ingrained.

29

Mysticism and Union with the Mother

The term *religious mysticism* refers to those aspects of human thought, feeling, and behavior which cannot be defined and understood by logic and involve communion or fusion with divine beings. The yearning for direct contact with divine beings and for realms of experience different from those of our often painful daily reality is as old as human history. There have been mystical movements among Jews, Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, Muslims, and all other major religious groups. Vajda (1962), splitting scholarly hairs, distinguished religious mysticism from metaphysics (speculative and esoteric philosophy known only to a few insiders), cosmology (the science of universal order), theosophy (knowledge of the divine), occultism (the science of the supernatural), magic, and theurgy (divine intervention in human affairs). Such distinctions may serve the obsessional scholar's need to classify, but are not psychologically useful. Idel (1988a:xi) included both theosophy and theurgy in *his* definition of mysticism.

Jewish mysticism differs from other religious varieties in that it is related to the disasters of Jewish history such as the loss of homeland, sovereignty, holy city, and Temple, the perennial hatred and persecution of the Jews in the countries of the diaspora, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, and other catastrophes (Falk 1993b). Jewish mysticism issued from the basic tenets of the Jewish religion, yet it radically changed them. The biblical Yahweh, whom the rabbinical scholars had called "The Holy One Blessed Be He," became the mystics' *ensof* (infinity). His presence, the Shechinah, became Yahweh's consort, and his complex relation to man underwent a sea change. Jewish mysticism drew very heavily upon the symbolism of the Hebrew language and of its alphanumeric characters.

The Mishnaic Hebrew word *kabbalah* (reception) came to mean "tradition." During the Middle Ages the name Kabbalah was given to the most important body of Jewish mysticism. The scholarly literature on Jewish mysticism and on the Kabbalah in particular is considerable (Scholem 1961, 1988; Vajda 1962; Blau 1965; Weiner 1969; Meltzer 1976; Abelson 1981; Berg 1982–88; Dan 1986; Epstein 1988, Idel 1988a). We shall trace the development of Jewish mysticism as a system of fantasies

deriving from the deepest emotions of the individual mystic, as well as of his ethnic group, and using the imagery of Hebrew and Judaism as a vehicle of expression.

TYPES OF JEWISH MYSTICISM

Vajda (1962) distinguished three types of Jewish mysticism: the ecstatic, the contemplative, and the esoteric. Ecstatic mysticism, which Scholem (1961) called "prophetic," is characterized by the quest for access to some supernatural realm through ecstatic visions and other religious experiences. It began with the Hebrew prophets of the time of Samuel and went on for twenty-seven hundred years through Ezekiel, Abulafia, Luria, Sabbatai Sevi, and Jacob Frank. Vajda distinguished mysticism from metaphysics, yet believed that contemplative Jewish mysticism involves metaphysical meditation, as in the case of Philo Judaeus of Alexandria during the first century, while esoteric Jewish mysticism seeks to explore and commune with the Deity itself in all its variegated aspects and manifestations. It seeks to discover in nature and in human reality manifestations of other, higher, and concealed divine realities.

Idel divided the Kabbalah into two "trends": the theocentric (God-centered) theosophical-theurgical trend, and the anthropocentric (man-centered) ecstatic trend. He sees the mystic's quest for union with God and for the intensification of his spiritual life as the cornerstone of ecstatic Kabbalism. For Idel the differences between the two trends are essential. He chronicles the violent historical clashes between them and spells out the crucial parametric axes of Jewish mystical movements: esotericism versus exotericism, innovation versus conservatism, theocentrism versus anthropocentrism, theurgy versus mystical union, philosophy versus Kabbalah, and mystical salvation of the individual versus national eschatology. He tends to ascribe one pole of each such dyad to the ecstatic trend and the other to the theosophic-theurgical (Idel 1988a, 1988b).

Vajda (1962) thought that both the early Hellenistic sect of the Gnostics and the Jewish mysticism of the Kabbalah were esoteric. Idel (1988a) called much of the latter ecstatic. Is Vajda's distinction between ecstatic and esoteric mysticism necessary? Idel's theosophic-theurgic Kabbalah roughly corresponds to Vajda's contemplative mysticism, while his definition of ecstatic Kabbalism includes Vajda's esoteric mysticism as well. The mystic treats his experience of the divine and the esoteric as real, unaware of the psychic processes of projection, splitting, and idealization taking place within his or her mind.

GNOSTICS AND KABBALISTS

Scholem (1961:40-79) made a strong case for the influence of ancient Persian Mithraism and Greek Gnosticism on Jewish mysticism. The Greek word *gnosis* means knowledge; *gnostikos* means one who has special or secret knowledge. Gnosticism

was a second-century Greek philosophical and religious movement that developed from many polytheistic as well as monotheistic religions and that in turn influenced many others. The Greek word *apokalypsis* meant vision or revelation, not necessarily one of doom and destruction. Gnosticism had its origins in the dualism of the Iranian religions of the god Mithra and of the prophet Zarathushtra, in the allegorical idealism of Middle Platonism, and in the apocalyptic visions of the Jewish mystics themselves. Gnosticism may also have been influenced by the ancient Egyptian and Akkadian religions.

Simon Magus, a first-century Greco-Jewish Christian mystic, believed that Evil resulted from a break within the Godhead. His philosophy was a precursor of Gnosticism. During the second century Gnosticism became prominent in the Greco-Roman world, especially in the Greek-speaking eastern part. Gnosticism was prominent in the Roman and Alexandrian schools founded by the Egyptian Greek philosopher Valentinus, who lived in Rome from c. 136 to 160 and failed in his quest for the papacy. Valentinus suffered a deep narcissistic injury, externalized his damaged self, attacked the Church, and was excommunicated. By then Gnosticism had become heavily dualistic. There were God and the Devil, Good and Evil. The world was split in two, into heaven and hell, just as an infant unconsciously splits its internal image of its mother into the all-good mother and the all-bad mother.

Gnosticism held that the unconscious self of man was consubstantial with the Godhead, but that because of man's tragic fall from Paradise, his self is thrown into a world that is completely alien to its real being. It is only through revelation from above that man can become aware of his origin, essence, and transcendent destiny. This view is strikingly similar to those of the Jewish mystics many centuries later. Psychologically, one might interpret such mystical feelings as having to do with the initial experiences of physical and psychological birth and separation from the early mother, unconsciously symbolized by the Godhead.

While Scholem (1961:40–79) believed that the Jewish Kabbalah derived from Greek Gnosticism, Idel (1988a:31) thought that “ancient Jewish motifs that penetrated Gnostic texts remained at the same time the patrimony of Jewish thought and continued to be transmitted in Jewish circles, ultimately providing the conceptual framework of Kabbalah.” In other words, Idel thought of the Kabbalah as Jewish rather than Greek in origin. Idel's interpretation of Jewish mysticism differs from Scholem's on many other crucial points. Scholem's view of the Kabbalah was primarily as a theosophic ideational system, while Idel views it primarily as an emotional, ecstatic, and experiential method to commune with the Deity. Scholem's method was mainly philological; Idel's is primarily phenomenological. Scholem believed that the fusion with the Deity (*unio mystica*) was *not* a basic aspect of Jewish mysticism; Idel has quoted many texts to show that it *was*. Scholem believed rabbinical Judaism was opposed to Jewish mysticism, while Idel has shown that strong mystical currents exist in the Old Testament, in the Talmud, and in the Midrash, and that some of the greatest rabbinical authorities were Kabbalists. Scholem believed that sixteenth-cen-

tury Jewish mysticism was a reaction to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, while Idel thought that it had begun earlier.

UNION WITH GOD IN JEWISH MYSTICISM

One of the key issues in the scholarship of Jewish mysticism involves whether or not the *unio mystica* is an integral part of the Kabbalah. Scholem (1961:122–23) believed that it was not: “[I]t is only in extremely rare cases that ecstasy signifies actual union with God, in which the human individuality abandons itself to the rapture of complete submersion in the divine stream. Even in this ecstatic frame of mind, the Jewish mystic almost invariably retains a sense of the distance between the Creator and His creature.” Idel (1988a:60–62) disagreed: “[F]ar from being absent, unitive descriptions recur in the Kabbalistic literature no less frequently than in non-Jewish mystical writings, and the images used by the Kabbalists do not fall short of the most extreme forms of other types of mysticism. . . . The total absence of [the thirteenth-century mystic] Abulafia in Scholem’s most elaborate analysis of the phenomenon of *devekut* [Scholem 1971:203–27; Scholem 1974:174–76] is hard to explain.” Abraham ben Samuel Abulafia (1240–1291/92) was the most important ecstatic Jewish medieval mystic. *Devekuth* (cleaving, clinging, sticking, or adhering) is the closest Hebrew equivalent of *unio mystica*, the mystic’s fusion with God.

Idel (1988b:4) made three vital points about Jewish mystical union with God in the Kabbalah: (1) that Scholem’s view, while correct in general and insofar as it concerns the theosophical Kabbalah, is wrong with regard to the second important brand of Kabbalah—the ecstatic or prophetic Kabbalah; (2) that the divergence of the two types of Kabbalah on this issue stems from their differing conceptions of man, as well as of the nature of divinity; (3) that the influence of philosophical psychology on the ecstatic Kabbalah is the main reason for the emergence of the extreme type of expressions concerning *unio mystica* in the mysticism of Abulafia and his disciples. Most scholars, except for Scholem’s devout disciples, agree with Idel. Scholem may have had his own unconscious reasons for denying the importance of the mystical union with God in Jewish mysticism (Falk 1982:27–28).

PSYCHOLOGICAL VIEWS OF MYSTICISM

Union with God, with the Universe, or with the Absolute being the core of the mystical experience, psychologists and psychiatrists have been trying to understand its origins: Carver (1914), Silberer (1917), Dunlap (1920), Reik (1921), Leuba (1925), Freud (1930), Carle (1943), Fordham (1945, 1960), Inge (1947), Wedemeyer (1949), James (1958), Fingarette (1958, 1963), Wolstein (1958), Bakan (1958, 1965, 1966a, 1966b, 1967), McClelland (1959), Burchard (1960), Moller (1965), Walker (1965),

Deikman (1966, 1971), Campbell (1968, 1976), and Hoffman (1981). Most of these studies view mysticism as a pathological regression under stress to the infantile stage of fusion with no boundaries between self and object. In other words, mysticism is considered a form or symptom of psychiatric illness.

Freud (1930:64–65) cited the French writer Romain Rolland (1866–1944), who had published biographies of two Indian mystics, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda (Rolland 1929–30). Rolland himself had a mystical “oceanic” sensibility (Fisher 1988:8–37). Rolland described the mystic’s oceanic feeling as “a sensation of eternity, a feeling of something limitless, unbounded” (Freud 1930:64). Freud called it “a feeling of an indissoluble bond, of being at one with the external world as whole” (Freud 1930:65). Freud saw the oceanic feeling as the primary state of the ego when it is merged with the external world and “includes everything” (Freud 1930:68). Freud ascribed religious feeling to the child’s helpless dependence on its father:

I cannot think of any need in childhood as strong as the need for a father’s protection. Thus the part played by the oceanic feeling, which might seek something like the restoration of limitless narcissism, is ousted from a place in the foreground. The origin of the religious attitude can be traced back [to] the feeling of infantile helplessness. There may be something further behind it, but for the present it is wrapped in mystery. (Freud 1930:72)

Actually, the feeling of infantile helplessness begins before a relationship with the father is established. It starts in the infant’s archaic state of psychic fusion with its mother, a subject that Freud often approached but never dared discover, perhaps because it was his own deepest problem. The human baby is totally helpless. It needs the mother for its very survival. So long as the mother supplies its every need, it feels omnipotent. But when its basic needs are thwarted because the mother is physically or emotionally unavailable, the infant feels totally helpless. The same happens if the infant struggles to separate and individuate from its mother, only to meet with rage and rejection from her (Mahler et al. 1975).

The longing for the *unio mystica* with the Deity springs from our deepest and most powerful feeling: the yearning for fusion with the early mother. This feeling is traceable to the earliest period of our lives. The wish to unite with God and to be at one with the universe, the yearning for the oceanic feeling, is traceable to our longing for Paradise Lost, for the earliest psychic fusion with our mother during the first year of our life, perhaps even for our prenatal union with her inside the womb.

The mystical yearning for fusion derives from the most basic feelings and issues of human life: birth itself, often painful and traumatic; the earliest phase of fusion with the mother; psychological birth, the equally painful and complex process of separation and individuation out of the symbiotic fusion; the pain of expulsion, persecution, loss, and the inability to mourn them, beginning with the expulsion from the womb and the loss of the blissful fusion with the loved object (mother). Some psychiatric scholars have explained the mystical experience using the concept of “de-automatization.”

Gill and Brennan (1959:178) described “de-automatization” as

an undoing of the automatizations of [psychic] apparatuses . . . directed toward the environment . . . a shake-up which can be followed by an advance or a retreat in the level of [personality] organization . . . some manipulation of the attention directed toward the functioning of an apparatus is necessary if it is to be de-automatized.

Deikman (1966) exemplified the psychiatric approach to mysticism. He thought that the mystical experience involved this kind of de-automatization. Rather than focus on the mystic's "regression to the early infant-mother symbiotic relationship," Deikman preferred the notion of "active adaptation." Deikman pointed out that the mystical experience was produced via contemplation and renunciation. Its main features were its realness, its unusual percepts, unity with God or with the universe, ineffability and transsense phenomena. Deikman said the mystical state was brought about through "the de-automatization of the hierarchically-ordered structures that normally conserve attentional energy for maximum efficiency in achieving biological and psychological survival."

Deikman (1971) postulated two basic modes of psychic organization: the action mode and the receptive mode. Comparing mystical with psychotic experiences, he described the psychiatric syndrome of "mystical psychosis," characterized by "marked heightening of sense perception; a feeling of communion with people, the world, God; intense affective response; and the blurring of perceptual and conceptual boundaries." Mystical psychosis maximizes receptivity and minimizes action. Deikman said that first-person accounts of such psychotic experiences were strikingly similar to reports of sensate mystical experiences. They involved "a sudden, sharp, and extreme shift to the receptive mode: decreased self-object differentiation, heightened sensory intake, and nonverbal, nonlogical thought process."

For the mystic, said Deikman (1971), what emerges from the "cloud of unknowing" or the "dark night of the soul" is an ecstatic union with God or reality. The psychotic creates a delusion to achieve a partial ordering and control of a world that "rushes in" on him. In the mystical state "one is ecstatic, Christlike, overcome with the significance of a thousand details, buffeted by alternate winds of fear, exultation, grief, and rapture . . . helpless, like an infant." Deikman believed that there were "many factors that differentiate the life and practice of the mystic from that of the psychotic" but failed to specify them. Ariel (1988:201-2) equated "de-automatization" with mystical "transcendence":

The oceanic feeling . . . is evaluated in vastly different ways by modern psychology. Strict Freudians view [it] as a form of regression to a relatively undifferentiated ego stage. Others see it as a necessary stage of integration of human consciousness. Erich Neumann (1968) . . . viewed mysticism as a necessary stage in human development. In his view the ego develops from undifferentiatedness into distinct self-consciousness. He posits a further integrative stage in which the differentiated ego can experience [both] individuality and undifferentiatedness. This may in fact provide an important insight into the psychological value of communal prayer . . . [which] provides the occasion for simultaneous individuality and undifferentiatedness as an advanced form of human consciousness.

Some psychologists and psychiatrists think that the mystical quest for union with God, far from being psychotic or even pathological, is quite normal. Others prefer to think of it in neurological terms. Leuba (1925) rejected Freud's concepts and theories without stating any reasons for this rejection. Inge (1947, appendix) called mysticism "that form of error which mistakes for a divine manifestation the operation of a merely human faculty." Inge believed that "the complete union of the soul with God is the goal of all mysticism."

James (1958:321) believed that "this overcoming of all the usual barriers between the individual and the Absolute is the great mystic *achievement*." Findlay (1970:164) wrote: "The mystical way of looking at things enters into the experience of most men at many times. The so-called great mystics are merely people who carry to the point of genius an absolutely normal, ordinary, indispensable side of human experience." Rather than attempt a psychological understanding of the Kabbalah, Hoffman (1981) promoted the Kabbalah as an alternative to modern psychology.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF JEWISH MYSTICISM

Psychoanalysis and religious mysticism are two different ways of exploring the meaning of human life. Vajda (1990:463) thought that Jewish mysticism grew out of the Jewish religious tradition that preceded it:

[T]he quest for God implies the search for solutions to problems that go beyond those of religion in the narrow sense and that arise even when there is no interest in the relationship between man and supernatural powers. Man ponders the problems of his origins, his destiny, his happiness, his suffering—questions that arise outside of religion, as well as within nonmystical forms of religious life; the presence or absence of religious institutions or dogmas is of little importance when it comes to these questions. They were all formulated within nonmystical Judaism and served as the basis and framework for the setting and solution of problems in the various forms of Jewish mysticism. This mysticism, especially in its "Kabbalistic" form, brought about profound transformations in the concepts of the world, God and "last things" (resurrection, last judgment, messianic kingdom, etc.) set forth in biblical and rabbinical Judaism. Nevertheless, Jewish mysticism's own set of problems about the origins of the universe and of man, of evil and sin, of the meaning of history, of the afterlife and the end of time is rooted in the very ground of Judaism and cannot be conceived outside of an exegesis of revealed Scripture and rabbinical tradition.

Vajda (1990:463) thought that from the first to the mid-twelfth century only the ecstatic and contemplative forms of Jewish mysticism were in existence, whereas the third form, esoteric mysticism, began only in the second half of the twelfth century. As early as the second century B.C.E., at the height of the Jewish struggle with Hellenic domination, religion, and culture, Jewish thinkers began to speculate about angels and demons, about mythical geography and uranography, and about divine manifestations in the Temple and in Ezekiel's chariot visions.

Jewish philosophers and mystics were preoccupied with the dual nature of man, both earthly and divine, with the end of time, with resurrection, and with the life hereafter. The Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha belong to this early corpus of Jewish mystical writings. The Apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, and early Gnostic writings are the earliest written documents of Jewish mysticism. The rabbinical literature of the Mishnah, Talmud, and Midrash included some tracts on the interpretation of dreams but very little in the way of mystical inquiry into the nature of the Deity and man's relation to it. When they did touch upon these subjects it was often as a polemic against them. The mystics who engaged in speculation on the invisible world of God, angels, demons, and other supernatural creatures were a different breed of Jews. They sought to penetrate a world that did not exist except in their own minds, but that to them was very real.

Death is a fearful thing. Belief in the afterlife, in reincarnation, and in resurrection alleviates the believer's fear of death. During the first century Jewish mystics studied the narrative of the Creation, the revelation of "the holy Torah" to Moses on Mount Sinai, Ezekiel's hallucinatory visions of Yahweh's chariot, the Song of Solomon, the end of time, resurrection, and the afterlife. The Essenes and other Judean desert Jewish sects, such as the well-known Qumran sect, produced writings that could be labeled mystical.

To the first-century Jewish mystics, the Hebrew word *merkabah* (chariot) meant not only God's chariot but all of the supernatural world. Those who explored it were called *yorday merkabah*, meaning "descenders of the chariot" or, later and metaphorically, "explorers of the nature of God." These early mystics had ecstatic visions of divine, invisible dwellings, parlors, palaces, and temples. At the same time they "paradoxically" expressed the divine transcendence in anthropomorphic terms (Vajda 1990:464). God was a giant figure and his dwellings were gigantic. The mystics gave actual figures for the size of God's organs. Some said his height was 236,000 parasangs (about 800,000 miles), others said the height of his soles alone was 30 million parasangs (about 100 million miles). The exasperated Scholem (1961:64) observed the hopeless confusion and total illogic of these figures. But the enormity of God's measurements expressed how the mother and father seem to the helpless little infant. Mysticism was closely allied with magic and those who practiced it were initiated by their elders in the cult. Egyptian, Greek, and various Semitic magical practices were incorporated into Jewish mysticism.

Judaism had absorbed elements of "paganism." The third-century Hebrew book *Sefer haRazim* (Book of secrets) is concerned with "pagan" magic and witchcraft. From the first to the fifth century there were few major changes in the Jewish mystical tradition save the interaction of Gnosticism and Judaism and the fusion of faiths (syncretism). Vajda (1990:464) thought that "during the centuries that separate the talmudic period (2nd to 5th centuries A.D.) from the full resurgence of Jewish esoterism in the middle of the twelfth century, the texts that have been preserved progressively lose their density and affective authenticity and become reduced to the level of literary exercises that are more grandiloquent than substantial." Actually the talmudic period

lasted as late as the seventh or eighth century. If the emotional intensity of Jewish mysticism did wane during these centuries, it may have been because the Jews had encapsulated themselves in a kind of timeless bubble, living in their ancient fantasy more than in their present reality. As Stein (1987:53) put it:

A common feature of the geotemporal landscape of culture is changelessness if not immutability at the core in the face of considerable change at the surface (cf. Hallowell 1955). Americans constantly seek to conquer some "new frontier"; Jews are liturgically admonished to act as though they had just been redeemed from slavery in pharaonic Egypt . . . despite the fact that the historical liberation occurred over three millennia ago. The group psychology of historical memory exerts a profound influence upon the perception of group space.

During the sixth century Jewish mysticism nonetheless took an important turn with the writing of *Sefer Yetsirah* (Book of creation), which deals with the cosmology and cosmogony of the world. Contrary to the Gnostics, the *Sefer Yetsirah* claimed that the God of Israel had created the universe on two levels: the material and the ideal. In the meantime God had acquired many new names and attributes. He had created the universe through a complex process involving the ten *sefiroth* (numerals) and the twenty-two *othioth* (letters of the Hebrew alphabet). The ten *sefiroth* were to play a key role in the later Jewish mysticism of the Kabbalah.

There were many "pagan," especially Hellenic, elements in the *Sefer Yetsirah*. Psychologically, the magical belief in the power of numbers, letters, and words can be traced back to the infant's feeling of magical omnipotence. It is, among other things, an unconscious defense against its early feelings of helplessness. The ten original *sefiroth* (numerals) were also cosmological powers such as the spirit (breath) of God, the elements of air, water, and fire, the spatial dimensions of up and down, and the four "winds" of East, South, West and North. The twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet were given special meaning as tools of creation. Words had power, and through speech one could create being. The stars had similar powers, as did the seasons and the acts of man. Mystics pay scant attention to logic. The pedantic Scholem (1961:77) was exasperated by the nebulousness of *Sefer Yetsirah*: "If the author of the book wanted to be obscure, he certainly succeeded beyond his wishes."

MEDIEVAL KABBALAH

Between the writing of the *Sefer Yetsirah* in the sixth century to that of *Sefer haBahir* (Book of brightness, brilliance, or clarity) in the twelfth, there were great changes in Jewish life and culture. The Jews of the Middle East, North Africa, and Spain had passed from Byzantine Greek culture into Muslim Arab rule.

Medieval Jewish mysticism flourished between the sixth and fifteenth centuries. *Sefer haBahir*, a collection of "fragmentary, poorly written and badly assembled texts" (Vajda 1990:464) was edited from earlier Eastern sources in Provence, then under the

rule of the house of Barcelona from Catalonia, around 1175 (Scholem 1961:75). Scholem (229) called it "the book *Bahir*, the oldest document of Kabbalistic thought." It attempted to interpret the vicissitudes of Jewish history in a Gnostic yet nondualistic fashion. It may be no accident that *Sefer haBahir* was compiled only four years after the massacre of the Jews at Blois (1171). The shock of the first ritual-murder libel, in which thirty-one Jews, including seventeen women, were burned at the stake (Chazan 1968:14–15), may have provoked the writing of the mystical book. *Sefer Habahir* turned the *sefiroth* (divine powers) into hypostases, essences, or substances of the Deity. Each was part of God but also had its own personality. Some *sefiroth* were more severe, others more merciful. The striking aspect of this mystical conception is its direct link with human behavior and feeling. As always in religion, magic, and mysticism, unconscious emotions, conflicts and wishes were externalized and projected upon the outer world.

God's own names had changed. He was no longer called by his biblical names of Yahweh, Elohim, or Adonai, which had become "ineffable" (Urbach 1979, 1:126–27). God was called haKadosh Baruch Hu (the Holy One, Blessed is He), haMakom (the Place, or the Omnipresent), Adon Olam (Lord of the Universe), Av haRakhamim (Father of Mercy), Shamayim (Heaven), Elokim (an attempt to avoid the "ineffable" Elohim), or haShem (The Name). As with the ancient Canaanite gods, these *epithets* became God's new *names* (Urbach 1979, 1:4). Orthodox Jews still call their God by those names. Many new and bizarre names were invented for magical purposes (Trachtenberg 1984:90–97). This was an obsessional defense against the anxiety produced by the unconscious conflict between the wish to invoke the awesome powers of God's name and the fear of doing so.

Sefer haBahir organized these divine powers (*sefiroth*) in a hierarchy, in which some were higher and closer to God while others were lower and closer to the visible world of man. The Gnostic idea of Sophia, originally the Greek goddess of wisdom, was taken up by the Jewish mystics in their thinking on Khochmah (Wisdom), one of the divine powers closest to the Deity itself. The powerful infantile need to replicate the father-mother relationship in the Deity found its expression. The rabbinical Shechinah (feminine Presence of God) became a hypostasis, an essence or substance, characterized as a feminine being and therefore the consort of God himself. The mother goddess was thus reintroduced into Jewish religion despite all efforts to suppress her (Patai 1967). The mystics were yearning for the archaic and idealized mother of their infancy.

The maternal Shechinah was identified with the Community of Israel (*knesseth Yisrael*), which stands in the same relation to God as does a bride to her groom. The Jewish nation was conceived of as a woman, bride or wife, which is hardly surprising, in view of the unconscious dynamics of our feelings about our nation (Stein and Nederland 1989). *Sefer haBahir* asserted that Israel's obedience or disobedience to its chosen path and particular vocation determined cosmic harmony or disruption as well as the inner life of the Deity. The reincarnation of a soul into several successive bodies is another idea introduced by *Sefer haBahir*. If this were so, the murdered Jews of Blois would live again.

In medieval French, which developed from Latin by a process of differentiation, the word *oui* (yes) was pronounced in two different ways. In northern France it was articulated *oil*; in the south, *oc*. Northern France was called *Langue d'oil*, southern France *Langue d'oc* (Languedoc). During the twelfth century in Languedoc there developed a new school of Jewish mysticism known as the school of Isaac the Blind. (Like their ancient forebears, medieval Jews had no surnames. Typical Jewish names were Isaac ben Jacob of Provence, or Samuel ben David of Augsburg.) Isaac the Blind wrote an obscure commentary on the sixth-century *Sefer Yetsirah*. He believed that the universe proceeded from the link between the hierarchical orders of the created world and the roots of all beings implanted in the world of the *sefiroth*. One wonders if Isaac's blindness and the feeling of helplessness that came with it might have prompted his preoccupation with mysticism.

Vajda (1990:465) thought that "one can already see a Neoplatonic influence in the reflections of Isaac [the Blind]; e.g. the proceeding of things from the One and the corresponding return to the heart of the primordial undifferentiatedness, which is the fullness of being and at the same time every conceivable being." This "undifferentiatedness" is the symbiotic fusion with the primeval mother of one's infancy.

By the end of the twelfth century the Kabbalah was taking shape in the southern French regions of Provence, Languedoc, and Roussillon. This was the time of the medieval Crusades, during which the Jews were massacred in Europe. The Crusaders had captured Jerusalem and most of Palestine in 1099 and ruled it until 1187. Their kingdom was known as the "Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem." The Jews remained a hated and persecuted minority in the Christian European lands, accused of the death of Jesus Christ, of the killing of Christian children, and of the ritual ingestion of their blood, as well as of other imaginary crimes.

In 1348–52 the bubonic plague (Black Death) hit Europe. The Europeans did not know that it was an epidemic caused by a bacterium transmitted by fleas that have fed on the blood of infected rodents. They thought it was a demonic pest. The Jews were accused of having poisoned Christian wells. They were tried, condemned, and burned at the stake. The persecution of the Jews and the often terrible conditions under which they lived may well have contributed to the flowering of Jewish mysticism. The feeling of union, of fusion, and of undifferentiation with the Deity that the Jewish mystic so deeply craved may be understood psychologically as akin to the child's yearning for fusion with its mother. When life becomes too painful, one wishes to go back to that blissful oceanic feeling of fusion with the universe that one had as a baby. Indeed, Jewish mysticism flourished when the Christian persecution of the Jews was at its most ferocious, atrocious, and violent, during the European Middle Ages.

THE SEXUAL LIFE OF THE *SEFIROTH*

The Hebrew names of the ten *sefiroth* of medieval Jewish mysticism kept changing between the sixth and the twelfth centuries. By the twelfth century their names be-

came more or less fixed, yet some had retained several different Hebrew names at the same time. The *sefiroth* were anthropomorphized. I shall list them in descending order of proximity to the Deity. It is instructive to note the mixture of masculine and feminine names by which the *sefiroth* are called:

1. Keter Elyon (Supreme Crown) or Rom Maalah (Highness). This name harks back to Elyoun (Elyon), the Highest God of ancient Canaanite mythology. It is clearly masculine, yet Maalah is feminine.
2. Khochmah (Wisdom), the primordial idea of God. This name is related to the Gnostic notion of Sophia and is the location of primordial ideas in the Deity. Despite its feminine Hebrew name, it later came to symbolize the *paternal* aspect of God.
3. Binah (Intelligence, Understanding). This was the organizing principle of the universe as well as the Supernal Mother.
4. Khessed (Charity, Love) or Gedulah (Greatness). The masculine word Khessed was the divine attribute of kindness, related to the Greek concept of *agape* (love). Gedulah, however, is feminine.
5. Gevurah (Might), Din (Justice), or Pakhad (Awe). This was the divine attribute of severity, stern judgment, and punitive power, the awesomeness of God the Father. The word Gevurah is feminine, while Din and Pakhad are masculine.
6. Rakhamim (Compassion) or Tifereth (Glory). This was the mediating principle between the last two *sefiroth*. It had paternal connotations. Rakhamim is a plural masculine word, while Tifereth is feminine.
7. Netzakh (Eternity), the everlasting endurance of God. A masculine word.
8. Hod (Glory), the majesty of God. Also a masculine word.
9. Yessod (Foundation). This was the origin of all divine powers, the origin of all active forces in God. It is a masculine word.
10. Malchuth (Royalty). This last *sefirah* was sometimes identified with the Shechinah (feminine Presence of God) and later described in *Sefer HaZohar* (Book of splendor) as *knesseth Yisrael*, the Community of Israel (a feminine term).

Langer (1923) pointed out that the Jewish mystics described their *sefiroth* in sexual and familial terms. For instance, the ninth *sefirah* of Yessod was thought to be located in the penis of Adam Kadmon (primeval Man). There were sexual relations between Khochmah and Binah, the father and the mother. The Shechinah, herself a maternal being, was said to climb the ladder of the *sefiroth* and to unite with her husband, God. The primary world of God was called *ensof* (infinity). The powerful emotional dynamics within the human family had been externalized onto the *sefiroth*. *Ensof* was as infinite, boundless, and undifferentiated as the infant feels in its fusion with its mother.

MEDIEVAL GERMAN JEWISH PIETY

Scholem (1961) began his history of Jewish mystical trends with Merkabah mysticism and Jewish Gnosticism, and went on to the twelfth- and thirteen-century German Jewish Hassidim (pietists) of the time of the Crusades. The meaning of ancient Hebrew words kept changing. The biblical Hebrew word *hassid* meant "righteous," "honest," "just" or "upright" (Ps. 145:17). In medieval Hebrew it took on the meaning of "pious" and "puritan." These medieval Jewish pietists were called in Hebrew *hassiday Ashkenaz* (the German pietists). The term *Hassidim* was borrowed from the "righteous" Jews of the second century B.C.E., who had zealously resisted the hellenization of their people.

The leaders of medieval German Jewish pietism were Samuel ben Calonymus, the Hassid of Speyer; his son Judah ben Samuel the Hassid of Worms and Regensburg (d. 1217); and the latter's disciple Eleazar ben Judah of Worms (Scholem 1961:82). They wrote Hebrew works such as *Sefer Hassidim* (The book of the pious) and *Maaseh Nissim* (Miracles), later published in Yiddish as the *Maase Buch* (Meitlis 1933; Gaster 1934; Scholem 1961:369). The medieval German Jewish pietists were influenced by the work of Saadiah ben Joseph al-Fayyumi Gaon (882-942), the head of the "Babylonian" Jewish yeshiva at Sura (Iraq). The greatest medieval German Jewish mystic, Eleazar of Worms, set down a magic formula for creating life out of lifeless matter (Trachtenberg 1984:85).

Medieval German Jewish pietism was messianic and eschatological, but not apocalyptic. Its central tenet was the unity of God, the pursuit of justice in everything, social and economic equality, and the sanctification of God's name (*Kiddush haShem*) by dying at the hands of the Crusaders rather than converting to Christianity. Pietists were deeply preoccupied with redemption: "Eschatological ideas concerning the nature of the state of bliss in Paradise, the dawn of Redemption, the nature of Resurrection, the beatific vision of the just, their bodies and garments, the problem of reward and punishment, etc., were of real importance to a man like Jehudah the Hasid" (Scholem 1961:89).

Psychologically, this is the unconscious wish to escape earthly pain and to merge with the all-encompassing early mother. Paradise is the bliss within the womb, or in the fusion with the mother. Was this an escapist fantasy in reaction to the horrors of the Crusades? Scholem (1961:87-88) thought the reverse was true:

It will always remain a remarkable fact that the great catastrophe of the Crusades, the incessant waves of persecution which now broke over the Jews of Germany, failed to introduce an apocalyptic element into the religious tenets of German Jewry. . . . It is true that the chroniclers of the persecutions and the writers of the new school of religious poetry . . . sought consolation in eschatological hopes, but they laid far more stress on the blessed state of the martyrs and [on] the transcendent splendor of the coming Redemption than on the terrors of the end and [on] the vision of the Last Judgment.

The apocalyptic element may have been absent from medieval German Jewish mysticism, but its messianic and eschatological ones were strong. The Jewish yearn-

ings for rebirth, resurrection, and redemption were very powerful. In southern France, Provence, and northern Spain, during the thirteenth century, the Jewish mystics became a distinct group united by ties of language, thought, and belief (Scholem 1961:119). The School of Gerona (Catalonia) was "a veritable seat of esoterism" (Vajda 1990:465). Its best-known adherent was Nahmanides (Moses ben Nahman, 1195–1270), who held a public disputation at Barcelona in 1263 with the Jewish "apostate" Pablo Christiani.

ECSTATIC JEWISH MYSTICISM

While the ultimate object of the mystical quest remained the ascent to the highest *sefiroth* and the union with God, Scholem (1961:122–23) found a respect for distance along with this craving for fusion:

[E]ven in this ecstatic frame of mind, the Jewish mystic almost invariably retains a sense of the distance between the Creator and his creature. . . . Nothing seems to me to express better this sense of the distance between God and man than the Hebrew term which in our literature is generally used for what is otherwise called *unio mystica*. I mean the word *devekuth*, which signifies "adhesion" or "being joined," viz., to God. This is regarded as the ultimate goal of religious perfection. *Devekuth* can be ecstasy, but its meaning is far from comprehensive. It is a perpetual being-with-God, an intimate union and conformity of the human and divine will. Yet even the rapturous descriptions of this state of mind which abound in later Hasidic literature retain a proper sense of distance, or, if you like, of incommensurateness.

Idel (1988a, 1988b) disagreed with Scholem on this crucial point, arguing that the longing for union or fusion was an integral part of Jewish ecstatic mysticism. Even if Scholem were correct, the psychological interpretation of this distance or incommensurateness within the longing for union seems clear: the craving for fusion with the early mother, as powerful as it is unconscious, is only part of the mystic's inner conflict; the other part is the wish to separate, to individuate, to maintain a sense of one's self as distinct from the mother. God unconsciously represents the early mother, and the mystic repeats in his relationship to God the earliest emotional conflicts of his life.

AN ECSTATIC JEWISH MYSTIC

Abraham ben Samuel Abulafia (1240–91/92) was the most important medieval Jewish mystic. He was born in Zaragoza, the former Moorish emirate capital, and since 1118 the capital of the Christian kingdom of Aragón, on the Ebro River, in northeastern Spain. Most of the biographical information we have on Abulafia comes from his own writings (Jellinek 1853, 1854, 1855, 1887; Idel 1988b). He spent his youth in

Tudela, Navarra (Navarre), also on the Ebro River, the hometown of Rabbi Benjamin, the twelfth-century Jewish explorer who had visited Palestine. Abraham was close to his father Samuel, who taught him Hebrew, the Old Testament, the commentaries, the Mishnah, and the Talmud. When he was eighteen years old his beloved father died.

The loss of his father was a severe blow to the young scholar. Abulafia was in constant emotional turmoil. He began to travel far and wide. At the age of twenty (1260) he left Spain for Palestine to search for the mythical river Sambation. Hebrew myth had it that the ten lost tribes of Israel, which had been exiled by Assyria in 721 B.C.E., dwelt beyond that river. This was an expression of the inability to mourn. In Abulafia's unconscious mind, the ten lost tribes of Israel may have stood for his lost father or perhaps for still earlier losses (we know nothing about his mother). Rivers possess a powerful unconscious symbolism associated with sexuality and incest (Niederland 1956, 1957, 1959). The Sambation River, which roils and stirs like a geyser all week and rests only on the Sabbath, may also have symbolized his own inner turmoil to Abulafia.

In Palestine, wrote Abulafia, he could not go beyond Acre due to the savage war between "Ishmael and Esau" taking place there. He was probably referring to the battle between the Mamluk Sultan Baybars (1223–77) and the Mongols in September 1260. Abulafia spent several years in Greece, where he briefly married, then moved to Capua in south-central Italy. He kept wandering in Italy and Spain, forever trying to find inner peace. Abulafia was powerfully attracted to the philosophy of Maimonides (Moses ben Maimón, 1135–1204), the great Jewish scholar from Córdoba who lived in Morocco and Egypt and whose *Guide to the Perplexed* had become a Jewish catechism. Maimonides had unconsciously become Abulafia's idealized father. Abulafia considered his own mysticism a "final step forward" from Maimonides (Scholem 1961:126).

While studying Maimonides' rationalistic precepts, the young scholar was also heavily preoccupied by the mystical texts of the Kabbalah. When he turned thirty, often a crisis in a young man's life, Abulafia returned to Spain and went to live in Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia. Here he studied the *Sefer Yetsirah* (Book of creation) under Baruch Togarmi (the Turk), a precentor. His new teacher unconsciously assumed the role of the new father for Abulafia, for the young mystic made especial mention of Baruch as the man who initiated him into the true meaning of the book. Togarmi had published a treatise about the mysteries of *Sefer Yetsirah*, declaring that there were many secrets he was not allowed to write about.

ABULAFIA'S PROPHETIC CALLING

Medieval life expectancy was low. Infant mortality was high. Many people died before they were twenty-five. Death was an ever-present threat. At the age of thirty-one, while under the influence of his new "father," Togarmi, and still beset by inner conflict, Abulafia underwent an emotional crisis. He was "overcome by the spirit of proph-

ecy," had both terrible and wonderful visions, and became a mystic. Scholem (1961: 127) paraphrased Abulafia's own account:

[H]e obtained knowledge of the true name of God, and had visions of which he himself, however, says, in 1285 [at the age of forty-five] that they were partly sent by the demons to confuse him, so that he "groped about like a blind man at midday for fifteen years with Satan to his right." Yet on the other hand he was entirely convinced of the truth of his prophetic knowledge.

Before long Abulafia was convinced that he was both a prophet and the Messiah. Abulafia unconsciously dealt with his inner conflict via obsessional and paranoid defenses. The "demons" that he thought had "partly" sent him his evil visions were projections of his inner demons—fear, rage, incestuous and parricidal desire, guilt feelings, and so on. Benign visions were attributed to God. Abulafia was minutely and obsessively preoccupied with letters and numbers, especially the Hebrew alphabet and its numerical values. He invented new Hebrew names for himself whose letters' numerical values added up to that of the name Abraham.

In 1280, at age forty, a crisis in the life of any medieval man, Abulafia felt called upon by God to do no less than go to Rome, confront Pope Nicholas III (1225–80) in the name of all Jewry as its prophet and Messiah, and convert him to Judaism. Pope Nicholas unconsciously represented the bad father to Abulafia, just as Maimonides and Togarmi had represented the idealized good father to him. In 1263 the Jewish mystic Nahmanides (Moses ben Nahman) had held a public disputation at Barcelona with the Jewish "apostate" Pablo Christiani, who spoke for the Church. Nahmanides predicted the Messiah's confrontation with the pope "when the time of the end will have come." The record of this disputation was published, and Abulafia may have read it (Silver 1927:146).

Abulafia's grandiose feeling that he was both a prophet and the Messiah was an unconscious defense against feelings of helplessness, worthlessness, and nonbeing, as well as against the fear of death, which increased when he turned forty. Why he would have such deep feelings of helplessness is hard to tell, not knowing anything about his very early life. Yet his mystical quest for union with God bespeaks the archaic quest for union with the early mother and it is in this earliest relationship that such feelings originate. Abulafia imagined that the pope had given orders to have him arrested, led out of Rome, and burned at the stake.

Abulafia's narcissistic pride and obstinacy were such, however, that he overcame his fear and immersed himself in his mystical meditations preparing to confront the pope. At this point, he said, "two mouths grew on him" (Scholem 1961:128), which expressed his great ambivalence. When Abulafia entered the gates of Rome in Ab 5041 of the Hebrew calendar (August 1281), he wrote, he learned that the pope had just died. Actually Pope Nicholas III had died on 22 August 1280; the pope in 1281 was Martin IV (d. 1285). This has led to considerable confusion among scholars as to which pope Abulafia was trying to convert.

Abulafia believed that God had intervened on his behalf and wrote a *Sefer Eduth*

(Book of testimony) to commemorate this miracle. He said he was held by the Franciscan friars for twenty-eight days and then released. From 1280 to 1291 Abulafia kept wandering around Italy and Spain, writing prolifically in Hebrew. His prophetic and apocalyptic writings have survived only in *Sefer haOth* (The book of the sign), which Scholem (1961:128) called "strange and not altogether comprehensible" (cf. Jellinek 1887). Abulafia's religious, doctrinal, and mystical writings have survived in many treatises. The key concept of these writings is "the untying of the knots of the seals," by which he meant to untie the human soul from the knots that bind it and to make it free.

Abulafia thought that there were barriers that separated the soul from God, a dam that keeps the soul confined within the natural borders of human existence and protects it against the divine stream that flows beneath it or all around it (Scholem 1961:131). Abulafia believed that the soul had seals impressed upon it to protect it against this divine flood. It was Abulafia's mystical task to unseal and untie the soul and let the divine stream penetrate it and flood it. He felt that the Hebrew alphabet was the object through which this task could best be accomplished. By combining various letters into words and names he could compose the true name of God and thus unseal the soul. Abulafia's mystical ideas were symbolic expressions of the most powerful emotional conflict of his life: the yearning for fusion versus the need for individuation.

Abulafia's ecstatic and prophetic Kabbalism is a fine example of the relationship between mysticism and psychopathology. Some of his visions were hallucinations, some of his fantasies delusions. Abulafia may have had psychotic episodes or may have been in a regressed, fusional, undifferentiated state during his visions. As with the biblical Ezekiel, whether or not Abulafia was psychotic can be debated forever. It is only through the symbolic understanding of the mystic's language that we can decipher its deeper meaning.

30

Crusaders and Kabbalists

JEWISH SELF-HATE

Jewish history in medieval Christian Europe is a sad story of hatred, discrimination, persecution, libels, expulsions, massacres, and murderous riots by Christians against Jews. While the Jews of Muslim Spain were relatively prosperous *dhimmi*, the Catholic Church hated and violently persecuted the Jews in the rest of Christian Europe (Margolis and Marx 1985:346–429). The Jews lived in constant fear of their Christian neighbors and of the authorities. All manner of evil intentions and satanic actions were unconsciously projected upon and ascribed to the Jews by the Christian majority, which fervently believed in the Jewish Evil. The Biblical Hebrew word *satan* originally meant “enemy,” and in the Book of Job it assumed the meaning of “the common enemy of man.” To the medieval mind, Satan was the devil. In an age when belief in the devil was a matter of course, the Jews were dehumanized and demonized by the Christians, who held them to be the children of Satan and of his filthy sow (Trachtenberg 1983:18, 26).

The Christians needed to define the boundaries of their group self and to ward off bad feelings about themselves by degrading and segregating the Jews. The Jews were assigned to special sections of the European cities known as the *Jews' Place*, the *Judengasse*, or the *Quartier des Juifs*. Later the Venetian *ghetto* (foundry) became the universal model for segregating the Jews. Naturally, Jewish life under such chronic discrimination, segregation, and persecution was very unhappy. The Jews had to develop psychic defenses to deal with their fearful situation and with their “bad self.” Identifying with the aggressor was one such defense. The Jews developed the self-image of martyr and victim. The Jewish group self was unhealthy, incorporating elements of self-hate. Yet many Jews also retained a pride in their cultural heritage and kept their self-esteem.

Jewish self-hate has intrigued some serious scholars (Lessing 1930; Lewin 1941; Lewin-Papanek 1974; Patai 1977:456–80). Lewin (1941) believed that the minority Jews wish to rise from their painful low status to the high status of the majority, find the way barred, are filled with anger and aggression, cannot direct this aggression outward toward the powerful majority, and therefore direct it against themselves. This seemingly persuasive theory overlooks the fact that many Jews did *not* hate themselves.

Patai (1977:461–62) thought that “in view of the unquestionable soundness of [Lewin’s] explanation, it is nothing short of remarkable that prior to the [eighteenth-century] Emancipation, that is, at a time, when the status of the Jews as a minority group was much lower than after it, Jewish self-hatred was almost unknown . . . the Jewish people as a whole constituted a striking exception to the Lewinian rule about the inevitability of the development of a negative self-stereotype, and even self-hatred, in low-status minority groups.” Unfortunately, for their own psychological reasons, Jew-haters, academic dilettantes, and self-styled “scholars” have also “studied” Jewish self-hate. David McCalden, a member of a pseudo-academic “historical review” group that denies the reality of the Holocaust (Irving 1977; Grimstad 1979; Butz 1982; Faurisson 1985), published a virulently anti-Semitic “scholarly” pamphlet entitled *Exiles from History* and subtitled *A Psychohistorical Study of Jewish Self-hate* (McCalden 1982), giving psychohistory a bad name. In studying “Jewish self-hate” McCalden unconsciously projected his own self-hate upon the Jews.

THE CRUSADES AS A PSYCHOGEOGRAPHICAL FANTASY

The Crusades, which lasted from the late eleventh century to the late thirteenth century, decimated the Jews in many European countries. They were ostensibly provoked by the behavior of the Muslim rulers of Palestine. Early in the eleventh century the “mad” Egyptian Shiite Fatimid caliph Abu Ali al-Mansur al-Hakim (985–1021), who reportedly had all the dogs in his realm killed because he hated their barking, began to persecute the Christians of his lands and to despoil the Holy Sepulchre. In 1071 the Seljuq Turks from Central Asia, led by Alp-Arslan (c. 1030–73), defeated the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes (Romanus IV, r. 1068–72) at Manzikert (now Malazgirt in east central Turkey) and captured Palestine. Romanus Diogenes was blinded and exiled to an island in the Sea of Marmara, where he soon died (1072). His successor as “Roman Emperor of the East,” Alexius Comnenus (Alexius I, 1048–1118), appealed to the “Holy Roman” Emperor of Germany for help.

This appeal and the prevailing socioeconomic conditions in Europe are said to have given rise to the Crusades. Yet it took another twenty-four years for the pope to issue a call for the First Crusade. The Crusades sprang from the inner conflicts of the European Christians themselves. The “Holy Roman Empire” was riven by the oedipal power struggles between pope and emperor.

The Christians of Europe felt about this feud as children feel when their parents are fighting. They were filled with fear and helpless rage. Did the Crusades spring from the bloody internal wars of Europe? Christian Europe was deeply divided. Palestine was far away. It was easy to project all evil and to externalize one’s unconscious conflicts upon the “Saracens,” the anachronistic and fantastic name given to all Arabs, Turks, Persians, and other Muslims by medieval European Christians. The original Saracens had been the faraway enemies of the ancient Romans. Internal conflict became external war.

The First Crusade (1096–99) was preached by the sixty-year-old Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont (1095). The pope delivered a fiery sermon exhorting all good Christians to go to war for the Holy Sepulchre. He promised that the journey would count as full penance with the Church and that the Crusaders' vacant homes in Europe would be protected by a truce. He told them their battle cry would be *Deus volt* (or *Deus vult*, God wills it) and distributed crosses to the masses. Like the German kings, the popes claimed succession to the Roman Emperors. As the ancient Roman Emperors had sent imperial legates to rule the provinces, Pope Urban designated a fellow Frenchman, Bishop Adhémar de Monteil (Adhémar du Puy, Ademar, or Aimar, d. 1098), who had made a pilgrimage to the East (1086–87), his papal legate and the leader of the Crusade. Count Raymond de Saint-Gilles of Toulouse (1041/42–1105) was the first nobleman to take the cross.

The young German king and "Holy Roman" Emperor Heinrich (Henry IV), who would have been the natural leader of the Crusade, ignored the pope's call. Many Europeans responded eagerly. There were religious, political, social, and economic reasons for the Crusades: the wish to liberate the Holy Sepulchre to rescue the Holy Land, to sustain the Christian Byzantine empire against the Muslim Turks, to gain territories and wealth, and so forth. Harris and Levey (1975:690) ascribed the widespread popular response to Pope Urban's call for a Crusade to rational factors: (1) The increase in the population and prosperity of Western Europe. (2) The high point that religious devotion had reached. (3) The prospect of territorial expansion and riches for the nobles, and of more freedom for the lower classes. (4) The colonial projects of the Normans, which were directed against the Byzantine empire as much as against the Muslim world. (5) The desire, particularly of the Italian cities, to expand trade with the East. (6) A general awakening to the lure of travel and adventure.

However valid these rational explanations, there were also deeper, powerful unconscious motives for the Crusades. The "Holy Land" was a symbolic motherland kept in bondage by the evil "Saracens." The psychogeographical fantasy of liberating the "Holy Land" and the Holy Sepulchre was a displacement of the infantile fantasy of rescuing the mother from the bonds of the oppressive father and uniting with her (cf. Falk 1974, 1983, 1987; Stein 1987; Stein and Niederland 1989).

By 1096 fanatical Crusader mobs fired by greed and religious zeal were savagely massacring the European Jews who had "killed Jesus Christ." Bands of destitute French and German peasants roamed Europe, led by seriously disturbed characters like Peter the Hermit (1050–1115) and Walter the Penniless (d. 1096/97). They fell upon the Jews of the Rhenish cities with murderous fury. King Könyves Kálmán of Hungary (Coloman, 1070–1116) attacked and dispersed the marauding Crusader bands. The survivors, led by the Hermit and the Penniless, managed to reach Constantinople. The Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus sent them on to Asia Minor (now Turkey), where they were defeated and massacred at Cibotus (Civetot, 6 August 1096) by the Seljuq Turks, leaders of the Turkic tribes from Central Asia.

In late 1096 and early 1097 four major European armies arrived in the East. The first army was led by Hugues de Vermandois, brother of King Philippe of France

(Philip I, 1052–1108). He was followed by three sons of the Norman count Eustache de Boulogne (Eustace II): Baudouin de Boulogne (Baldwin of Boulogne, or Baldwin I of Jerusalem, 1058–1118), Godefroy de Bouillon (Godfrey of Bouillon, or Godfrey IV of Lower Lorraine, 1060/61–1100), and Eustache de Boulogne (Eustace III). With them came their kinsman Baudouin du Bourg (Baldwin of the Bourg, or Baldwin II of Jerusalem, d. 1131). The second Crusader army was commanded by the Norman prince Bohemond of Otranto from southern Italy (Marc Bohémond de Tarante, or Bohemond I of Antioch, 1050/58–1111), son of Duke Robert Guiscard of Apulia. Bohemond, who was named after the mythical Germanic giant Bohemund (Boëmund), came with his nephew, Tancred de Hauteville (d. 1112). The third army was that of Count Raimond de Saint-Gilles of Toulouse (Raymond IV, or Raymond I of Tripoli, 1041/42–1105); the fourth army was led by Count Robert of Flanders (Robrecht II, Robrecht van Jeruzalem, or Robert the Jerusalemite, 1065–1111).

Unlike the Crusader rabble that he had dispersed when they arrived in Hungary, King Könyves Kálmán let the Crusader lords cross his country peacefully. The armies that reached Constantinople numbered some four thousand knights and twenty-five thousand infantry. The Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus, fearing the hordes that reached his capital, asked the Crusader lords to take an oath of fealty to him and to swear to restore to him any Byzantine territory that had been taken by the “Saracens.” All the Crusader lords except Tancred de Hauteville and Raymond de Saint-Gilles took the oath of fealty to Emperor Alexius Comnenus at Antioch, which they captured in June 1098. In July 1099 they recovered Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre from the “Saracens.” The Crusaders ruthlessly massacred the Jews and Muslims of Palestine, which they called *la terre sainte* (the holy land). Upon the ruins and ashes of Syria and Palestine they founded their “Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem” (Prawer 1972b). It was no more “Latin” than the “Holy Roman Empire” was Roman. This fantastical feudal realm was torn from within by struggles among the great Crusader lords.

In 1103 the German king and “Holy Roman” Emperor Heinrich (Henry IV), who had ignored the pope’s call for the Crusade, granted the Jews his royal protection under the *Landfrieden* (General Peace). The protection also extended to priests, monks, widows, orphans, virgins, merchants, and other helpless and unarmed people (Biale 1986:65). The Jews needed the king’s protection because they were persecuted and massacred, but it did not save them from the Crusaders.

The exploits of the Crusader prince Tancred de Hauteville, prince of Galilee, in the “Holy Land” excited the fancy of Renaissance artists. The “divine” Torquato Tasso (1544–95), the Italian poet, wrote his *Gerusalemme liberata* about the Crusade. Its best-known poem is “Il Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda,” in which, not knowing her true identity, Tancred slays his lover Clorinda, disguised as a “Saracen” warrior. The misogynist aspects of this poem are obvious. In 1638 the great Italian composer Claudio Monteverdi set this poem to beautiful music.

During the twelfth century the “Latin” Crusader states included the kingdom of

Jerusalem (now southern Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, and southwestern Jordan), the county of Tripoli (now northern Lebanon), the principality of Antioch (now in Syria), and the county of Edessa (now southeastern Turkey and northwestern Syria). The city of Edessa (now Urfa, Turkey) and its county fell to the Muslim Seljuq Turks under Zangi Atabeg (father chief) of Mosul in 1144. This defeat frightened the Crusader princes and the popes.

The Second Crusade (1147–49) was preached by Saint Bernard de Clairvaux (1090–1153) in 1146. Bernard was a bitter foe of Pierre Abelard (c. 1079–1142), the Scholastic philosopher famous for his love affair with Héloïse (c. 1098–1164), the niece of Canon Fubert of Notre Dame, for which Abelard was castrated and disgraced. The German contingent was led by German king and “Holy Roman” Emperor Conrad von Hohenstaufen (Conrad III, 1093–1152), the French one by King Louis le Jeune of France (Louis the Younger, or Louis VII, 1120–80). This Crusade was a dismal failure. The European Crusaders massacred the Jews en route and pillaged the territories of Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus (Manuel I, c. 1120–80), but the Seljuq Turks decimated the Christian forces. Rivalry, jealousy and treachery ruined the expedition. To the Jews it was yet another catastrophe. Thousands were killed. The losses were so painful that the Jews were unable to mourn them.

The Crusaders held their “Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem” during most of the twelfth century, repelling attacks by the Muslim Mamluks and Seljuq Turks and by the Christian Byzantines. The great medieval military monastic orders of the Knights Templar, the Knights Hospitaller, and the Teutonic Knights further undermined royal authority in Palestine. The Crusaders were finally driven out of Palestine in 1187 by the Kurdish warrior Salah-ed-Din al-Ayyubi (c. 1138–93), known to the Europeans as Saladin, who led the Muslim forces.

The Crusaders slaughtered far more Jews than “Saracens,” the European Christian fantasy term for Arabs, Muslims, Persians, Turks, and other peoples of the Orient. Lumping all their enemies together under a term used a thousand years earlier by the Romans to designate their oriental enemies made it easier for the Christians to dehumanize them and to project upon them all the unacceptable aspects of their own selves. Because most of the Crusaders were French (Franks), the Muslim Arabs called all Christians and Europeans by the name of *frangi*.

The Third Crusade (1189–92) was also launched to free the Holy Sepulchre from the Muslims, who had captured it in 1187. It was as savage as its predecessors. The Crusaders were acting out a psychogeographical fantasy of rescuing the early mother. The leaders of this Crusade were King Richard Coeur-de-Lion of England (1157–99), who spoke little English and spent only six months of his entire reign in England, King Philippe Auguste of France (Philip II, 1165–1223), and “Holy Roman” Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa of Germany (c. 1122–90). Richard and Philippe were uneasy allies. The Byzantines under Emperor Isaac Angelus (c. 1155–1204) had been fighting the invading Normans from Sicily led by Guglielmo (Guillaume II); they temporarily allied themselves with the Muslims, and the three years of warfare led

only to the capture of Jaffa with a small strip of coastland and the right of free access to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The German emperor drowned in the Seleph River on his way to the Holy Land. All in all it was another failure of Crusader fantasy to adapt to reality.

The thirteenth-century Crusades were disastrous for the Crusaders. The unhappy Fourth Crusade (1202–4), the pathetic and tragic Children's Crusade (1212), the Fifth Crusade (1217–21), the Sixth Crusade (1228–29), the Seventh Crusade (1248–54), the Eighth Crusade (1270) and the Ninth Crusade (1271–72) all failed to wrest the "Holy Land" from the "evil Saracens." King Louis IX of France (1226–70), later canonized as Saint Louis, passionately supported the Crusades. Countless people were murdered. The Jews paid the price for the Christian failures. Entire Jewish communities were plundered. Jews were brutally massacred, their wives and daughters brutally raped.

THE MEDIEVAL MILITARY MONASTIC ORDERS

Christian monasticism began around 270 in the Egyptian desert with ascetic anchorite hermits like Saint Anthony (c. 251–356) and his famous temptations. By the High Middle Ages there were two kinds of Roman Catholic monks: those who lived communally (cenobites) and those who lived in solitude (hermits). The great medieval Crusader orders were definitely cenobitic. Like the other Crusaders, they were primarily French and German. Like the Crusades themselves, the medieval religious-military orders that sprang from them had fantastic names and ideas.

"The Knights Hospitaller" was the popular name for the *Ordre souverain et militaire de l'hospital de Saint Jean de Jérusalem* (Sovereign and Military Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem). They were also known as the Knights of the White Cross because they wore a white cross on a black robe. "Saint John of Jerusalem" was Saint John the Baptist, whose church stood near the first eleventh-century hospital. The order was begun in the early eleventh century by Italian merchants who established a hospital for pilgrims and a Latin-rite church in Muslim Jerusalem. When the Crusaders seized Jerusalem amid much bloodshed in 1099, a French monk named Gérard de Martignes was master of the hospital.

Gérard created the new monastic order of the *Frères de l'hospital de Saint Jean de Jérusalem*, which was recognized by Pope Paschal II (d. 1118) in 1113. Raymond du Puy (d. 1118), who succeeded Gérard, reorganized the order as a military one designed to defend the Christian pilgrims and created three classes of members: the Knights of Justice for those of noble birth, the middle-class chaplains, and the serving brothers. There were also honorary members called "donats" who contributed land and money to the order.

The Knights Hospitaller took an active part in the Crusader wars in the "Holy Land," especially the siege and capture of Ascalon (Ashkelon) in 1154 and the battle of Hattin that ended with the defeat of the French Crusader lords Guy de Lusignan,

Renaud de Châtillon, and Raymond de Tripoli by Saladin's "Saracens" in 1187. The Hospitallers held their ground in their Margat and Acre fortresses for another century, but lost them to the Knights Templars, their great rivals. They were driven out of the "Holy Land" after the fall of Acre in 1291 and established themselves at Cyprus, near Palestine, hoping for the liberation of the "Holy Land." The Knights Hospitaller went on crusading in other lands.

In 1308–10 Foulques de Villaret led the Knights Hospitaller in the conquest of Rhodes, whence they continued to fight the "Saracens" as the Knights of Rhodes. The Knights Hospitaller lost Rhodes to the "Saracens" (Ottoman Turks) in 1522. The Knights Hospitaller had lost one country after another: Palestine, Cyprus, Rhodes. They could not mourn their losses; instead, they dreamt of past glory and made war. In 1530 "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles V conferred on the homeless Hospitallers the sovereignty of the island of Malta, and they became known as the Sovereign Military Order of the Knights of Malta. The Crusades had been over for two centuries, and the "Saracens" were now Ottoman Turks; nonetheless, like Don Quixote, the Hospitallers fought on. They continue to exist in our own time. There is an ophthalmological Hospital of Saint John in Arab East Jerusalem as well as a Hospitaller monument on the Muristan Road in the Old City of Jerusalem.

"The Knights Templar" was the popular name for The Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and the Temple of Solomon, also known as the Poor Knights of Christ, the Knights of the Temple of Solomon, and the Knights of the Red Cross. The Templars wore a red cross on a white robe. Their order began when Hugues de Payens, Geoffroy de Saint-Omer, and other French Crusader knights joined together to protect pilgrims to the "Holy Land" (1188). The Crusaders believed they had found two biblical temples on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem: the Templum Salomonis (Temple of Solomon) at the Mosque of al-Aksa and the Templum Domini (Temple of The Lord) at the Dome of the Rock. In reality there had been no temple at the site of al-Aksa. Both temples had been built on the site of the Dome of the Rock. The Templars believed that their house in Jerusalem, known as the Stables of Solomon near the Mosque of al-Aksa, had been the Palace of Solomon.

Saint Bernard de Clairvaux (1090–1153), the French abbot, mystic, and scholar who preached the Second Crusade (1146), drew up the rules of the new order of the Knights Templar. The order was officially sanctioned by the Council of Troyes (1128) and confirmed by Pope Honorius II (d. 1130). In 1139 Pope Innocent II (d. 1143) released the Templars from their vow of obedience to the patriarch of Jerusalem, placing them under the direct authority of the holy see of Rome. The Templars outdid the Hospitallers in fighting the "Saracens" at the Mediterranean port of Damietta (Dimyat or Dumyat, Egypt) during the Fifth Crusade (1219) and at Gaza after the Sixth Crusade (1244). During the thirteenth century the Templar leadership grew rich, worldly, and decadent, arousing the fear and anger of secular rulers in Europe. Pope Honorius II (d. 1227) founded the nonmilitary monastic orders of the Dominicans (1216), Franciscans (1223), and Carmelites (1226). In the early fourteenth century they were persecuted by Philippe le Bel of France (Philip the Fair, or Philip IV,

1268–1314), who not only was in grave financial straits and coveted their money but had also lost his beloved wife Jeanne and could not mourn her death. In 1305 charges of sodomy and heresy were brought against the Templar leaders. Philippe had the Templars tried in his royal court, and in 1312 their order was suppressed. The grand master of the Templars, Jacques de Molay (1243–1314), was tortured, imprisoned for years, and burned at the stake when he retracted his earlier confession. Pope Clement V and Philippe le Bel himself died shortly afterward.

This was the end of the medieval Templars, but not the end of temple-rebuilding fantasies. These fantasies never ceased. They sprang from the unconscious wish to recreate the early mother's body (Falk 1974, 1983). The Fraternal Order of the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, popularly known as Freemasons, which developed from the medieval guilds of stonemasons and cathedral builders, and the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine are still preoccupied with the rebuilding of the Temple. During the 1870s the new Order of the Sons of the Temple was founded in Germany, and some of its members came to Jerusalem, establishing the German Colony southwest of the walls of the Old City, with Gothic biblical inscriptions on its doorposts. They believed themselves to be the heirs of the medieval Templars. A few Templar houses still stand in the "German Colony" of modern Jerusalem.

The German-speaking Order of the Knights of the Hospital of Saint Mary of the Teutons in Jerusalem was also known as the *Teutsche Ritter-Orden* (Order of the German Knights) or Teutonic Knights. It was a noble German monastic order whose members took the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. The order of the Teutonic Knights was founded in 1190 during the siege of Acre in the Third Crusade. Hermann von Salza (1170–1239) was the grand master of the Teutonic Knights from 1210 to his death.

In 1211 Hermann von Salza moved the Teutonic Knights to Transylvania (now in Romania), ruled by King András of Hungary (Andrew II, 1175–1235). In 1213 the king's German wife, Gertrude of Meran (now Merano, Italy), was killed by rebellious Magyar nobles. King András could not mourn his loss of his wife. In a textbook case of war as the paranoid elaboration of mourning, András set out in 1217 with an army of fifteen thousand men on a disastrous crusade to the "Holy Land." In 1222 he was forced by the Magyar nobles to grant a golden bull, which limited royal rights and expanded those of the citizenry. In 1221–25 the Teutonic Knights helped King András of Hungary fight the invading "pagan" Turkish Kipchak Cumans (Kun), but the Knights were expelled by the Magyar king in 1225, after they defied both royal and church authority.

The salvation of the Teutonic Knights came from "pagan" Prussia. Expressing their innermost emotional conflicts and wishes, "pagan" polytheism was as vital for its believers as Christianity was for Christians. The "heathen" Prussians (Borussi or Prusy) were a case in point. The early Prussians were related to the Lithuanians and Latvians. The devout German Christians abhorred the "sacrilegious" practices of the Prussians and vowed to convert them. The attempts of Saint Adalbert (Vojtech, 956–97) and of Saint Bruno of Querfurt (Boniface, 974–1009) to convert the Prussians to

Christianity at the turn of the eleventh century had failed miserably. For their pains, the two were massacred by the Borussi. The Prussians, along with the "pagan" Lithuanians and Jatvigians, raided the lands of the Polish duke Konrad of Mazovia (Conrad I, d. 1247). In 1225–26 Duke Konrad of Mazovia called for help from the Teutonic Knights. When the Imperial Diet of Cremona (1226) called for a Crusade to the Holy Land, Duke Konrad called for a Crusade against the Prusy. In the golden bull of Rimini (1226), "Holy Roman" Emperor Friedrich (Frederick II, 1194–1250) granted Hermann von Salza (1170–1239), the grand master of the Teutonic Order, sovereign rights over the "masterless heathen country" of the Prussians. In 1228–30 Duke Konrad of Mazovia gave the Teutonic Knights the lands of Kulm (Chelmno), east of the lower Vistula (Wisla) River, to subdue his troublesome neighbors.

The Teutonic Knights moved north to the Vistula River, establishing a stronghold at Thorn (Torún). In 1233 Grand Master Hermann von Salza dispatched Hermann Balk with an army made up of Teutonic Knights and central German volunteer laymen to the lower Niemen (Neman or Nemunas) River. They subdued, exterminated, or converted by force the native Prussians. In 1234 Pope Gregory IX (c. 1169–1241) granted the Teutonic Knights the Privilegium of Rieti, further cementing their hold over Prussia. Hermann von Salza ignored Duke Konrad's claim to sovereignty over Prussia. In 1237 the Teutonic Knights merged with the Livonian Knights, German-speaking soldier-monks who had created a similar domain for themselves in what are now northern Latvia and southern Estonia. In 1239 Herman von Salza died. While some of the Teutonic Knights under their *Landmeister* were busy fighting the Prussians, their new grand master led the others east against the Russian city of Novgorod. In April 1242 Prince Aleksandr Nievsky of Novgorod (Alexander Nevsky, 1220–63) defeated the Teutonic Knights in the famous "massacre on the ice" between Lake Chud (Lake Peipus) and Lake Pskov. The Teutonic Knights went on subduing and massacring the Prussians. In 1261–83 there was a major Prussian rebellion, which the Knights quelled. "Holy Roman" Emperor Friedrich granted the Teutonic Knights vast privileges. By the end of the thirteenth century the Teutonic Knights had become the mightiest military power in central Europe.

In 1525 the grand master of the Teutonic Knights, Albrecht von Hohenzollern (Albert of Prussia, 1490–1568), accepted the Protestant Reformation, made Prussia a secular duchy, and was invested as duke of Prussia by King Zygmunt of Poland (Sigismund I, 1467–1548), dealing the death blow to his own order. Still, the die-hard Catholic Teutonic Knights continued in Germany until 1809.

PERSECUTION AND MYSTICISM

Like other Crusaders, the medieval Knights Hospitaller, Knights Templar, and Teutonic Knights hated the Jews and often killed them. The two centuries of Crusading warfare and plunder brought grief and tragedy to countless Jewish families. Some Jews escaped into mystical activity. After the terrible Crusader massacres, Jewish

mystical activity began to flourish in southwestern Europe. From 1280 to 1340, during the golden age of Castilian Jewry, mystics such as Solomon ibn Adret, Abraham Abulafia, Moses de León, Asher ben Yekhiel, Abner de Burgos, and Jacob ben Asher were prolific and active. We have already discussed the ecstatic and prophetic mysticism of Abraham Abulafia. Let us take a broader overview of Jewish mysticism in the Middle Ages.

The Jews were living in a fantastic, glorified world of the past. The Kabbalistic activity of the Jewish mystics peaked during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries in the School of Gerona (Catalonia), in the "Ashkenazi" Hassidim (German pietists), and in the "Sephardic" Kabbalism of Spain. From the latter came a treatise entitled *Sefer haZohar* (The book of splendor). Most scholars agree that its author was Moses ben Shemtov de León, a thirteenth-century Spanish Jewish Kabbalist from Guadalajara who spent the last years of his life in Ávila and died in 1305 in Arévalo while on his return journey from the Spanish royal court at Valladolid (Scholem 1961:159, 186). The *Zohar* was written in Aramaic to make it look like an ancient work. In fact, modern scholarship has determined that the book's artificial Aramaic is a medieval rendering of Hebrew, modeled on the Aramaic translations of the Old Testament and on the Babylonian Talmud (156–59, 163). The work was falsely attributed to the second-century Palestinian Jewish sage Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai, who had been mythologized as the originator of Jewish mysticism. Jewish legend had this sage spend thirteen years in a cave learning the secrets the universe. The cave is a well-known unconscious symbol of the maternal womb. The attribution of the *Zohar* to an ancient sage and its writing in Aramaic betrayed the Jewish inability to mourn. The Jews were living in a world of fantasy. The *Zohar* was likewise unadulterated fantasy, fascinating to the psychoanalyst.

The text of the *Zohar* covers five bulky volumes and fills some twenty-four hundred closely printed pages in Aramaic, written in Hebrew characters. It consists of some twenty-one to twenty-three components or subtexts (Scholem 1961:159–62; Lachover and Tishby 1971–75, 1:17–21). These texts are the product of the imagination of their author. They deal with psychogeographical fantasy rather than with reality (Stein and Niederland 1989). Scholem (1961:168–69) was aware of this:

[T]he Palestine which is described is not the real country such as it exists or existed, but an imaginary one . . . the various topographical and sundry descriptions of the natural background of the miraculous actions and happenings . . . provide the most convincing proof possible that the author had never so much as set foot in Palestine and that his knowledge of the country was derived entirely from literary sources. . . . Much the same applies to the fanciful treatment of the personalities of the narrative . . . the author's misconceptions are inexplicable on the assumption that he was drawing on ancient and authentic sources.

It is as unconscious psychogeographical fantasy, therefore, that one should analyze and interpret the mystical texts of the *Zohar*.

The centerpiece of the *Zohar* is the sexual and familial relations between the *sefiroth*, God's numerous names and attributes, and his female counterpart, the Shechinah. Langer (1923) pointed out the erotic aspects of the Kabbalah, especially the *Zohar*, in which sexual relations abound between the various masculine and feminine attributes of the deity. One of the *sefiroth* is the Great Father, another is the Supernal Mother, and yet another is the sexual organ of Primeval Man. There are sexual, even incestuous, relations between these, as well as between them, God, and the Shechinah. Langer's book was one of the first attempts to apply the psychoanalytic understanding of unconscious symbols to the fantasy world of the Kabbalah. Conventional scholars often have difficulty accepting psychoanalytic notions. Scholem (1961:228), after discussing the sexual imagery of God's relation "to himself" in the *Zohar*, dismissed Langer's fascinating and scholarly treatise with the following ambivalent statement:

It is to be noted that the *Zohar* makes prominent use of phallic symbolism in connection with speculations concerning the Sefirah Yesod—not a minor psychological problem concerning the author's strict devotion to the most pious conceptions of Jewish life and belief. There is, of course, ample room here for psychoanalytic interpretation; indeed, the ease with which this method can be applied to the subject is only too apparent, but there is little hope, in my opinion, that real light can be shed on the matter in this way. An attempt to interpret the "Eroticism of the Kabbalah" in psychoanalytical terms as been made, but the author has not advanced beyond the common catch-phrases which not a few adherents of the school unfortunately seem to regard as a sufficient answer to problems of this nature.

Scholem's dismissal of the psychoanalytic viewpoint was unfortunate. Psychoanalysis can shed much light on the mystical notions of the Kabbalah (Falk 1982). Scholem (1961:229) had admitted that the introduction of the Shechinah in the role of Yahweh's bride rather than his presence was one of the most important innovations of the Kabbalah. The basic psychoanalytic viewpoint is that the sexual and familial relations between the mystical entities of the *Zohar* are projections of the innermost emotional conflicts of their authors and that it is precisely these deepest emotional conflicts that attract the mystics who adhere to them.

Shoham (1979, 1980) believed that the main theme of sixteenth-century Lurianic Jewish mysticism was the yearning for rebirth and reunion with the archaic mother. Many of the elements of Lurianic mysticism were already present in the thirteenth-century *Zohar*. Some "humanistic" and "transpersonal" psychologists have invented the term "Kabbalistic psychology," attempting to show that the *Zohar* incorporates many of the insights of "modern psychology," but have avoided even the most obvious psychoanalytic interpretation of its contents (Hoffman 1981). Such attempts, however worthy their aim, tend to be confused by Judaic scholars with psychoanalytic interpretations, giving the method a bad name in the world of Judaic scholarship. In reality, psychoanalysis can shed a fascinating light on Jewish mysticism.

FUSION WITH THE EARLY MOTHER

The late Middle Ages brought disasters to the Jews of Europe and of the Ottoman empire. The Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, the year its Catholic kings drove the Muslim Moors back to North Africa and Christopher Columbus rediscovered America. In 1497 the Jews were also expelled from Portugal. The Ottoman Turks at first accepted many Jews, but they too discriminated against the Jews as a non-Muslim minority.

The more the Jews were persecuted, the more they developed their two unconscious psychic defenses: *isolation and denial*. The first took the talmudic form of intellectualization, exemplified by scholars like Joseph ben Ephraim Caro (Karo, 1488–1575), whom my family myth calls one of my ancestors on my paternal grandmother's side. Caro was born in Spain, but his family fled to Ottoman Turkey when the Jews were expelled (1492) and he was a child of four, no doubt a trauma for the tender child. Caro may have dealt with his emotional wounds by obsessional isolation.

Rabbinical scholars often lived in the biblical past. The breastplate of the biblical High Priest had four *turim* (rows; in modern Hebrew, columns) of precious stones (Exod. 28:17). In the fourteenth century Rabbi Jacob ben Asher (1269–1340) wrote an authoritative codification of Jewish law entitled *Sefer HaTurim* (Book of rows) or *Arbaa Turim* (Four rows) after the biblical High Priest's breastplate. The book consisted of four sections, each dealing with a different aspect of Jewish life. It was published in 1475. To proclaim their authorship, Jewish rabbinical scholars often used their first names in the titles of their works. Joseph Caro first wrote *Beth Joseph* (House of Joseph), a commentary on the *Sefer haTurim* or *Arbaa Turim* of Rabbi Jacob ben Asher.

Caro then meticulously codified the Jewish Halachah (Law) in his monumental *Shulchan Aruch* (Set table), begun in 1522, completed in 1542 and published in 1564. The book brought together and collated the equally monumental work of the Jewish scholars Isaac Alfasi (Isaac of Fez, 1013–1103), Moses Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon, 1135–1204), and Asher ben Yekhiel (1250–1327). It became the cornerstone of Jewish religious law, even though Caro's work "predominantly represented the Sephardi tradition and therefore did not gain universal acceptance until the balance was redressed by the glosses [commentaries], soon incorporated into all editions, of the Ashkenazi Moses Isserles (c. 1525–72, Poland). These glosses are popularly known as the *Mappah*, 'Tablecloth'" (Goldberg and Rayner 1989:221–22). In 1535/36 Caro moved to Safed in the Galilee, Palestine, where he met the local Jewish mystics. While there, he had visions of the Mishnah as a woman and a mysterious *maggid* (preacher) speaking to him personally. Perhaps this expressed symbolically his deep unconscious longing for his early mother and father.

The other Jewish unconscious defense, denial, took the form of a flight into ecstatic mysticism. It can be illustrated by the myth of Joseph de la Reyna, a saintly fifteenth-century Jewish scholar of Safed, Palestine, who sought to redeem mankind by fighting and defeating the devil. He is said to have enlisted the prophet Elijah and

the archangel Sandalphon on his side in this war, but "at one point the Rabbi committed an indiscretion, and he lost the great advantages he had gained over Satan, who used his restored power to bring ruin upon him and his disciples" (Ginzberg 1967-69, 4:231). Joseph's "indiscretion" was allowing Satan, in the guise of a dog and a bitch, to sniff Christian incense (Scholem 1979).

The sources usually cited for the myth of Joseph de la Reyna are several sixteenth-century Kabbalistic works, but the original sources are the fifteenth-century mystical works entitled *Sefer haMeshiv* (The book of answers, or Revelations) and *Kaf haQetoreth* (The censer) (Scholem 1961:248). A later myth attempted to explain De la Reyna's name, which means "of the queen," by adding that Satan carried Joseph de la Reyna every night from his bed to that of the queen of Yavan (Greece, the fantastical medieval Jewish appellation for Byzantium) to make love to her. In fact, Joseph may simply have been born in the Spanish town of Tralavera de la Reyna. The later myths betray the incestuous fantasy behind them, for the queen is the mother in disguise. The Satan that the saintly rabbi was fighting so hard was his own unconscious feelings and desires.

The sixteenth century brought a great flowering of Jewish mysticism in Safed. There were mystics such as Moses Cordobero, Solomon Alkabez and Elijah de Vidas. The most famous of all was Isaac ben Solomon Luria (1534-72), known to his disciples as the Holy ARI, an acronym standing for the Ashkenazi Rabbi Isaac but also meaning "Lion." His family had migrated from Germany to Palestine, and he was born in Jerusalem. In 1517 the Ottoman Turks, who had captured Constantinople in 1453, also conquered Palestine, and in 1543 the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt by Suleyman the Magnificent, Ottoman sultan and caliph of Islam. At the age of twenty-two (1556) Isaac ben Solomon became a hermit and a visionary mystic. At the age of thirty-six (1570) he settled in the Galilean city of Safed, becoming the teacher and leader of a large group of mystics. He died two years later, at age thirty-eight.

Luria left us no writings of his own. His teachings have come down to us through his chief disciple Hayim Vital. The latter's most important book was entitled *Etz Khayim* (The tree of life, or Hayim's tree). Luria had sought to combine the traditional Kabbalah with his personal understanding of earthly redemption and cosmic restoration. His most important concept was that of the divine masculine sparks (*nitsotsoth*) that are imprisoned within the evil shells (*qelippoth*), the feminine evil principle. It is within man's power to bring those divine sparks out of their imprisonment by performing good deeds and to sink them deeper by doing evil. Luria's most important concepts were the Contraction or Retreat of the Deity into itself (*tsimtsum*), the Breaking of the Divine Vessels (*shevirath haKelim*) and their Mending or Reparation (*tiqqun*). According to Scholem (1961:260)

The older Kabbalists had a much simpler conception of the cosmological process. According to them, it begins with an act in which God projects His creative power out of His own Self into space. Every new act is a further stage in the process of externalization, which unfolds, in accordance with the emanationist doctrine of Neoplatonism, in a straight line from above downwards. The whole process is strictly

one-way and correspondingly simple. Luria's theory has nothing of this inoffensive simplicity. It is based upon the doctrine of *Tsimtsum*, one of the most amazing and far-reaching conceptions ever put forward in the whole history of Kabbalism [emphasis added]. *Tsimtsum* originally means "concentration" or "contraction," but if used in the Kabbalistic parlance it is best translated by "withdrawal" or "retreat." The idea first occurs in a brief and entirely forgotten treatise [Midrash] which was written in the middle of the 13th century and of which Luria seems to have made use, while its literary original is a Talmudic saying which Luria inverted. He stood it on its head, no doubt believing that he had put it on its feet. The Midrash—in sayings originating from third century teachers—occasionally refers to God as having concentrated His Shekhinah, His divine presence, in the holiest of holies, at the place of the *Cherubim*, as though His whole power were concentrated and contracted in a single point. Here we have the origin of the term *Tsimtsum*, while the thing itself is the precise opposite of this idea: to the Kabbalist of Luria's school *Tsimtsum* does not mean the concentration of God at a point, but his retreat away from a point.

Such theosophic and cosmogonic fantasies are projections or externalizations of our unconscious emotions. If the *tsimtsum* was God's concentration of his divine presence, the feminine Shechinah, and of his entire power in a single point in the Holy of Holies, it may have unconsciously symbolized the act of impregnation of the female ovum by the male sperm and the implantation of the fertilized egg in the walls of the uterus. The Lurianic *tsimtsum* was the condensation of the divine lights in the cosmic vessels. It was a damage to the cosmic infinity (*ensof*). Vital described the *tsimtsum* as the passage of infinite divine light through a narrow tube into a round womblike space and the cleaving of that light onto that space. Shoham (1979, 1983) believed that the *tsimtsum* symbolized female conception.

Is the issue of female sexual impregnation and conception so emotion-laden as to give rise to entire systems of mystical cosmogony? This is the human condition. Each of us must endure birth, fusion, separation, growth, decline, and death. We are all marked by the trauma of our own birth, by the initial fusion with and separation from our mother, and by our fear of our own death. We need to know our origins and our identity. Sexuality is a matter of the most powerful feelings for us. Nothing can excite us more than sexual arousal and orgasm. Sexual love and jealousy have been the stuff of the most tragic human dramas. The sexual act by which we were conceived has an enormous emotional significance for each of us. So do the sexual acts by which we create our own children.

The "cosmic" event of our life is our birth. It is a traumatic process, painful, bloody, and shattering (Rank 1957). We are forcibly expelled from the liquid warmth and umbilical cord nourishment of the womb into the noise, cold, and burning oxygen of this world. Our birth is accompanied by what we later come to think of as a revolting, impure placenta (afterbirth) and by the severing of our umbilical cord to our mother. This traumatic occurrence was symbolized in Luria's mysticism as the Breaking of the Vessels. The mystical descriptions of that cataclysm powerfully evoke the process of human birth.

Finally, the *tiqqun* (reparation) of the Broken Vessels is described in terms of

returning the captive divine sparks to their perfect origin. The human soul yearns to return to its place of origin. By uniting with the *kedushah* (holiness) of the Holy One Blessed Is He, another attribute of the Deity, the Soul can repair the divine vessels. This holiness is none other than the Shechinah, the feminine counterpart and consort of God. In other words, she is the Great Good Mother of our early infancy.

Our mother plays a very important role in our development, in our very survival, and in our feelings (Mahler et al. 1975; Stern 1977, 1985). No wonder maternal images, both good and evil, abound in the Kabbalah. The mother imago was split up. The Shechinah and the Binah were idealized images of the all-good mother, whereas Lilith and Naamah were images of the all-bad one. The longing to unite with the former did not preclude a sexual desire for the latter. In Jewish mystical fantasy, Naamah seduces men during their sleep, gets them to have an orgasm and ejaculate sperm into her womb, and has babies by them, which then become demons. In Lurianic mysticism the act of birth (the Breaking of the Vessels and the Fall of the Kings) is foul; the only way to purify it is to reunite with the mother (*tiqqun*).

The figure of Lilith first appeared in the tenth-century *Alphabet of Ben Sira*. She was derived by the talmudic mythmakers from the Akkadian wind-goddess Lilitu (Lilu), whom they confused with the night (Hebrew *layil*, *laylah*) and turned into the Evil Queen of the Night. The medieval Hebrew Aggadah and Midrash made Lilith Adam's first wife before Eve and the mother of Adam's demonic offspring. Lilith was said to have left Adam because of their sexual incompatibility. Three angels tried in vain to force her to return. Lilith was believed to harm newborn babes and their mothers, and even to devour her own children; medieval Jews lived in terror of her. As late as the seventh century there was a Jewish cult of Lilith. The sixteenth-century German Jewish scholar Elijah Levita (1468–1549) reported that German Jewish children wore amulets bearing the three guardian angels' Hebrew names to ward off her evil power (Trachtenberg 1984:36–37, 277–78; Ginzberg 1967–69, 1:65–66). Lilith was the projective product of the internalized image of the early devouring mother.

Medieval Jewish mysticism was both a personal and collective psychological reaction to severe narcissistic injuries, from the trauma of birth through the Crusader massacres to the expulsion from Spain and Portugal. The profound wish to escape the pain of this world and to regain the blissful union with the early mother led to the notions of union and reparation. The mystics carried the medieval Jewish defense of living in a fantastic, glorified past to its extreme. They lived in a special world of fantasy that expressed symbolically the deepest wishes of suffering people. The personal was unconsciously displaced to the public domain. The mystic's loss of his early merger with his mother was unconsciously identified with the Jews' loss of their motherland. The wish to repair the world and to redeem the Jews sprang from the wish to repair the early mother and to achieve personal reparation and salvation. In the nineteenth century this wish became evident in Theodor Herzl, the founder of Political Zionism (Falk 1993a).

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Transgressions and Fantasies

The symbolic terms in which mystical activity is couched need to be deciphered, and psychoanalysis, the science of the unconscious mind, is the best tool for this purpose. Having applied psychoanalytic insights to Jewish mysticism, it becomes clear that the deepest feelings expressed in mystical activity are the wish to escape the unbearable pain of Jewish collective and personal reality, the longing for fusion with the early mother, the yearning for rebirth, and the craving for the restoration of one's most painful losses. The inability to mourn, the denial of loss, and the longing for the early fusion with the mother may be the wellsprings of mysticism.

LIVING IN PAST FANTASY

The human longing for the past, for the idealized "paradise" of infancy, is universal. Some authors believe that human culture is a defensive psychological structure whose main function is to provide us with a "psychological avenue back to the mothering figure" (Faber 1981:20). These scholars feel that we human beings are unable to overcome our longing for our symbiotic fusion with our mothers in our infancy and that we spend all our lives searching for ways to regain that early merger. Róheim (1943) expressed similar views.

The "Holy City" of Jerusalem has provoked some of the richest psychogeographical fantasies in both Jewish and Christian history (Falk 1987b). People have related to her very emotionally as a mother and as a wife, as a virgin and as a whore, as a life-giving redeemer and as a witchlike destroyer. Some borderline personalities who arrive in Jerusalem become psychotic, displaying the so-called Jerusalem Syndrome. There have been visions of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and there have been maps depicting the arid, landlocked Jerusalem as a city perched upon a wide, flowing river, sitting on the Mediterranean Sea and occupying most of the land area of Palestine. Needless to say, all these fantasies stem from our early infantile feelings and imaginings about our mother (Falk 1974, 1983, 1987; Volkan 1979; Mack 1983; Stein 1984, 1987; Stein and Niederland 1989).

The Babylonian empire had ceased to exist in 538 B.C.E. with the Persian conquest of Cyrus the Great. The city of Babylon on the Euphrates River had practically

died in 275 B.C.E. when most of its inhabitants were moved to Seleucia on the Tigris. Yet the Jews of the Persian empire who lived in Mesopotamia continued to call themselves "Babylonian." To this very day, organized Iraqi Jewry in Israel calls itself "the Babylonian Jewish community in Israel." This is a psychohistorical and psychogeographical fantasy. We now know that ethnicity, history, and geography are in our mind. The powerful unconscious meaning of borders, cities, countries, islands, oceans, rivers, and other geographical entities in our minds is derived from early perceptions of and feelings about our body and that of our mother (Stein and Niederland 1989). These infantile perceptions and feelings persist into adulthood.

For twenty-five hundred years, while Mesopotamia successively became Persian, Greek, Roman, Parthian, Neo-Persian, Arab, Ottoman, and British, the Jews clung to the anachronistic epithet of "Babylonian." Their great literary production between the second and fifth century, written in Aramaic, is known as the "Babylonian Talmud." The misnomer does not seem to have disturbed anyone. Similarly the Palestinian Talmud, none of which was written in Jerusalem, is known in Hebrew as the Talmud Yerushalmi, the Jerusalem Talmud. Such is the power of psychogeographical fantasies.

During the third century a new gnostic religion arose in Iran known as Manichaeism. A mixture of Gnosticism, Mithraism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Christianity, it was founded by Mani (Manes, c. 216–76), a Persian religious revolutionary born near Baghdad. Mani was a borderline personality with psychotic hallucinations. In his youth he had a vision of an angel who was his double. He wandered for several years as a meditative ascetic. Around 226 the Zarathushtra religion, which had been founded in the sixth century B.C.E., was revived under Ardashir Shah Papakan, the founder of the Neo-Persian Sasanid dynasty, who drove out the Parthians and reestablished the Persian empire. Like the Jews who had lost their sovereignty and their land, Ardashir and his Persians sought to turn the clock back on history.

In 240 Mani had his celestial vision again. In this revelation he was called upon to perfect the "incomplete" religions of Zarathushtra, the Buddha, and Jesus Christ. Mani announced himself as the prophet of a new religion. The Zarathushtra priests (magi) expelled him from Persia. He went to Bactria in northwest India (now Afghanistan) where he was influenced by Buddhism. In 241 Shahpur became Shah of Persia and Mani was allowed returned to Persia. In 242 he began preaching his new religion in the capital of Ctesiphon on the Tigris. Mani called himself the apostle of Jesus Christ and the Paraclete (helper) promised by Christ. During the long reign of Shahpur II he was free to travel around Persia making converts. When Bahram Shah (Bahram I) succeeded Shahpur Shah in 272, Mani and his followers were again persecuted by the priests of Zarathushtra. Mani was martyred for "heresy" in southwest Persia (276), but his religion spread like wildfire within the next century throughout the Roman Empire and Asia. Its essence was man as the paradigm of the dualistic struggle between God and Satan, which we have seen so many times to be an externalization of the inner splitting of the self. The Manichaean dualism deeply appealed to the human tendency to split the world into good and evil.

In 363 C.E. the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate (Flavius Claudius Julianus, 331–63) fought the Neo-Persian Sasanid empire of Shahpur II of Persia and seized the Persian capital of Ctesiphon, destroying the nearby Jewish city of Mahoza. The Jews took the side of their Persian rulers and viewed Julian “the Edomite” as their worst enemy. The Romans were defeated and Julian was killed. His successor Jovian (Flavius Claudius Jovianus, 331–64) concluded a humiliating treaty of surrender with Shahpur II of Persia, ceding all Roman territory east of the Tigris River, Armenia, the cities of Singara (now Sinjar, Iraq) and Nisibis (now Nusaybin, Turkey), and some Jewish cities to the Persians. Jovian died on his way back to Constantinople. The Jews called the Roman losers “Edomites” and rejoiced at the defeat of the hated “Edomites.” This was a psychogeographic and psychohistorical fantasy. Many Jews still call their enemies Amalek, the name of the ancient biblical enemy of Israel.

SEEKING THE LOST TRIBES OF ISRAEL

After the fall of the northern Jewish kingdom of Israel in 722–721 B.C.E., the ten tribes of Israel were exiled by the Assyrians and assimilated by the various peoples of the Assyrian empire. This meant that most of the Israelite Hebrew people had been lost. The Jews could not reconcile themselves to this painful loss. Many centuries later they developed the fantasy that the ten lost tribes of Israel were still living as Jews beyond a mythical river named Sambation. In the ninth century C.E. a deranged Jew calling himself Eldad the Danite (Eldad of the tribe of Dan) showed up in the Jewish communities of North Africa and Spain, claiming to have found the ten lost tribes of Israel in the heart of Africa and Asia. The biblical Eldad was an elder of the Hebrews at the time of Moses who was seized by prophetic ecstasy (Num. 11:26–30). Many Jews believed Eldad fervently, and the myth has never died since.

In 1640 the prominent Amsterdam rabbi Manasseh ben Israel (1604–57), a Portuguese Jew, claimed that the South American Indians were the lost tribes of Israel. Manasseh was born in Portugal as Manoel Dias Soeiro, a Marrano Christian. In his youth Manasseh’s father was seized by the Inquisition and forced to appear as a penitent in an auto-da-fé (act of faith), the public confessional for penitent “heretics.” The traumatized family escaped to Amsterdam. In 1622 the brilliant young Manasseh became rabbi of the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam. In 1626 he founded Amsterdam’s first Hebrew printing press to publish his own works. In 1632–51 he published his three-volume Portuguese-language *Conciliador*, a scholarly attempt to reconcile biblical contradictions and inconsistencies.

Manasseh was a friend of famous contemporaries like Hugo Grotius and Rembrandt Hermensz van Rijn. This otherwise sane man believed that the Messiah would redeem the Jews after they had dispersed throughout the world. In 1640 he published his Portuguese-language *Esperança de Israel* (Hope of Israel) reporting the discovery in South America of the ten lost tribes of Israel, which had been exiled in 721 B.C.E. Henceforth the American Indians were added to the mythical list of the

ten lost tribes. In 1650 Manasseh dedicated the Latin edition of *Esperança de Israel* to the English Parliament, hoping to encourage the resettlement of the Jews in England, from which they had been expelled in 1290 by King Edward I (1239–1307). In 1655 he appeared before Oliver Cromwell to plead the formal annulment of Edward's expulsion of the Jews. In 1655–56 Manasseh wrote his *Vindiciae Judaearum* (Vindication of the Jews), a reply to various attacks on the Jews, including *A Short Demurrer* by William Prynne (1600–1669), the English Puritan firebrand. In 1664, after Manasseh's death, an official charter was granted to the Jews allowing them to resettle in England.

In 1825 an American Jewish leader named Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785–1851), extending Manasseh's myth to the North American "Indians," created the "Jewish Colony" of Ararat (the biblical mountain where Noah's Ark came to rest) on Grand Island in the Niagara River of New York State and invited the Jews of Europe and the American Indians to settle there. This absurd notion was the product of the refusal to mourn and give up the great loss.

The name Sambation derives from the Greek *sabbateion* meaning "of the Sabbath." The myth had it that the Sambation River kept roaring and throwing up huge rocks and was impassable on every day of the week except the Jewish Sabbath. Jews were not allowed to cross the Sambation. The Jews firmly believed in the mythical Sambation River. The "Sons of Moses" were said to dwell beyond it, in the "Land of the Blessed" (Ginzberg 1967–69, 4:317, 5:111, 6:407–9). Josephus placed the Sambation in Syria. The Jewish sages located it "beyond the Mountains of Darkness." The Roman historian Pliny placed it in Judaea. The medieval Jewish scholar Nahmanides identified it with the Habor River (2 Kings 17:6). Throughout Jewish history, despite the injunction, Jews fervently sought the ten lost tribes of Israel. Unconsciously, the roaring, raging river symbolized the rage of the Jews at their defeat, destruction, and loss.

What possible reason could there have been for such fantasies and anachronisms? Why did the Jews cling to ethnic and geopolitical entities that no longer existed? The anachronistic attitude of Jewish literature and the absence of chronological Jewish historiography between the first and the sixteenth centuries betrayed the Jewish inability to mourn. The Jews were living in the past. To them the Neo-Persian Sasanid empire was identical with that of Cyrus the Great, who had returned the Babylonian exiles to Judah, and the Romans were the traditional Edomite enemies of the Israelites.

Time had been standing still for the Jews. They were protected by a kind of timeless bubble through which current events were viewed in the prism of biblical heroics. They idealized their Persian rulers and denigrated their Roman enemies. When the Orthodox Byzantine emperor Theodosius II (401–50) persecuted the Jews of his realm, the Jews fled Palestine and other Byzantine lands to Persia, where the tolerant Yazdegerd Shah (Yazdegerd I, 399–420) was reigning. This monarch resisted the fanatical priests of the Zarathushtra religion. Persian tradition has him marry the daughter of the Jewish exilarch (*resh galutha*).

After the death of Yazdegerd Shah there was great religious strife in Persia. The Zarathushtra priests, the magi, were struggling with Judaism, Christianity and Manichaeism. Yazdegerd Shah (Yazdegerd II, 438–57), influenced by the magi, began to persecute the adherents of all three religions. The Roman rule of *cuius regio eius religio* was enforced upon the Jews. They were forbidden to recite major prayers like the *Shema Yisrael* (Hear, O Israel) and to light their Sabbath candles.

Under Firuz Shah (459–86) the Persian restrictions and edicts against the Jews multiplied. The magi were able to control the Shah and to impose their xenophobic policies upon him. When two magi were killed in Isfahan during clashes with the Jews around 470, Firuz Shah had half the Jewish population of that city massacred and their children given over to the magi for religious conversion. Some Jews escaped “Babylonia” to India and to Arabia.

During the reign of Kavadh Shah (Kavadh or Qobad I, 490–531) a reformer named Mazdak arose in Persia who sought to change the nature of Zoroastrianism. He passionately called for full equality among all people, the abolition of all private property, and the sharing of all property, including women. He was able to establish a communistic sect known as the Mazdakites, which included the Shah himself. The magi were enraged and were able to dethrone the Shah in an uprising, but the latter called in the Huns, who helped him regain his throne.

Kavadh Shah was succeeded by his son Khosrow Shah Anushirvan (Chosroes I, 531–79), whom many historians call “the greatest monarch of the Sasanid dynasty,” and whose reign was just but despotic. He began his career with the massacre of the communistic Mazdakites in 528, while his father was still Shah. Khosrow went on to fight and defeat Rome, Byzantium, Arabia, and India. In 540 he captured the great Byzantine city of Antioch and deported many Antiochian Jews to his capital of Ctesiphon on the Tigris. The exiles, unable to mourn their loss, built a city near Mahoza that they called New Antioch.

Khosrow Shah Anushirvan was very warlike. He seized Armenia and Caucasia from the Byzantines. In 560 he captured Bactria (now northern Afghanistan and southern Tadzhikistan), extending Persian rule to the trans-Himalayan Indus River. In 570 Khosrow Shah established nominal Persian rule over Yemen in southern Arabia. He fought many wars against the Byzantine emperors Justinian I and Justin II. The “Babylonian” Jewish communities of Mahoza, Sura, and Pumbeditha prospered during his reign. After Khosrow Shah’s death the Persian Jews were again persecuted. His successor Hormizd Shah (Hormizd IV, r. 579–89) rebelled against his father and vigorously promoted the Mazdakite religion, suppressing all other faiths. Rabbi Sherira Gaon, writing in the late tenth century, reported that under Hormizd Shah the “Babylonian” Jews suffered greatly. The great *yeshivoth* (academies) of Sura and Pumbeditha were closed down. Jews were hunted down for their religious faith. Some Jews joined the revolt of Bahram Chukin, the commander of the Persian armies, who had risen up against Hormizd Shah. After Hormizd Shah’s death (589/90) Bahram Chukin briefly usurped the throne as Bahram Shah (Bahram VI, r. 589/90–91).

The legitimate heir to the throne of Iran was now Khosrow (Chosroes II, d. 628),

Hormizd Shah's son, who fled to the Byzantine empire. In 590 the Byzantine emperor Maurice (Mauritius) sent his armies to help Khosrow regain his Persian throne, in exchange for Armenia, which Khosrow had promised to cede to Maurice. Khosrow defeated his rival Bahram Chukin and became Khosrow Shah Parviz (the Victorious). He ceded Armenia to Byzantium, but, unable to mourn his loss, engaged her in perpetual warfare. Khosrow punished the mutinous Jews in Mahoza and in New Antioch quite severely. In 602 the emperor Maurice was murdered by order of the usurper Phocas, who became emperor of Byzantium. Khosrow Shah Parviz then declared a war of vengeance against Phocas, hoping to regain Armenia from the Byzantines.

The usurping Byzantine emperor Phocas was deposed and executed in turn by Heraclius in 610. Shah Khosrow Parviz went on fighting the Byzantines anyway. The Palestinian Jews helped the Shah, hoping for relief from Byzantine religious persecution, and attacked the Eastern Orthodox Church in Jerusalem. The "pagan" Avars and Bulgars were threatening the Christian Byzantine empire, while Khosrow Shah Parviz was able to seize Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. From 622 to 628 Emperor Heraclius mounted three great and costly military campaigns to regain his territories. He defeated the Persians in Mesopotamia, punishing the "Babylonian" Jews for the treachery of their Palestinian brethren.

By 629 the victorious Muslim Arabs began invading the Persian empire, and by 642 the Byzantines had lost all of their territories in the east. During the last decade of Sasanid rule (628–637) there was great disorder and confusion in Persia. From 633 to 638 the Muslim Arab warrior Khalid ibn al-Walid conquered Syria, Egypt, Iraq, and Persia for Islam. He was known as Saif-Allah (Sword of God). Finally the Neo-Persian empire was no more. The "Babylonian" Jews were now under Islamic Arab rule. The Umayyad caliphs of Damascus ruled the great new "House of Islam."

THE KHAZARS AS JEWS

From the seventh century to the fifteenth century, the Muslim Moors ruled parts of Spain. Judah ibn Samuel haLevi (1075–1141) was one of the most famous Hebrew poets and scholars of medieval Muslim Spain, known in Hebrew as "Sepharad." One of his most important Arabic-language works was *The Book of Argument and Proof in Defense of the Despised and Humiliated Faith*, known in Hebrew as *Sefer haKuzari*, in which he emphasized the value of religious truths attained through intuition and feeling over that of philosophical and speculative truths achieved through logic and reason. This work put forth a philosophy of history based upon the force of divine influence upon world events. The book expounded the myth of a great people called the Kuzari who adopted Judaism as their religion after becoming convinced of its superiority to Christianity and Islam.

The people Judah haLevi called Kuzari were the Khazars (Chazars), an ancient Turkic people that lived in Trans-Caucasia by the second century and later settled in the lower Volga region. During the seventh century the Khazars had become a powerful

and expansionist military force. Between the eighth and tenth centuries their empire extended from the Black Sea and Caspian Sea in the south to the Ural Mountains in the east and to Kievan Rus in the west. The Khazar nobility embraced Judaism in the eighth century. They defeated and subdued the Volga Bulgars, the Crimeans, and the eastern Slavs, and warred with Arabs, Persians, and Armenians. During the tenth century they allied themselves with the Byzantines against the Arabs. However, the Khazars were finally defeated and annexed by Duke Sviatoslav of Kievan Rus in 965. Judah haLevi's book was a valiant attempt to shore up the injured narcissism of his people, who had become subservient to the Muslims.

The Khazars were later believed by many Jews to have been the ancestors of the East European Jews, even though most of those Jews had migrated east from Germany during the sixteenth century at the invitation of King Zygmunt of Poland (Sigismund I). Judah haLevi's fantasies about the "Kuzari" were matched eight centuries later by the fantasies of Chief Rabbi Samuel Kohn of Budapest. Kohn was convinced that the Khazars were racially related to the Magyars, that the Jews were related to the Khazars, and that therefore Jews and Magyars were brothers (Falk 1993a:60). Actually the Magyars were allied with the Khazars several times between the fifth and ninth centuries, but there was no ethnic closeness.

REVERSING THE HISTORICAL CLOCK

Such fantasies as those of Judah haLevi abounded in Jewish life following the great historical losses of the Jews: the destruction of the kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians in 721 B.C.E. and the exile of the Israelites, the destruction of the kingdom of Judah by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E. and the exile of the Judeans, the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans in 70 C.E., and the dispersion of the remaining Jews all over the ancient world.

The persecution of the Jews as a hated minority, upon which all unacceptable aspects of the group self of the host peoples were unconsciously projected, reinforced the Jewish tendency to live in fantasy. The Jews were either unable or unwilling to mourn their terrible losses adequately. The pain was too great, and they preferred to live in psychogeographical fantasy. From the first to the sixteenth centuries they lived both in a protective psychohistorical bubble, with no chronological historiography of their own, and in psychogeographical fantasy.

Political Zionism itself was a psychohistorical and psychogeographical fantasy. It was an attempt to turn back the historical clock and to recover the ancient losses of land, sovereignty, and nationhood rather than to mourn these losses. The idealized fantasies of Theodor Herzl in his books *Der Judenstaat* (The state of the Jews) and *Altneuland* (Old new land), and those of other early Zionists, about Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel), had very little to do with the reality of Ottoman Palestine (Falk 1993a). It is a testimony to the power of psychogeographical fantasies that this movement

eventually led to the creation of the modern state of Israel. This state, however, is locked in a tragic conflict both with the Palestinian Arabs in the territories it occupies and with the Arab world at large.

During the early days of Zionist settlement in Palestine, especially the Second Aliyah of 1905–14, the psychogeographical fantasies of the Jews about Eretz Yisrael were extended to its ancient biblical components. In 1909 the new Jewish city of Tel Aviv was founded near the Arab city of Jaffa. Its name was a Hebrew rendering of Herzl's *Altneuland*. Since Jerusalem had a mixed Arab and Jewish population and most of the towns and villages around it were Arab, the biblical name Yehudah (Judah), which in ancient times had designated the area around Jerusalem, was now given to the Jewish region surrounding Tel Aviv. This fiction persisted for over sixty years. Similarly the biblical name Shomron (Samaria), which had designated the area around Shechem (Nablus), was now applied to the Jewish area between Natanyah and Haderah, on the Mediterranean coast, halfway between Tel Aviv and Haifa. The fiction persisted throughout the British Mandate period (1920–48) and through the first nineteen years of Israel's existence as a state (1948–67). After the Six-Day War of 1967, the names Judaea and Samaria were reapplied to the occupied West Bank. The psychological purpose, however, was still to deny the reality of the Arab population and to believe that these are purely Jewish parts of Eretz Yisrael.

Some extreme right-wing Israelis still have conscious fantasies of expelling all Arabs from Israel and its occupied territories, which they call the Whole Land of Israel. In fact, they refuse to call the Palestinian Arab areas "occupied," insisting on calling them "liberated." They dream of removing the sacred mosques on Jerusalem's Temple Mount and of rebuilding the Third Temple on that very site. Other Israelis may harbor such fantasies in their subconscious or unconscious mind. Psychogeographical fantasies can easily lead to war, as we have seen throughout human history.

Modern Israel, the epitome of Zionist ideology, is thought of by Israeli and other Jews as the modern solution to the Jewish Question, the reincarnation of the ancient civilization of the Hebrews, the "Holy Land," the land of the Bible, the revival of the historical cultures of the Judaeans and of the Israelites, the haven for all Jews, the only genuine democracy in the Middle East, the greatest military power in the region, and a Light unto the Nations. These are fantasies. In reality Israel is home to only 40 percent of the world's Jews—five out of twelve million. It is a "synthetic nation" (Loewenberg 1994:8), a hodgepodge of European, North African, and Middle Eastern cultures, many of which have little to do with ancient Hebrew civilization. It is a tiny country beset by serious security, economic, social, religious, ethnic, and political problems.

Trying to reverse the clock may be dangerous, as psychohistorical and psychogeographical fantasies can be. The medieval fantasy of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" led to bloody wars. Hitler's fantasy of *Lebensraum* (life space) for the Germans led to World War II and to the tragic death of tens of millions of people. The most tragic catastrophe in Jewish history, the Holocaust, was brought

about by the grandiose fantasies of the Nazis themselves, who believed they were the *Herrenvolk* (master race), and by the fantasies of martyrdom of the Jews who had adapted to annihilation (Kren and Rappoport 1980; Luel and Marcus 1984; Ebel 1986; Rosenberg and Myers 1988).

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Adapting to Annihilation

Spoken and written language is a distinctly human activity. The “lower” mammals do not have language in the sense that we do. Our human language is an emotionally charged, ambivalent affair. It is the chief medium of our interpersonal relationships. “You taught me language, and my profit on’t is, I know how to curse,” says the wild Caliban to his refined master Prospero (*The Tempest* 1.2.363). People have strong feelings about their languages. The English word *language* comes from the French *langue*, which comes from the Latin *lingua* (tongue). We have strong feelings about our mother tongue, not only because we speak it earlier and better than any other language but also because it was our way of communicating with our mother when we were suckling babes. Before we learn to speak, our nonverbal communication of our feelings is by sucking on our mother’s breast, which of course involves our tongue. Our language is thus associated in our unconscious mind with our earliest feelings. Indeed, we feel as strongly about our mother tongue as we do about our mother. The Jews, who had taken their Hebrew language from the ancient Canaanites, now borrowed those of their host countries, Germany and Spain, yet Hebrew persisted as their sacred and special language.

SECRET LANGUAGES

The medieval Jewish use of Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew as a literary, liturgical and scholarly language, a use that persisted during the European Renaissance, is a striking phenomenon. Hebrew was a dead language. It was no longer spoken by the Jews, or by any ethnic group for that matter. Not only did the Jews use a dead language to describe current events, they also applied Biblical Hebrew names to modern countries and nations, and used biblical verses and expressions describing ancient wars or migrations to refer to present-day ones. It was as if there were “nothing new under the sun.” A Crusader massacre of the Jews was just another *akedah* (Abraham’s binding of his son Isaac) or Haman’s equally mythical persecution of the Jews in Persia. In short, the Jews lived in the past.

The Biblical Hebrew word *goy* (plural *goyim*) meant nation; Saint Jerome translated it into Latin as *gens* (plural *gentes*). In medieval Hebrew the word *goyim* came

to mean non-Jews, and carried a pejorative sense. In Late Latin *gentilis* (Gentile) similarly meant foreign, pagan, or heathen. As the "Gentiles" hated the Jews, so did the Jews deride the *goyim*. Languages normally develop by a process of differentiation. Thus, Spanish was a Latin dialect before it became a separate, distinct language. Alongside Hebrew, the medieval Jews developed special languages to communicate among themselves. They were languages rather than dialects because they differed markedly from the German, Spanish, and other European languages on which they were based, and they were unintelligible to average Europeans. These medieval Jewish languages may have developed partly out of the Jewish need to conceal what one said from hostile "Gentiles."

The Jews were expelled from the Kingdom of Israel in the eighth century B.C.E., from the Kingdom of Judah in the sixth century B.C.E., and again from Roman Judaea in the first century C.E. They subsequently settled all over the Middle East, North Africa, and Europe. In most cases the next generation, born in the new country, no longer spoke Hebrew but the local language — Babylonian, Aramaic, Greek, or Persian. By the first century Greek had become the language of the Jews in the "diaspora." The Jews of the Hellenic world spoke Greek the way present-day American Jews speak English.

During the Greco-Roman and Byzantine periods, from the late fourth century B.C.E. to the early seventh century C.E., most Jews were thoroughly hellenized. The Jewish community of Alexandria in Hellenic Egypt was among the largest in the ancient world. While Greek had become the language of the Jews in the "West," Aramaic was the language of the Jews in the "East," who "retained to a much larger extent the use of Hebrew in the synagogue and in daily life" (Ben-Sasson 1976:367). During the time of Jesus Christ all three languages were current in Roman Palestine. Still, Hebrew was mainly the literary language of prayer and of rabbinical scholars (Urbach 1979).

During the seventh and eighth centuries the lands inhabited by Jews in the Middle East and North Africa were conquered by the Muslim Arabs. Arabic became the language of these Jews. The Jews of medieval Christian Europe gradually moved north, east, and west to the Frankish kingdoms, into what are now northern Germany, the Slavic lands, and England. They spoke the European languages and dialects of their countries of settlement, which fell into three main groupings: (1) Latin and the Romance languages of southwestern Europe that developed from it (e.g., Italian, French, Spanish, Galician, Portuguese, Provençal, Catalan, and Romansch); (2) the Germanic languages and dialects of central and northern Europe (e.g., German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and English); and (3) the Slavic languages and dialects of eastern Europe (e.g., Russian, Polish, Czech, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Slovak).

LADINO AND YIDDISH

During the Middle Ages Spain and Germany became the two largest Jewish population centers in Europe. A curious thing happened to the languages of the Jews. Just as they had applied anachronistic and inappropriate biblical names for Germany and for

Spain, calling them Ashkenaz and Sepharad, and divided the Jewish world into the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities, so the Jews now spoke unique and secret new languages. The Spanish Jews spoke Judeo-Español, Judezmo, or Ladino, the Spanish name for Latin. The German Jews spoke Iwri-Deutsch (Hebrew German) or Jüdisch-Deutsch (Jewish German), which later became Yiddish. These languages developed out of the Jewish fear of the Christian "Gentiles." The Jews were psychologically forced to develop secret tongues that would not be understood by their persecutors. Yiddish and Ladino were two such languages. There were also Jewish versions of Arabic and other languages.

Spanish, French, Italian, and the other Romance languages had evolved from dialects of Latin. Ladino was a medieval Castilian Spanish dialect with a generous sprinkling of Hebrew words, written in Hebrew characters. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and the Jewish settlement in the Ottoman empire, Turkish and Arabic words entered Ladino, which was at first reserved for religious works, such as the translations of the Bible into Jewish Spanish of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Johnson (1987:230) thought that the Spanish Jews

created their own Judaeo-Spanish language, Ladino or Judezmo, once written in rabbinic cursive script, as opposed to the modern (originally Ashkenazi) Hebrew cursive. They were learned, literary, rich, immensely proud of their lineage, worldly-wise, often pleasure-loving and not over-strict, following the liberal codification of Joseph Caro [1488–1575]. They were a bridgehead of the Latin world in Arab culture and vice versa, and transmitters of classical science and philosophy.

The names Ladino, Judezmo, Judeo-Español, and Spaniolì were synonymous. Roth (1959:133) thought that Ladino was the natural medium in which a Renaissance Spanish Jew would have expressed himself on a non-Hebraic subject. Ladino corrupted many Greek and Latin words, while preserving Hebrew ones. Thus, the Greek name for the capital of the Byzantine empire, Konstantinopolis, was corrupted in Ladino into Costandina, then abbreviated into Costa, which in vowel-less Hebrew was corrupted into Cushta. A non-Jewish Spaniard of the Middle Ages or Renaissance would have had a hard time understanding spoken Ladino, let alone reading it. When the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, they brought their Jewish Spanish dialect with them into the Ottoman empire, where it was preserved more or less intact for five centuries. Today, after the destruction of the Greek and Bulgarian Jews by the Nazis, the Turkish Jews in Turkey and Israel are the chief Ladino-speaking community. They use modern Turkish characters to write Ladino, the resulting orthography differing markedly from Spanish.

The development of Yiddish was even more striking. The word "Yiddish" was the Jewish corruption of the German word *jüdisch* (Jewish). The Jewish German language was a medieval German dialect, primarily Mittelhochdeutsch (Middle High German), with a generous sprinkling of Hebrew, written in Hebrew characters. Because of its medieval German origin, Yiddish sometimes sounds like Swiss German. As mentioned, it was known as Jüdisch-Teutsch (pronounced Yiddish-Taych), meaning

Jewish German, or Iwri-Teutsch (pronounced Ivri-Taych), meaning Hebrew German. During the eleventh century the Jews of the western Frankish kingdom (France) and of the eastern Frankish kingdom (Germany) along the Rhine Valley spoke the local French dialect and wrote it in Hebrew characters. They translated the Hebrew Bible into French, writing their French commentaries in Hebrew characters.

A similar thing happened to the German Jews in the twelfth century. Around 1100, *after the Crusader massacres of 1096*, they began to write their German dialects in Hebrew characters. The eleventh-century French Jewish dialect was gradually displaced by the twelfth-century German Jewish jargon, which later became Iwri-Teutsch, then Jüdisch, and finally Yiddish. The Yiddish language underwent many transformations. Johnson (1987:338) thought that the Jews

first began to develop [Yiddish] from the German dialects spoken in the cities when they pushed up from France and Italy into German-speaking Lotharingia [Lorraine]. Old Yiddish (1250–1500) marked the first contact of German-speaking Jews with Slavic Jews speaking a dialect called Knaanic [Canaanite]. During the 200 years 1500–1700, Middle Yiddish emerged, becoming progressively more Slavic and dialectic. Finally, modern Yiddish developed during the eighteenth century. Its literary form was completely transformed in the half-century 1810–60, in the cities of the east European diaspora, as Yiddish newspapers and magazines proliferated, and a secular Yiddish book-trade flourished.

By the thirteenth century Yiddish was already spoken by many Jews in central Europe. During the fourteenth century many Jews left the German-speaking lands of central Europe for Poland and Russia, due to violent persecution, taking their Judaeo-German language along with them. This process intensified during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when persecution in the Protestant German lands drove masses of Jews out of Germany and into Poland and Russia. By the seventeenth century there were few Jews left in Germany; the Jewish masses lived in eastern Europe. By the eighteenth century Yiddish was the *lingua franca* of the Jews of eastern Europe.

The Yiddish language gave rise to an important literature, which was quintessentially Jewish. By the nineteenth century Yiddish literature was flourishing as never before. Before the extermination of the European Jews by the Nazis in 1939–45, Yiddish was spoken by some eleven million people. Grayzel (1969:457) believed that the medieval Jewish discriminatory attitude against women's education led to the development of a Yiddish women's literature as early as the fourteenth century. The reasons for the flowering of Yiddish literature are actually more complex (Rosten 1968; Herzog 1965–80; Feinsilver 1971; Samuel 1971).

LANGUAGES, NAMES, AND FATHERS

The French province of Alsace has a colorful history. Known to the Germans as Elsaß, it began as the Celtic region of Alsatia in the Roman province of Germania Superior

(Upper Germany). Alsatia was seized by the Germanic Alemanni, then by the Germanic Franks, then the Frankish Lotharingians. In 870 the Treaty of Meersen gave Alsace to Francia Orientalis (Germany). From the tenth century to the seventeenth century Alsace was part of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation." Alsace was made up of numerous lordships and principalities, both ecclesiastical and temporal. The sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation was brought to Alsace by Martin Butzer (Bucer, 1491–1551). The Protestant German reformers fought among themselves as well. Martin Luther (1483–1546) held that Jesus Christ was physically present in the bread and wine of the Sacrament; the Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli (1481–1531), also known as Huldreich or Ulrich Zwingli, held that "Take, eat, this is my flesh" was a symbolic statement. Butzer unsuccessfully attempted to reconcile Zwingli with the stubborn Luther.

In 1648, at the end of the Thirty Years' War, the Peace of Westphalia gave France an informal protectorate over Alsace; King Louis XIV (1638–1715) made Alsace an "autonomous" French province. The French Revolution made Alsace an integral part of France; it was divided into the two *départements* of Bas-Rhin (Lower Rhine) and Haut-Rhin (Upper Rhine). In 1808 Napoleon required the Jews of France to take family names. The Alsatian Jews took German and Hebrew names. Members of one family often took different family names like Strauss, Levy, and Moïse (Moses). After the Franco-German war of 1870–1871 Alsace reverted to Bismarck's *zweites deutsches Reich* (Second German Empire). From 1871 to 1914 Elsaß-Lothringen (Alsace-Lorraine) was a German *Reichsland* (imperial state). After World War I, in 1918, Alsace became French again, but most of its population still spoke the Alsatian German dialect. The use of Hebrew was not confined to scholars and prayers. The Jews of Alsace spoke Judeo-Alsatian, a German-Jewish dialect in which Hebrew words and expressions abounded. Raphaël (1992) described the dialect of the rural Alsatian Jews:

The Jews of the Alsatian countryside spoke *Yeddish-Daitsch* [Jewish German] at home and in their relations with their coreligionists they used the *Galehes-Daitsch* [the parish priest's German]. One spoke *goyemlich* [the language of the Gentiles] in the street. At times, they learned French, especially the girls. If they were rich, they went to boarding houses in Nancy and in the Outer Vosges mountains; if they were poor they served as *pilsel* [servants] with the well-off Jewish families of Paris or Elbeuf. When the [Jewish] cattle merchants referred to their own language, they spoke of the *loshen* [tongue]. This is a secret language, whereas *Yeddish-Daitsch* is less specialized and refers more to everyday language. They "Judaized" certain place names: Altkirch [Old Church] became Alttefle [from *tefle*, Hebrew *tefilah*, prayer, church in Judeo-Alsatian]. Dauendorf [Taubendorf, or Deaf Village] became Hüschemmedine [from *hüschem*, deaf], Kindwiller [Child Village] became Yanikmedine [from *yanik*, Hebrew *yonek*, suckling or child]. To prove the vivacity of the beast, the merchant said to his apprentice, *Mekayne auf die reglayem, dass er ausse sholem geht, wie ausse maasse berayshiss* (knock him on the legs so that he leaps like lightning out of the Act of Creation).

The well-known French Jewish writer Claude Vigée was born in 1921 in the Alsatian town of Bischwiller, in the Bas-Rhin (Lower Rhine) department, on the

German border. His given name was Claude Strauss. The Strauss family had lived in Alsace for many generations (Vigée 1985:27). Lartichaux (1978:173) believed that Vigée's ancestors had been living in Alsace since the seventeenth century, long before they had a family name. Claude Vigée's parents had lived through World War I, seeing their homeland pass from German to French rule. Their language was Alsatian-Jewish German. They gave their son a French name (Claude) while their family name remained German (Strauss).

Claude Strauss passed his childhood in the marshy, wooded Ried region along the River Rhine, attending Bischwiller's *collège classique*. He later moved to the Alsatian capital of Strasbourg, attending the Lycée Fustel-de-Coulanges, named after the French historian Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges (1830–89). When Claude was a child, whenever a "Gentile" entered his grandfather's store in his native Bischwiller, the old man said to his wife, *Beschlicken, der Erl isch bekannt*. This phrase, unintelligible to non-Jewish German speakers, is a mixed German-Hebrew phrase meaning "Keep quiet, the uncircumcised one is here." Mr. Strauss, who spoke little Hebrew, had probably learned the phrase from his own father. This secret language was motivated by fear of the "Gentiles." The Jews of Europe had gradually developed their secret languages during the Middle Ages, when their persecution by the Christians was most violent. If the *goy* could not understand them, they felt, he would not get mad at them, and they would be safe.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SECRET LANGUAGES

Why did the Jews write Spanish, Arabic, and German in Hebrew characters? Why did they develop their own secret languages, which were initially dialects of Spanish and German? Was it mainly out of fear? Few historians have dwelt on the psychological reasons for the development of Yiddish and Ladino. Grayzel (1969:456) observed that Yiddish "had a strange history . . . it was long despised by the very people who spoke it, and certainly by those ignorant of it." Why did the Jews despise their own language? Grayzel did not attempt to explain this oddity, but offered the following explanation for the development of the Jewish dialects:

Jews always spoke the language of the land which was their home. Maimonides spoke and wrote most of his works in Arabic; Rashi spoke French; the rabbis of the Middle Ages in the provinces of Germany spoke German. All these people [knew] Hebrew and Aramaic, the languages of the Bible, of the prayer book and of many other writings sacred to them and constantly in use by them. While they spoke a pure Arabic or French or German with their non-Jewish neighbors, it was natural that, in conversation among themselves, they should occasionally mix an expressive Hebrew word or phrase. . . . When expulsions and persecutions eventually brought about a wider separation between the Jews and the non-Jews, the result was a growing dissimilarity between the intimate languages spoken by each group.

This is hardly an adequate psychological explanation. The Jews needed Hebrew, Ladino, and Yiddish to set themselves apart, to define their ethnic group-self (Stein 1987). They set themselves apart from non-Jews in many other ways as well. Potok (1978:335) described the arrival of the seventeenth-century mystical Messiah Sabbatai Sevi in Germany:

On May 31, 1665 the Messiah came. German Jewry was asleep when he arrived. It was separated from the world around it by the Yiddish it spoke, the beards and the sidecurls its men wore, the hair coverings of its married women, its restricted residences, and its small numbers—about fifteen thousand individuals.

The reason why there were so few Jews in Germany in the seventeenth century was that most of them had fled to Poland and Russia due to the violent persecutions they had suffered. During the sixteenth century Martin Luther's reforms in the Catholic Church of Germany had given birth to Protestantism. Martin Luther was bitterly disappointed in the Jews, who refused to adopt his new faith, and called for their outright extermination (Hilberg 1985:393). The German Jews persecuted by the Protestants fled to Catholic Poland, where King Zygmunt Stary (Sigismund the Old, or Sigismund I, 1467–1548) needed their financial services in his wars against Russia and welcomed them into his kingdom. The Yiddish language spread eastward with the Jews into Poland and Russia during that century. Grayzel (1969:457) thought that the Judaeo-German of the German Jews differed from the Yiddish of the Polish Jews.

We have mentioned the deep role of our language in our emotional life. It hardly needs proof that our mother tongue plays a maternal psychological role for us. The ethnocentric and narcissistic nature of our attitude to our own language and culture has been studied (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry 1987:101):

Large intrapsychic differences needed for defensive purposes appear in such trifling matters as the difference between Russian and Jewish rye bread; in the many names given to the filled pastries of eastern and central Europe—*pirogi*, *pirohi*, *piroshki*; and in the idiosyncratic way various Mediterranean groups stuff grape leaves. Each culture boasts of its uniqueness and superiority. The way culture can serve group narcissism is illustrated by [the] eastern European Jews not only borrowing the potato pancake from the Poles and other Slavs, but changing its Slavic name *oplatek* into the Yiddish *latky* and then claiming that both the dish and its name were indigenous.

The process was actually less dramatic. The plural of *oplatek* is *oplatky*, and the Eastern European Jews dropped the first syllable of the word, which left the word *latky* as the Yiddish word for potato pancakes. Yet claiming that the potato pancake was quintessentially Jewish was as fantastic as calling a basically German language Yiddish.

The group narcissism in the Jewish attitude toward the Yiddish language is remarkable. Narcissism is an unconscious defense against feelings of helplessness and

worthlessness. The Jews, a minority persecuted, despised, and denigrated for many centuries by their Christian neighbors, had a serious problem with their self-esteem. This may help explain Grayzel's observation that Yiddish was often despised by the very people who spoke it. Their narcissism served as a defense against low self-esteem.

Jewish feelings about the Yiddish language ran the entire gamut from great idealization to violent denigration. Sometimes the feelings were just ambivalent. Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) had a very ambivalent attitude toward Yiddish, as he did toward his Judaism (Grollman 1965; Simon 1957; Loewenberg 1971; Bergmann 1976; Falk 1978; McGrath 1986; Frieden 1990). He often called it the “jargon.” Theodor Herzl had one of the characters in his *New Ghetto* refer to it as *judendeutsch*. Jews liked their secret language for protecting them and setting them apart from the *goyim* but hated it for its inferior quality.

MIGRATION AND LANGUAGE

When the Jews were expelled from Spain and Portugal in the late fifteenth century, they migrated en masse to the Netherlands and to the lands of the vast Ottoman Turkish empire. They carried their Ladino language with them, which survived through the twentieth century. “Sephardic” Jews still say *nochada buena* rather than *buenas noches* (good night). The German Jews migrated en masse during the sixteenth century to Poland, Lithuania, and Russia. Their Yiddish language has similarly survived to the present. An Eastern European Jew will use the Slavic word *szyetane* or *smetana* rather than the German word *Sahne* for cream.

The emotional ties of the Jews to their adopted Spanish and German dialects, which they regarded as their own, were often stronger than those that bound them to ancient Hebrew. While Spanish and German kept developing and changing, Ladino and Yiddish remained essentially what they were in the fifteenth century, except for the absorption of local words and expressions. The farther away the Jews were from Spain and Germany, the more they cherished their special languages. The ties to the old countries were preserved in fantasy through names such as Ashkenazi, meaning German, which ironically were borne by Spanish Jews in Morocco, Turkey, and Palestine, because their ancestors had originally migrated from Germany.

During the early part of the twentieth century there was a struggle in the Jewish community of Palestine between the Hebraists and the Yiddishists. The former wished to make Hebrew the national language of the “reborn Hebrew people,” while the latter considered Hebrew the “holy language” of prayer and wished to make Yiddish the spoken language. The Yiddishists naturally included the ultra-Orthodox Jews who spoke Yiddish as a matter of course. The Hebraists won, probably because Hebrew was the language of the Old Testament, of the Mishnah, of past glories, and of much Jewish literature. It was also the only language that all Jews were held to have in common—even though many Jews do not speak it. Yiddish and Ladino, considered

dead languages only a generation ago, have enjoyed a literary and academic revival in our own time. Yet as spoken languages they are dying off. The Jews no longer need secret languages to communicate in without letting their enemies understand them.

AGAINST THE APOCALYPSE

Against the Apocalypse is the title of a fascinating book by Roskies (1984) that deals with Jewish reactions to catastrophe. The survival skills of the Jews were honed over many centuries. During the High Middle Ages most of the Jews of the former Frankish empire, now France and Germany, were living in the great episcopal sees along the Rhine. As Raphaël (1992) pointed out, the Jews not only had their own names for the countries and cities of Europe but the names of the cities were corruptions of Latin names. Worms was called Wormaisa, Mainz was called Magenza, and Speyer (Spires) was called Speyra. Other Jewish population centers were Metz and Trier (Trèves) on the Moselle, Cologne (Köln) on the Rhine, Saxon and Bavarian cities like Magdeburg, Merseburg, and Regensburg, and French cities such as Troyes, Rouen, Toulouse, Narbonne, and Marseille.

The titles of the leaders of the Jewish community were borrowed from Talmudic Hebrew. The political leader of the Jewish community was known as the *parnes* (Hebrew *parnas*, provider) and the spiritual leader was the rabbi. The daily life of the Jews was insecure. They were perennially subject to hatred, accusations, persecutions, discrimination, coercion, arrest, execution, and murder. In short, their existence was often threatened by catastrophe. Yerushalmi (1982) and Roskies (1984) studied the Jewish responses to catastrophe through the ages. Yerushalmi (1982:45) thought that the Jews blamed themselves for their own calamities:

The single most important religious and literary response to historical catastrophe in the Middle Ages was not a chronicle of the event but the composition of *selihot*, penitential prayers, and their insertion into the liturgy of the synagogue. Through such prayers the poet gave vent to the deepest emotions of the community, expressed its contrition in face of the divine wrath or its questions concerning divine justice, prayed for an end to suffering or vengeance against the oppressor, and, in effect, "commemorated" the event.

The Hebrew *selihot* is the plural of *selihah* (pardon, forgiveness, or penitence). The original *selihot* were composed for the days of penitence during the Hebrew month of Elul (August–September) and the first ten days of the Hebrew month of Tishri (September–October), when Jews traditionally ask God to forgive their transgressions. (Elul and Tishri are both Babylonian names.) The composition of such penitential prayers after the Jews themselves were slaughtered by Christians is a fascinating psychological phenomenon. Why did the Jews ask forgiveness? Had the Jews committed these crimes, or had they been their victims? Rather than blame their current persecutors, the Jews blamed themselves. If they were massacred, they must

have sinned. The self-blame that occurred when the First Temple was destroyed in 538 B.C.E. took place all over again.

The other responses of medieval European Jews to catastrophe were the writing of *Memorbücher* (memorial books) and the institution of Second Purims and of special fast days (Yerushalmi 1982:46–52). The feast of Purim commemorates the deliverance of the Jews from the genocidal designs of Haman in ancient Persia, as told in the Book of Esther. A Second Purim was a celebration of the deliverance of the Jews from their present persecutors. The current enemy was called Haman and the current deliverer Mordechai, as in the biblical “scroll” of Esther. The single most important and fascinating aspect of this commemorative activity is that the Jews viewed present disaster in terms of past calamity, and present salvation in terms of divine deliverance. The second most striking feature is that the Jews failed to face reality and to defend themselves against their tormentors. Instead, they escaped into fantasy. Medieval Jewish history is a story of escapism and denial. Roskies (1984:37–42) showed how the rabbis telescoped and mythologized Jewish history, and how the liturgy of destruction set limits to mourning “lest it spill over into extreme asceticism or a cult of death.” The great catastrophes of the Middle Ages were remembered through code words and code dates “according to the old rabbinic stratagem of divorcing catastrophe from secular history so as to fit Jewish history.” Psychologically, this was the process of denial and of the inability to mourn.

HISTORICAL MYTHMAKING

Yet another Jewish response to catastrophe was historical mythmaking. The Jews made up fantastic legends about their past to cope with their unpredictable, often disastrous situation and with their painful feelings of helplessness and worthlessness. The medieval Jewish chroniclers viewed Jewish history through a fantastic prism. Feeling the pain of Jewish powerlessness, they invented legends of Jewish power in various countries removed either temporally or geographically from the present.

One of these fantasies involved a mythical eighth-century Jewish principality in Narbonne under the Carolingian Frankish kings. Narbonne was occupied by the “Saracens” (Muslim Arabs) from 719 to 759. In 759 the Visigoths of Narbonne massacred the Muslim garrison there and handed their city over to King Pippin the Short of the Franks (714–68), who was besieging Narbonne. Flying in the face of historical reality, the twelfth-century Jewish scholar Abraham ibn Daud wrote that it was *the Jews* who handed over the city to *Charlemagne* (Ibn Daud 1967). According to Ibn Daud, King “Carleis” (Charles) had taken Narbonne from the “Ishmaelites” (Arabs) and had sent to the king of “Babylonia” (Persia) for a great Jewish noble and sage by the name of Rabbi Machir, whom the king gave a third of Narbonne as his fief. Biale (1986:85) cited recent Jewish historical scholarship as casting serious doubt on the historicity of this legend. Ibn Daud was either recording popular myths or inventing

them himself, yet for several centuries his tales were accepted as true history even by serious Jewish historians.

In 982 the "Roman Emperor" and German king Otto II (955–83), campaigning in southern Italy, was disastrously defeated by the "Saracens" (Arabs). Calonymus of Lucca, a Jewish member of Otto's retinue, was said to have saved Otto's life by giving the emperor his horse. Calonymus thereafter moved to Mainz, Germany, where one of his descendants became a great scholar and rabbi. According to Ibn Daud it was none other than Charlemagne who brought Calonymus from Lucca to Mainz. These medieval myths were accepted as historical truth by serious sixteenth-century Jewish scholars such as Abraham Zacuto and Joseph haCohen.

Several major Jewish scholars such as Rabbi Moses the Elder and Rabbi Abun the Great settled in Mainz during the tenth century. By the year 1000 Mainz had become a great center of Jewish life and learning. Moses the Elder's son was Rabbi Calonymus of Mainz, the well-known medieval Jewish scholar whose *responsa* are the oldest extant rabbinic writings of European Jewry (Potok 1978:299). Medieval and Renaissance Jewish historiography made much of the Calonymus family of Mainz, describing its heroic exploits.

In 1012 the "pious" German king and "Holy Roman" Emperor Heinrich (Henry II, r. 1002–24), who was later canonized by the Church, expelled all the Jews of Mainz who refused to convert to Christianity. Some Jews converted to Christianity to escape the banishment. The king allowed the Jews to return to Mainz the following year. Some of the Jews scorned their brethren who had converted, using them as targets for the unconscious externalization and projection of everything they could not accept about themselves. The courageous Gershom ben Judah (c. 960–1028/40), "The Light of the Exile," spiritual leader of the Jewish community of Mainz, decreed that any Jew caught deriding or shaming the Jews who had been converted by force and who had returned to their faith would be excommunicated.

The Christian persecution of the Jews, fueled by unconscious Christian externalization and projection, became murderous during the eleventh century, culminating in the Crusader massacres of the Rhenish Jews in April–June 1096. Worms was a major Rhenish German city that developed from the Celtic city of Borbetumagus, later the Roman-Vangionian city of Civitas Vangionum. Worms was both a Catholic bishopric and a residence of the "Holy Roman" Emperors. From 1000 to 1025 the Christians of Worms prospered under Bishop Burchard, author of the famous *Decree of Burchard*, a manual of doctrinal church law for the young cleric that became canon law. Burchard sought to abolish simony (the buying and selling of church offices) and to halt the violation of celibacy vows.

The Jews of Worms were victimized as never before. Count Emerich of Worms, whom the Jews called Emicho, led the frenzied Crusader mob that fell upon the hapless Jews of Worms on Sunday, 18 May 1096. Most of the Jews were slaughtered, some were forcibly converted to Christianity, and some took their own lives. Count Emerich also led the Crusader rabble into Mainz, where a terrible massacre took

place on 27 May. It was the worst slaughter in European Jewish memory. Over a thousand Jews were murdered in Mainz, and many more in the outlying villages. Unable to comprehend the catastrophe and to mourn the great losses, the Jews sought a recurring pattern in their calamities, interpreting them in biblical terms. Shlomoh bar Shimshon (Solomon son of Samson), the twelfth-century chronicler of the Mainz massacre, made much of the fact that the great massacre and defilement of the Torah scrolls occurred on Shavuoth (Pentecost), the traditional anniversary of the revelation on Mount Sinai (Roskies 1984:42).

In their search for meaning in the disaster that had befallen their people, the chroniclers of the Crusader massacres went all the way back to Abraham. As mentioned, *akedah* was the biblical term for Abraham's binding of his son Isaac on Mount Moriah to sacrifice him to Yahweh (Gen. 22:9). Spiegel (1967) described the Jewish legends concerning this binding. But the biblical myth has Abraham unbind his son in the end, whereas in Mainz the Jews were slaughtered en masse. Nonetheless Solomon bar Samson wrote that the Mainz massacre was the worst *akedah* in Jewish history (Yerushalmi 1982:38). Eliezer bar Nathan, another twelfth-century Jewish chronicler of the Crusader massacres, used the terms *shoah* (holocaust) and *akedah* (Eidelberg 1977).

As Roskies (1984:43) put it, "[I]n its new application as a paradigm of death and resurrection, the Akedah was found wanting when compared to the sacrificial death of so many; yet the events on Mount Moriah continued to structure perceptions and influence behavior." This phenomenon is even more striking when we recall that the biblical *akedah* was a mythical event, and that no one was actually killed in that story. This view of Jewish martyrdom as the binding of the son persisted well into our own time. Stein (1984a:10) felt that the *akedah* was "not only the key to the psychology of Jewish monotheism but also a key to the Jewish meaning of the Holocaust."

The German king and "Holy Roman" Emperor at the time of the First Crusade was Heinrich (Henry IV, 1050–1106), who had done penance in the snow at Canossa in 1077 before the pope and who refused to lead the Crusade. Jewish legend says Henry was "enraged at the mere rumour that there were those who wished to harm the Jews" (Ben-Sasson 1976:418), yet he was too busy fighting his Italian wars to save the Jews. In 1097, after the Crusader massacres of 1096, and upon his return from a military campaign in Italy, Heinrich allowed forcibly converted Jews to return to their faith. In 1103 he included the Jews in his *Landfrieden* of Mainz.

The archbishops of the great medieval European episcopal sees like Köln (Cologne), Mainz (Mayence), and Trier (Treves) had considerable political power over their territories, and many had their own private armies. The twelfth-century Jewish chroniclers of the 1096 massacres recorded the efforts of Bishops Johann of Speyer, Adalbert of Worms, Ruthard of Mainz, Hermann of Cologne (Hermann III), and Egilbert of Trier to save the Jews of their cities. When the murderous Crusader mobs were besieging Mainz, intending to slaughter every Jew who refused to convert to Christianity, Rabbi Calonymus ben Meshulam, the *parnes* of the Jews, solicited the help of Bishop Ruthard, whom he bribed into letting the Jews into his fort and locking

the gates of the city. Two days later the bishop reneged, letting Emerich's mobs into Mainz. Jewish legend maintains that the bishop said the following to Calonymus:

I am unable to save you; and your God has turned away from you and does not wish to leave you a vestige and a remnant. And I do not have the strength at hand any longer to deliver or aid you henceforward. So now . . . either believe in our faith or bear the consequences of your forefathers' iniquity. (Ben-Sasson 1976:418)

The best known of the medieval rabbinical scholars in Mainz was Rabbi Gershom ben Judah (c. 960–1028/40), known in Hebrew as Rabbenu Gershom Meor haGolah (Our Rabbi Gershom, the Light of the Exile), who outlawed polygamy and the opening of other people's mail. Rabbenu Gershom was a workaholic who ceaselessly toiled to write *responsa* to the Jews of Europe on difficult Halakic queries. Jewish historians proudly note how he managed to remove the European Jews from the spiritual guidance of the "Babylonian" academy heads and to assume the rabbinical leadership himself. Yet, while Rabbenu Gershom was busy reforming Jewish law, Jews were being massacred by Crusader gangs all over Europe.

33

Strategies of Psychological Survival

Unable to face and mourn present disasters, medieval Jewish scholars immersed themselves in their ancient past, devoting themselves to the obsessive interpretation of the sacred Hebrew texts and to the minute legislation of everyday life. One of the greatest of these scholars was Rashi (or Rachi; Rabbi Solomon Yitzhaki, 1040–1105). His most important work was a meticulous commentary, interpretation, and clarification of every verse in the Hebrew-Aramaic Bible and Talmud. When the printing press was invented in the fifteenth century, his work was printed in a special Italian Renaissance Hebrew font called Rashi Script, developed by the Italian Jewish printers of the Soncino family (Roth 1959:180–86).

Rashi lived through the great destruction of the Jewish communities at the hands of the First Crusaders (1096). In 1099 Godefroy de Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine and leader of the First Crusade, refused the title of King of Jerusalem on religious grounds, calling himself instead “Defender of the Holy Sepulchre.” Upon Godefroy’s death (1100) his younger brother Baudouin de Boulogne (1058–1118) became king of Jerusalem. Godefroy never met Rashi, yet the sixteenth-century Jewish scholar Gedaliah ibn Yahya of Imola (Ibn Jacchia, 1515–87) reported a mythical meeting between Rashi and Godefroy in Troyes in 1096 as if it were real (Yerushalmi 1982:57). Ibn Jacchia’s *Shalshleth haKabbalah* (Chain of tradition, 1587) is so full of fantastic stories that it was called “The Chain of Lies” by his posthumous critic Joseph Salomone del Medigo of Crete (1591–1655).

Ibn Yahya’s myth has Rashi foretell to the Crusader leader that he will capture Jerusalem and reign over it for three days, after which he will be expelled by the “Ishmaelites” (Arabs) and escape back to Troyes with *three* horses. Godefroy becomes very angry, promising Rashi that if he returns with *four* horses he will kill all the Jews of France and feed Rashi’s own flesh to the dogs. The Crusader king returns with four horses, but when he enters the city’s gates a stone drops upon one of his fellow riders, killing rider and horse. Godefroy becomes remorseful and fearful, repents, goes to Rashi’s house to make amends, and finds Rashi dead. Actually, Godefroy died in Jerusalem five years before Rashi died in Troyes.

The Jews continued to live in the past more than in the present, in fantasy more

than in reality. Their fantastic biblical Hebrew names for the various countries persisted and multiplied. France was called Zarephath (1 Kings 17:9, Obad. 1:20), the Mediterranean countries were known as Kittim (Gen. 10:4). Lotharingia was called Lothair. The enemies of the Jews, whoever they were, continued to be called Amalek, Edom, or Ishmael. Another Jewish response to catastrophe was to fall back upon the myth of election, proving by all manner of philosophical and theological reasoning that the Jews were God's Chosen People and a Light unto the Nations. Ben-Sasson (1976:535) had a rational explanation for this phenomenon, overlooking the obvious psychological connection to the Crusades:

The Jews recognized the fervency of the Christian and Moslem believers who confronted them. . . . Jewry was constantly wrestling with the claims of Christianity and Islam, each of which purported to be the sole true religion faithful to the will of the God of Israel. Under these circumstances it was only natural that the question of the election of Israel should become an immediate and crucial one. The problem appears to have become particularly acute during the twelfth century.

The Jewish myth of election, first formulated by the writers of the biblical texts, was further propounded by twelfth-century Andalusian Jewish scholars such as Abraham ben David haLevi, better known as Ibn Daud (c. 1110–80), Judah ben Samuel haLevi (1075–1141), and Maimonides (1135–1204). These scholars were at least as Arab as they were Jewish. They wrote in Arabic, the lingua franca of the Muslim world. The twelfth century was known as "the golden age of the Jews in Spain"; but in reality the Jews were not free of persecution and discrimination. The psychological function of the myth of election was to relieve the painful Jewish feelings of helplessness and worthlessness as outcasts and victims.

JEWISH MARTYRDOM

One of the early Jewish responses to catastrophe was the change in the idea of *Kiddush haShem* (Sanctification of [God's] Name). The original meaning of *Kiddush haShem* was the mystical act of making sacred the name YHWH. Roskies (1984:29) thought that

the meaning of Kiddush Hashem, the sanctification of God's name, was utterly transformed. By the same process that shifted the burden of memory from God to man, *Kiddush Hashem became the prerogative of man*, rather than of God acting to sanctify His own name, as we find in biblical sources.

During the Crusader massacres of 1096 and 1146 the concept of *Kiddush haShem* became synonymous with Jewish martyrdom. Any Jew murdered by a Christian was considered a *kadosh*, a holy man, saint, or martyr. The entire Jewish community of a given city was known as *kehillah kedoshah* (holy congregation). This term now came

to mean collective martyrdom (Roskies 1984:43). Slaughter at the hand of the Crusaders was turned into voluntary dying to glorify the name of God.

JEWISH AND ISLAMIC FANTASIES

While the Jews of the Muslim world did not suffer wholesale massacres as did those of Christian Europe, they did suffer from discrimination, humiliation, and contempt from their Muslim neighbors. The Jews who suffered under Muslim rule in Spain, North Africa, and the rest of the Arab world took solace from the fact that a few of their brethren had risen to great office, becoming viziers and counselors in the courts of the Muslim emirs and caliphs. In Andalusia Jews rose to great prominence and Hebrew literature flourished as never before. Actually only a handful of Jews became important and most Jewish scholars wrote in Arabic.

Jewish historians lionize Hasdai ibn Shaprut (910/15–970/75), the medieval Andalusian Jewish court physician, scholar, and statesman. In 940 Hasdai gained a position of power as chief of customs and foreign trade and foreign affairs counselor to Caliph Abd-ar-Rahman of Córdoba (Abd ar Rahman III, 891–961). This ruler had become the emir of Córdoba in 912; in 929 he had declared himself caliph, establishing the Western Caliphate of Córdoba. Abd ar-Rahman ruled all of Andalusia from Córdoba. What seems to have made Hasdai such an important figure in Jewish history was the general powerlessness of the Jews. Hasdai made Córdoba “a thriving center of Jewish scholarship, with an important yeshivah and a glittering, élite group of poets and intellectuals” (Goldberg and Rayner 1989:97).

Hasdai was a tyrannical despot. In his injured narcissistic rage he once had the most important Hebrew poet-grammarian of his time, Menahem ibn Seruq of Tórtosa (c. 910–70), whipped in public, and the scholar’s home torn down, because the latter had offended him (Ben-Sasson 1976:452). Hasdai’s best-known contribution to Jewish mythology was a letter he was purported to have written in 955/56 to the Jewish king Joseph of the Khazars, a Turkic people ruling an empire from the Black and Caspian Seas to the Ural Mountains and as far westward as Kievan Rus. The twelfth century “Hebrew” writer Judah haLevi (1075–1141), who actually wrote in Arabic, made a great medieval myth of this letter.

Was there a Jewish King Joseph of the Khazars? Like the Mongols, the Turkic Khazars were ruled by a *khagan* (great khan, or great ruler) and by tribal chieftains known as *beg* (bey). For unknown reasons, around 740 the *khagan* and the entire Khazar nobility embraced Judaism. The common Khazars remained pagan, some becoming Muslims and Christians. The Khazars ruled the eastern and southern Slavs, including the Volga Bulgars and the Kiev Russians. Their great power in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries fired the imagination of oppressed Jews who yearned for a great Jewish kingdom in their fantasy.

Hasdai had no idea where the Khazar kingdom was: to him it was “a distant land beyond the Black Sea” (Potok 1976:263). He claimed to have written a lengthy letter

in Hebrew to the Khazar king and received a Hebrew-language reply several years later (around 961). The two letters are full of fantastic details. They may well have been products of Hasdai's imagination. In 965 the Khazar empire was conquered and annexed by Kievan Rus. Potok (1978:263–64) quoted from Hasdai's two epistles, remarking that

the authenticity of this letter has been hotly debated by scholars. . . . History? Fiction? The yearnings of a stateless people molding folklore out of the vague reports of wandering Jewish merchants, who traveled throughout the world, dealing in silks from China and slaves taken in wars everywhere and furs and swords? . . . the letters, their style and date of composition remain the subject of serious debate by scholars.

The medieval Muslim world was ruled by the Umayyad, Abbasid, Córdoba, and Fatimid caliphates. The Córdoba caliphate, an offshoot of the Umayyad, barely survived the ineffectual reign of Abd ar-Rahman III's successors, al-Hakam (Hakim II, r. 961 to 976) and Hisham (Hisham II, r. 976 to 1013). In 978 the Córdoba vizier Muhammad ibn Abu Amir al-Mansur bi-Allah (938–1002), rumored to be the lover of Caliph Hisham's mother, took over the Córdoba government as regent. Al-Mansur fought and subdued the Christian princes bordering Andalusia and consolidated his rule. He completed Córdoba's Great Mosque and the city became the most important in Muslim Spain. North Africa and southern Spain were often under the same rule. For almost two centuries (972–1152) a Muslim Berber Sanhajah clan named Banu Ziri (the sons of Ziri, or Zirids), ruled Ifriqiyah (the Arabic name for the former Roman province of Africa, the North African lands roughly equivalent to modern Tunisia) and Granada, allying themselves with the Fatimids of Kairouan, who moved to Cairo. Their chief rivals were the *az-Zanatah* tribesmen.

Al-Mansur's death (1002) was followed by years of turmoil and by the breakup of the Córdoba caliphate. After the tyrannical reign of Caliph al-Muzaffar (1002–8), civil war erupted in Andalusia. Córdoba was sacked by the Christians under Count Ramón Borrell of Barcelona (1010) and then by the Moroccan Berbers (1012). The Umayyad dynasty ended in 1031, following twenty-one years of unrest. Between 1009 and 1091 Muslim Andalusia broke up into no less than twenty-three small and short-lived emirates ruled by petty kings called *taifas* (Arabic for faction or party). Among these petty emirates were Badajoz, Toledo, Seville, Córdoba, Granada, Albarracín, Denia, Tortosa, Málaga, Valencia, Almería, and Zaragoza. The *taifas* were engaged in continual warfare, which made it easier for the Christians to "reconquer" them. Some Jews became prominent in these petty Muslim emirates.

The Moors, whom the Spanish called *Moros*, were the rulers of Muslim Spain. They were of mixed Arab and Berber stock. Their language was Arabic and their religion Islam. During the eleventh century there was constant warfare between the Spanish Christians of Castile, León, Asturias, and Aragón and the *taifas* of Zaragoza, Valencia, Granada, and the other petty Muslim kingdoms. One of the best-known Christian warriors was Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (1043–99), better known as El Cid Campeador (the Lord Champion).

Well-meaning fathers can ruin their sons. In 1065, when King Ferdinand the Great of Castile and León (1016/18–65) died, his son Sancho the Strong (1037–72) became king of Castile, making El Cid his *armiger regis* (royal arms-bearer). But Fernando also gave León to Sancho's younger brother Alfonso the Brave (Alfonso VI of Castile and León, c. 1040–1109) and Galicia in northwest Spain to his still younger brother, the despotic and suspicious García (1042–90). The furious Sancho refused to share his kingdom with his brothers. From 1067 to 1072 Sancho fought a fratricidal war against his brothers, with El Cid as his chief army commander. Sancho drove García from his throne to refuge with the Moorish king of Seville (1071) and Alfonso into exile with the Moorish king of Toledo (1072). Alfonso's sister Urraca held the fortress city of Zamora for Alfonso against Sancho. When Sancho besieged Zamora, he was killed in battle (1072), and Alfonso the Brave became king of Castile and León.

In 1074 El Cid made peace with Alfonso by marrying Jimena, Alfonso's niece. Alfonso died of natural causes in 1109. Nonetheless, the figure of El Cid inspired tales of regicide (symbolic parricide). In 1599 the Spanish writer Guillén de Castro y Bellví (1569–1631) wrote *Las mocedades del Cid*, in which Rodrigo kills his wife's father to avenge the honor of his own father and Jimena pursues the Cid she loves to avenge her father's death. Corneille used Guillén de Castro's work in his own play *Le Cid* (1637), where Jimena became Chimène. Anthony Mann's film *El Cid* (1961), based on Guillén de Castro and Corneille, idealized the Cid as "the man who drove the Moors from Spain." Actually the opportunistic Cid alternately fought against and for the Moors, and the Muslim Moors were not driven from Christian Spain until the fifteenth century.

In 1077 Alfonso VI proclaimed himself *imperator totus Hispaniae* (emperor of all Spain). In 1081, when the Cid raided the Moorish city of Toledo, which was under Alfonso's protection, the king exiled the Cid from his realm. But in 1085 the city of Toledo was seized from the Moors by Alfonso VI as part of the Reconquista. The Christians proceeded to seize the Moorish territories of the Muslim caliphate of Córdoba. The Spanish Moors appealed for help to al-Murabitun (the dwellers in frontier forts), the rulers of Morocco. Al-Murabitun were a warlike, puritanical, and fanatical Muslim sect from what is now Mauritania. The Spaniards called them Almoravides. The Almoravid dynasty had been founded by Abdallah ibn Yasin (d. 1059), who conquered most of Morocco. Abdallah ibn Yasin was succeeded by Yusuf ibn Tashufin (d. 1106) and his brother Abu-Bakr al-Lamtuni, who conquered all of Morocco and western Algeria (1054–92). In 1085 Yusuf ibn Tashufin invaded Spain. In 1086 he defeated the advancing Christians at Zalaca (in Arabic, az-Zalaqah), near Badajoz (in Arabic, Batalyaws). The Almoravides dismissed the Jews from their positions of authority all over Andalusia and sought to Islamize them by imposing heavy fines on Jewish Lucena (Alicena). In 1091 the Almoravides completed the conquest of Muslim Spain.

Organized warfare has been part of our human civilization for the past ten to fifteen thousand years. War is terrible. Warriors are people who cannot mourn their

losses and unknowingly act out their deepest inner conflicts, fears, and furies on death's stage. In 1094 the Cid recaptured Valencia from the Moors after a long siege and had its ruler, the *qadi* (Muslim religious judge) Ibn Jahhaf, burned alive. The Cid kept Valencia, but the Almoravides defeated "Emperor" Alfonso VI of "All Spain," recaptured Andalusia, subdued the Moors, whom they had come to rescue, and became the new rulers of southern Spain. The Almoravides ruled Andalusia from 1086 to 1174. El Cid died in 1099 without having "driven the Moors from Spain."

In 1146 al-Muwahhidun (the affirmers of God's unity), another fanatical Muslim dynasty from North Africa, invaded Spain. The Spaniards called them Almohades. They originated in Tinnel, in the Atlas Mountains. Their first leader was Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Tumart (c. 1080–1130), who imposed moral purity and a strict concept of Allah's unity. In 1121 Ibn Tumart proclaimed himself the Mahdi (Muslim redeemer or Messiah) and in 1125 rose up in arms against the ruling Almoravides. After twenty-two years of warfare his successor Abd al-Mumin finally defeated the Almoravides (1147). The Almohades displaced the Almoravides, and by 1172 the Caliph Abu Yaqub Yusuf took Seville. The Almohades now ruled all of Muslim Spain. They were finally defeated by five Iberian Christian princes at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, which the Muslims called the Battle of al-Uqab (1212). In 1233 the Almohades empire disintegrated. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Almoravides and later the Almohades sought to forcibly convert the Jews to Islam. The Jews were persecuted, despised, and humiliated. Their self-esteem had been grievously injured. Many Jews escaped Andalusia for Egypt, where Islam was more tolerant. Maimonides, the great rationalist philosopher, physician, and theologian, was the best known of those Jews.

The Turkic Khazars still fired the Jewish imagination under Islamic rule centuries after their actual disappearance. They attracted the attention of the best-known medieval Hebrew poet-philosopher, Judah ibn Samuel haLevi (1075–1141), whose Arabic name was Abulhassan. Scholars are not sure about the place and date of his birth. Some think he was born in Christian Tudela, Navarra, northern Spain; some believe he was born in Moorish Toledo in the south, which in 1085 was taken from the Moors by King Alfonso VI of Castile, who made Toledo his capital. The Jews were caught in the middle between the Muslims and Christians, who distrusted, attacked, and often killed the Jews. In his youth Judah haLevi moved from Christian Tudela to Muslim Andalusia. He lived in Granada, and later in Jewish Lucena (Alicena), in the emirate of Córdoba, where he studied with Isaac Alfasi (d. 1103). In his later life Judah haLevi settled in the city of Córdoba. In Granada he met Moses ibn Ezra, a well-known Hebrew poet, who became a lifelong friend. In 1090 Granada was captured by the fiery Almoravides. We do not know how long Judah haLevi remained there. At some later point he moved to Muslim Seville, and later to Christian Toledo, where he befriended Joseph ibn Ferruziel, the king's Jewish physician.

In 1108 Solomon ibn Ferruziel, nephew of the king's physician, was murdered by Spanish Christians, and the grieving Judah haLevi composed a moving elegy on the hopelessness of the Jewish situation. He reinterpreted the myth of Daniel about

the fall of the great empire, prophesying the end of the Muslim kingdom of Andalusia in 1130. When that failed to happen, the weary fifty-five-year-old Judah haLevi moved to Muslim Córdoba. Between 1130 and 1140, in Córdoba, he wrote an Arabic-language defense of Judaism, *The Book of Argument and Proof in Defense of the Despised and Humiliated Faith*. The Hebrew translation of the book was made by the linguist Judah ibn Tibbon (1120–90) and is best known as *Sefer haKuzari* (The book of the Khazar). It is an imaginary disputation between a Muslim, a Christian, and a Jew attempting to proselytize the king of the Khazars. Its core fantasy is that the Jews, rather than being the poor, humiliated, despised, oppressed, and persecuted devils they seem, are actually the princes of this world. Their martyrs are heroes, proving the greatness of the Jews.

In keeping with the medieval Jewish fantasy that gave ancient biblical names to current peoples and places, Judah haLevi referred to the “evil” European Christians as the biblical Edom and Seir and to the Muslim Arabs as the biblical Ishmael and his son Kedar (Ben-Sasson 1976:528–30). The Jews, called Israel, were the chosen people, and their suffering only proved their historical mission to atone for the world’s sins. The king of the Khazars, despite all the glory and conquests of Christendom and Islam, elected the despised Jewish faith over the other two. Here the grandiose group-self was once more serving as a defense against group narcissistic injury.

As mentioned, the sad irony of these twelfth-century Jewish fantasies was that the great “Jewish” Khazar kingdom had been conquered in 963–65 by Grand Prince Svyatoslav Igorevich of Kiev (d. 972), who left his mother Olga in charge of Kievan Rus, fought many wars, subdued the Khazars, and destroyed their capital of Itil in the year of his mother’s death (969). Three years later Svyatoslav was ambushed and killed by the Turkic Pechenegs. The Khazars were no longer a geopolitical reality at the time of Judah haLevi’s writing. They no longer existed.

Judah haLevi left Spain for Palestine in 1140 but never reached his destination, dying in Egypt in 1141 before he could reach Jerusalem. The Jews, refusing to accept this unhappy end, made up a myth about their favorite medieval poet that was recorded in Gedaliah ibn Yahia’s *Shalsheth haKabbalah* (Chain of tradition) of 1587. Potok (1978:276) understood the wishful process of mythmaking:

The heart cannot leave unfulfilled so powerful a dream, so poignant a longing. The folk imagination bestirs itself in the face of cosmic injustice and seeks to right the bitter wrongs of the real world. And so a legend grew up around the singer of Zion. He reached the city of Jerusalem—a crusader city now—and as he bowed and kissed its stones and recited the opening words of one of his elegies, “Zion! wilt thou not ask if peace be with thy captive,” an Arab horseman trampled him to death.

Jewish historians have touted the exploits of yet another Jewish political figure of medieval Muslim Spain, the vizier of Granada, Samuel haLevi ibn Joseph ibn Nagrela (Shmuel haNagid, or Samuel the Ruler, 993–1056). Samuel ibn Nagrela was born in 993 in Mérida (the former Roman city of Augusta Emerita) in the Extremadura region of southwestern Spain, which had been occupied by the Moors in 713. He

studied in Córdoba, the chief city of eastern Andalusia. When the Berbers sacked Córdoba (1012), Ibn Nagrela fled to Málaga on the Mediterranean coast, then to Granada in southern Spain. The gifted young Jew became an aide to the vizier of Granada. In 1027, upon the death of the old vizier, Ibn Nagrela became vizier of Granada himself under Emir Habbus (r. 1019–37). When Habbus died in 1037, a war of succession broke out in Granada between his elder son Badis (r. 1037–73), supported by Samuel ibn Nagrela, and a younger son, whose name is not usually given by historians. Badis prevailed, his younger brother renounced his claim to the throne, and the younger brother's supporters fled to Seville, fearing the wrath of Badis. Samuel ibn Nagrela kept his post of vizier until his death in 1056 under Emir Badis. He was the virtual ruler of Granada.

Ibn Nagrela was a poet and scholar as well as statesman. In 1038, during the Granadan war of succession, a battle took place between Granada and Almería near a village named El Fuente, which does not appear on most maps (Yerushalmi 1982:46). Ibn Daud believed that the root causes of this battle had to do with rivalry between the grand viziers of the two emirates. The grand vizier of Almería, Ibn Abbas, hated both Berbers and Jews. He loathed Samuel ibn Nagrela, inciting his emir to demand his ouster by Emir Badis of Granada. Emir Badis turned him down curtly, which led to the Battle of El Fuente.

When the Granadans had defeated the Almerians at El Fuente, Samuel ibn Nagrela proclaimed a Second Purim—an allusion to the miraculous Jewish victory over the evil Haman in Esther—"and sent forth copies of a magnificent [Hebrew] poem he had composed for the occasion to Tunis, Palestine and Babylonia, asking that the Purim be celebrated there as well" (Yerushalmi 1982:46–47). The poem was entitled *Eloha Oz* (God of power). Ibn Abbas became Haman in that poem, and Samuel himself was Mordechai. The story of Esther was reenacted. In reality the Battle of El Fuente was just one of many battles waged by the Berber emir Badis of Granada. From 1023 to 1091 Seville was ruled by the Arab Abbaid dynasty, founded by the *qadi* Abu al-Qasim Muhammad ibn Abbad (d. 1042), whose son was the poet Abu Amr Abbad (d. 1069). In 1042 Emir Badis of Granada fought the Sevillian Arabs. In 1053, furious with the Sevillian Arabs who had killed some of his Berber subjects, Badis wished to massacre all the Arabs of his own emirate. Ibn Daud believed that it was the sixty-year-old Samuel ibn Nagrela who foiled the murderous scheme of his master by warning the Granadan Arabs and by talking the emir out of his scheme. In 1055 Badis annexed Málaga to Granada. Ibn Nagrela died the following year.

THE MYTH OF THE FOUR CAPTIVES

Geography is in the mind (Stein and Niederland 1989). To us Africa is a large continent mostly populated by hundreds of millions of black people. To the ancient Romans "Africa" was their province in North Africa, an area more or less equivalent to modern Tunisia. Its inhabitants were mostly fair-skinned. To the medieval Muslim

Arabs, Ifriqiyah was what are now Tunisia and eastern Algeria. The modern Tunisian capital of Tunis began as the medieval Kairouan (al-Qayrawan), meaning "camp" or "caravan." From the seventh to the eleventh centuries Kairouan was the capital of the Berber Maghreb (West) in North Africa. It was founded in 673 by the Arab leader Okba (Ukba) ibn Nafi and was the seat of the Abbasid governors of the Maghreb until 800.

After 800 Kairouan was a center of commerce and learning under the Aghlabid princes, who ruled the Maghreb in nominal dependence upon the Abbasid caliphs until 909, when the Fatimids took Ifriqiyah. Between the ninth and eleventh centuries a center of Jewish life and learning developed in Kairouan, the first North African capital of the Fatimid caliphs (909–21). Like the Arabs, the Muslim Berbers were divided into warring clans. In 968–69 General Jawhar conquered Egypt for the Fatimids. In 972–73 the Fatimids moved their capital to the newly founded Egyptian city of al-Qahira (Cairo), keeping nominal rule over the Maghreb. The Fatimid caliph al-Muizz li-Din Allah (Abu Tamim Maad, 930–75), son of al-Mansur, appointed Yusuf Buluggin ibn Ziri governor of the Maghreb, including Kairouan and any other territories the Zirids would seize from their enemies. The Zirid state expanded as far west as modern Morocco. In 1048 this state of affairs ended when a Zirid ruler ironically named al-Muizz (1016–62), like the Fatimid caliph who had appointed his ancestor, declared his independence from the Shiite Fatimids, transferring his allegiance to the Sunni Abbasids. In 1052 the vengeful Egyptian Fatimids sent the fierce Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaym tribesmen into the Maghreb. Under their bloody raids, "Ifriqiyah" fell into a state of anarchy. In 1057 Kairouan was destroyed by the invaders. This was the end of Jewish Kairouan.

Abraham ibn Daud glorified Kairouan as a great Jewish center rivaling Córdoba, Baghdad, and Alexandria. He recorded the legend of the Four Captives as a true story. According to this myth, four Jewish sages from "Babylonia" had embarked on a boat sailing the Mediterranean eastward from Bari, Italy. The boat was seized among the Greek islands by the admiral of the fleet of Caliph Abd ar-Rahman of Córdoba. Three of the four scholars were ransomed by the great Jewish communities of Alexandria, Kairouan, and Córdoba. The fate of the fourth was unknown. Why could Ibn Daud not come up with the name of a fourth community along the Mediterranean coast that could credibly have adopted his fourth scholar? The predominance of "Babylonian" Jewry in the Jewish world was coming to an end. The great yeshiva of Sura closed down in 948, and by 1040 so did the great yeshiva at Pumbeditha. Ibn Daud sought to relate the decline of "Babylonian" Jewry with the rise of Spanish and North African Jewry under Islam. The legend of the Four Captives served his purpose.

THE MONGOLS AS THE LOST TRIBES OF ISRAEL

The myth of the ten lost tribes of Israel dwelling "beyond the Mountains of Darkness" may have begun among the Jews in the late ninth century, when a bizarre Jewish

traveler who called himself Eldad the Danite told the Jews of "Babylonia" (Iraq), North Africa, and Spain that he had found the lost tribes of Israel in the heart of Africa. His fantasies were believed by numerous Jews and survived for many centuries. When the printing press was invented, the Hebrew *Book of Eldad* was published in Mantua (1480), Constantinople (1516), and Venice (1544). The Jews believed in this delusional fantasy because they could not mourn their losses.

The next candidate for the role of the ten lost tribes was the Mongols. The medieval Mongols were nomadic Turkic tribes of herdsmen and horsemen from Central Asia; they were related to the Khazars. Their warriors rode small ponylike horses. Their rulers were called khans, and, as mentioned, their supreme ruler was called *khagan* (great khan). During their early history the Mongols were ruled by other Turkic peoples like the Hsiung-nu (whom some scholars identify with the Huns), the Jou-jan (whom some scholars equate with the Avars), the Orkhon Turks, and the Uighur Turks. Later the Mongols ruled themselves. The thirteenth century saw the rise of the Mongol empire, the Mongol conquest of Asia, and the great Mongol invasion of Europe.

In 1206 Temüjin Genghis Khan (Temüjin, the Universal Ruler, 1162–1227) forged the Mongol empire, expanding it westward and southward. In 1215 Temüjin's hundred thousand fierce fighters stormed the Great Wall of China, overwhelming the one hundred million Chinese of the Chin empire. From 1218 to 1224 the roaming Mongol "hordes," which included Uighurs, Huns, and other Turkic peoples, conquered all of Central Asia and raided Persia, Poland, and Russia. Mongol fraternal rivalry was fierce. When Temüjin Genghis Khan died in 1227, his vast empire was divided between his sons—Jöchi, Chagatai, Ögödei, and Tolui—who were soon fighting for control of the empire. The Mongol *khagan* was elected by the great assembly of Mongol khans. Temüjin had selected his third son Ögödei as his successor. Ögödei Khan (1181–1241) became *khagan* in 1229, while his envious brothers had to settle for the mere title of khan.

Ögödei Khan's son and heir was Güyük Khan (also known as Kuyuk, or Kuyug, 1206–48); Jöchi Khan's son and heir was Batu Khan (d. 1255). Tolui Khan's three sons were Möngke Khan, Hülegü Khan, and Kublai Khan. In 1235 Batu Khan led the Mongol armies in the West. He conquered most of Russia and invaded central Europe. Batu Khan and his father Jöchi also defeated the Kipchak Turks. The Kipchak (Kun, Kumans, or Cumans) had founded the Kipchak Khanate in southern Russia, later known as Ulus Juchi after Jöchi. It was the western part of the Mongol empire. The Russians called the Mongols the "Golden Horde." In 1240 the Golden Horde sacked the Russian capital of Kiev. Soon the Golden Horde ruled southern Russia.

In 1241 the Mongol armies seized Bohemia, Poland, Silesia, and Hungary. Europe was struck with terror, which gave rise to aggression and violence. That year a frenzied German Christian mob in Frankfurt, enraged by the refusal of some Jews to let their young relative convert to Christianity, massacred some 180 Jews; half the city went up in flames when some desperate Jews set fire to their own homes. Unlike the Germans and Russians, the Mongols were tolerant of religious belief. The Jews

now looked to the invading Mongols as their saviors. But the death of Ögödei Khan late that year (1241) at the hands of a jilted lover in his entourage forced Batu Khan back to Asia and saved Europe from further Mongol invasions.

MONGOLS AND ASSASSINS

After a stormy regency by his widow Töregene, Ögödei Khan was succeeded by his eldest son Güyük Khan, who had already quarreled with his cousin Batu Khan. Güyük died at Samarkand in 1248 while preparing to attack Batu. The descendants of Genghis Khan and the great Mongol commanders elected Tolui Khan's son, Möngke Khan (also known as Mungke, Manga, or Mangu, 1208–59), as *khagan*. Möngke Khan dispatched his younger brother Hülegü Khan (also known as Hulagu or Khulagu, 1217–65) to conquer the Muslim world. The Ismaili Naziris were the “fundamentalist” Muslim terrorists of that time. They were called *hashasheen* (assassins) because they supposedly smoked hashish to shake off their inhibitions and be able to kill their enemies, which they held to be their holy duty. In 1256 Hülegü Khan crossed the Oxus River (Amu Darya) and sacked the great fortress of the dreaded Ismaili *hashasheen* at Alamut (Iran). Still the Baghdadi Arab warriors denied reality and haughtily derided the Mongol fighter, “on a horse like a donkey, and having in his hand a spear like a spindle, wearing neither robe nor armor, so that all who saw him were moved to laughter.”

In 1258 the fierce Mongols under Hülegü Khan overran Iraq, seized and razed Baghdad, killed the last Abbasid Muslim caliph, al-Mustasim, and massacred hundreds of thousands of Muslim Arabs. The Christians were spared because Hülegü's wife was a Christian. Baghdad became a provincial capital of the Mongol Il-Khans of Iran. Möngke Khan's successor, his brother Kublai Khan (also known as Khublai, or Kubla, 1215–94), conquered China and moved his capital to Beijing (Peking). The Mongols now had an empire ranging all over Asia, from China to the Middle East, albeit one divided among their various khans.

Jewish legend had it that the end of the world would come with the sixth millennium of the Creation, in the Hebrew year 5000 (1240). The Mongol raids kindled the fantasies of many Jews, who believed that the year 1240 would bring about their redemption from persecution and the coming of the Messiah. Fantasy once again took hold of the Jews. It was rumored that the Mongols were the ten lost tribes of Israel. The English scholar Matthew Paris (d. 1259), author of the *Chronica majora*, believed that some Jews were caught supplying arms to the Mongol hordes.

The irony of the Mongol conquests of the Islamic lands was that the Mongols themselves became Muslim. In sixteenth-century India they were known as the Moguls. Hülegü's successor was the Buddhist Abagha Khan (r. 1265–82), but Abagha's grandson, Mahmud Ghazan Khan (1271–1304), embraced Islam along with his Arabic name. The Persian Jews and other Jews of Asia now lived in the Muslim Mongol empire. The Crusaders had called all Arabs, Muslims, Turks, Persians, and other non-

European and nonwhite enemies "Saracens." The Russians lumped all Turks and Mongols under the name of Tatar (Tartars). In the fourteenth century the "Tatar" ruler Timur Leng (Timur the Lame, 1336-1405), whose name the Europeans corrupted to Tamerlane, Tamburlaine, or Timburlane, further expanded the Mongol empire by seizing parts of Anatolia, Persia, India, and Russia. Timur claimed descent from Genghiz Khan. His empire had its capital in Samarkand (now in Uzbekistan). In 1400 Timur Leng seized parts of Syria and Iraq from the Ottomans, in 1401 he sacked Baghdad, and in 1402 he defeated the Ottoman Turks at Çubukovasi (near Ankara) and captured the Ottoman sultan Bayezid Yildirim (Bayezid the Thunderbolt, or Bayezid I, 1360-1403), who died in captivity. In Christopher Marlowe's sixteenth-century play *Tamburlaine the Great* Bayezid appeared as "Bajazeth, Emperor of the Turks."

The historical mythmaking of the Jews, which persisted well into the sixteenth century, resulted from an unconscious defensive psychological process. Abused, persecuted, despised, oppressed, reviled, and discriminated against in both the Christian and the Muslim worlds, their group self, or self-esteem, suffered great narcissistic injuries. They had to allay their emotional pain by escaping into fantasies of historical grandeur. Like Jewish mysticism, Jewish historical mythmaking was the collective reaction of the Jews to their very painful historical injuries and to the resulting damage to their self. The personal self merged with the extended group self. If a Jew's self-esteem fluctuated, he could reflect on the glories of his people and feel worthy.

MEDIEVAL CHRISTIAN FANTASIES

The history of the persecution of the Jews in late medieval Christian Europe reads like an endless tale of discrimination, expulsions, libels, and massacres. To convey a feel for what the Jews went through, I shall draw a brief outline of four centuries of persecution in western Europe, from the eleventh through the fifteenth. The Jewish settlement in eastern Europe, which began in the late Middle Ages and flourished in the sixteenth century, will be discussed in the following chapter.

The tragedy of Christian-Jewish relations was in their vicious-circle nature. The Christian hatred of the Jews produced in the latter a sense of victimization and martyrdom, which reinforced their negative self, which was unconsciously defended against by a strengthening of the narcissistic myth of election, which fed back the hatred of the Christians. The Crusader rampage in Europe and Asia raged intermittently from 1095 to 1272. The Jews were massacred everywhere. The Crusades were an acting out, an externalization, on a large scale, of internal conflict. They sprang from great internal strife and anxiety within Catholic Europe. Those who are afraid of feeling helpless must have power over others.

The European Jews served as a container for unconscious Christian projections and externalizations. They continued to suffer from murderous persecutions. The Jewish myth of election, the claim to be God's chosen people, whose unconscious psychological function was to defend the Jews against painful feelings of helplessness

and worthlessness, fired the anger and hatred of the Christians, who believed the arrogant Jews to be the murderers of Jesus Christ. During the twelfth century Christians began to believe that the Jews killed Christian children and used their blood in baking their Passover bread. The "logic" of this belief was that having crucified Jesus Christ, the Jews thirsted after pure and innocent blood, and that the closest they could come to it was the blood of Christian children. The unconscious projection of filicidal feelings is very clear here.

The Christians' anxiety and their need to externalize and to project were overwhelming. False charges, accusations, trials, riots, and massacres of the Jews began once more. In 1144 the Christians of Norwich, England, accused the city's Jews of torturing and crucifying an innocent Christian child. Grayzel (1969:353) thought that "only perverted, bloodthirsty minds could make such accusations, and only an incredibly deep ignorance and fear of Judaism can explain its spread among the population. The fact, however, is that it [did] spread and became a part of the strange and fearful legend which the Jew has been to the Christian mind. It sealed the hostility which pursued the Jews throughout the second thousand years of Christian history."

TRAGEDY AT BLOIS

The burning alive of thirty-two Jews of Blois by their count in 1171 is recorded in every Jewish history book. King Louis le Jeune (Louis VII, c. 1120–80) had made Count Thibaut V of Blois *dapifer Franciae* (grand seneschal or constable of France) and *armiger regis* (head of the king's armies), the second-ranking man in all France. Louis and Thibaut fought King Henry Plantagenet of England for twenty-two years (1152–74). In the late 1160s Count Thibaut lost his beloved first wife. Without pausing to mourn his loss properly, he married Alix (Aliz or Alice, born 1150), the younger daughter of Louis le Jeune and Eleanor of Aquitaine. This cemented Thibaut's alliance with his king, but Thibaut was not happy with his second wife. He took a lover, a Jewess named Pulcelina, setting off a chain of events that resulted, in 1171, in the Blois catastrophe.

There are no less than eleven contemporary Hebrew-language documents describing the Blois tragedy (Neubauer and Stern 1892:31–69; Spiegel 1953:273; Chazan 1968:14), including letters from Orléans, Paris, and Troyes that agree remarkably on the facts (Chazan 1968:17–21). These letters are written in archaic Hebrew. They read as if the writers were living in a biblical past. The evil Count Thibaut is compared to Israel's ancient enemies and curses are heaped upon his head.

The letters tell a hair-raising story. A Jew named Isaac ben Eleazar, who was carrying untanned animal skins, was accused by a frightened Christian servant of having thrown a human corpse into the Loire River. The corpse was never discovered, but the Jews of Blois were nonetheless imprisoned. Count Thibaut had had an affair with the proud, masculine, and high-handed Pulcelina, who had made many enemies (Chazan 1968:15). Her name is given in a contemporary Hebrew account by

Ephraim of Bonn (Neubauer and Stern 1892:66–69). Pulcelina is not a typical Hebrew or Jewish name. Some scholars think it derived from the Latin *pullicella*, meaning the young of an animal. (The French equivalent is *pucelle*, meaning a young virgin. La Pucelle was an appellation of Joan of Arc.) Margolis and Marx (1985:367) erroneously called Thibaut's lover Pulcinella, the name of the *male* hook-nosed, hump-backed Italian marionette and commedia dell'arte character known to English speakers as Punch (in French, *Polichinelle*). What does it say about their unconscious feelings?

Count Thibaut had fallen out of love with Pulcelina. The arrogant Jewess had antagonized many townspeople, including Thibaut's twenty-one-year-old wife, Alix, the king's daughter, who hated her husband's former lover (Dupré 1872:224; Chazan 1968:15). Other Blois Christians resented the former influence of the proud Jewess over the count. Unconsciously externalizing their bad inner objects upon the Jews, the Christians seriously believed that the Jews were children of the devil. The irrationality of these fantasies was striking. "People whose aversion for pagan blood sacrifices and the eating of blood dated back to the period of the Bible were now said to have slain a Christian in order to obtain blood for the unleavened bread of Passover and other rituals. Jews, it was whispered, were not human and needed the potency of blood in order to take on and maintain human form" (Potok 1978:309). The Christians' hatred of the Jews grew passionate. "All now conspired to bring about the destruction of the [Jewish] community. Attempts at bribery were ineffectual. The servant was put through a dubious ordeal by water, after which his testimony was declared to be true. Offered the choice of baptism, most of the Jews, including Pulcelina [*sic*], chose to die" (Yerushalmi 1982:48).

The Jewish attempts to bribe the count were bungled by stinginess. Chazan (1968:21) believed that Baruch ben David haCohen offered Thibaut 220 livres (pounds), which the count rejected. Spiegel (1953:277) thought that the count angrily turned down an offer of 280 livres. The offer was too low: Chazan (1968:21) pointed out that Baruch haCohen later secured the freedom of the other Jews of Blois county for 1,000 livres. Bishop Guillaume of Sens and Chartres (Willelmus ad albas manus, or William of the White Hand) was a brother of Thibaut of Blois, Henri of Champagne, and Queen Adèle (Alix). Spiegel (1953:276–77) believed that Bishop Guillaume incited his brother to burn the Jews. Chazan (1968:23 n. 29) found no evidence for Spiegel's suggestion. Be that as it may, on Wednesday, 26 May 1171, which by the Hebrew calendar was 20 Sivan 4931, thirty-two Blois Jews, including seventeen women, were burned at the stake at the order of Count Thibaut V. His former Jewish lover, Pulcelina, was also burned alive at his orders.

The Jews of France were shocked. The Jews of Paris approached King Louis le Jeune at Falaise for a *private* audience to discuss the Blois executions. The king granted them a *public* audience attended by all his advisors. Louis "indicated explicitly his refusal to accept the increasingly popular [ritual-murder] slander . . . the king ordered a charter prepared which would circulate throughout his realm, reassuring his Jews and ordering his officials to guard even more carefully these endangered subjects" (Chazan 1968:22). Count Henry of Champagne, Thibaut's brother, "received a delegation of

Jews and gave much the same response" (ibid.). Several Jewish historians say that Louis VII "sent his regrets" to the Jewish community leaders of Paris. These royal regrets did not console the Jews of France. Hebrew *selihoth* (atonement prayers) and *kinoth* (mourning poems) were composed. Rabbi Jacob ben Meir Tam of Troyes (Rabbenu Tam, 1100–1171), a grandson of the great Rashi, the leader of the French Jewish community, set 20 Sivan as a day of fast and mourning. Several centuries later, in 1648–49, when Khmelnitsky's Cossacks massacred the Jewish communities in Poland and the Ukraine, the very same date was set as a day of fast and mourning.

Ritual-murder accusations against Jews were also made in England, first at Norwich (1144) and later at Gloucester (1168). King Stephen (c. 1097–1154) protected the Jews, as did his successor Henry II (1133–89), but the latter often intervened to cancel Christian debts to Jewish moneylenders. There had been "incidents" of ritual-murder libels at the French cities of Pontoise and Janville. On 6 July 1189 King Henry Plantagenet (Henry II) of England died. On 30 September 1189, at the outset of the Third Crusade, Richard Coeur-de-lion (1157–99) was crowned king of England in London's Westminster Abbey. A Jewish delegation arrived for the coronation with great gifts but was refused admission to the abbey. A false rumor spread that the new king wanted the Jews destroyed. The inflamed London Christians massacred the city's Jews.

The king dispatched his chief justice and noblemen to disperse the Christian mob, but they were threatened with violence and forced to withdraw. Richard Coeur-de-lion hanged three of the riot leaders and made it clear by royal proclamation that *his* Jews were not to be molested. Nonetheless, when Richard had crossed the English Channel to join Philippe Auguste of France in the Third Crusade, anti-Jewish riots broke out again at Stamford, Norwich, Lynn, Bury St. Edmunds, and elsewhere in England. In 1190 the Jews of York in northern England were massacred by a frenzied Christian mob. The absent Crusader king was powerless to stop them. Their fear-fueled fantasies were too powerful.

THE HOST-DESECRATION LIBEL

The charge of "killing" or "desecrating" the *hostia mirifica* (miracle-working host) was first leveled at the Jews after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) established the Christian doctrine of transubstantiation. In 1235 there were massacres of Jews in the Franconian German towns of Lauda and Tauber-Bischofsheim on the Tauber River. The year 1240 (the Jewish year 5000, the millennium) was expected to bring the Messiah. Instead more catastrophes beset the Jews. In 1241 the marauding Mongols destroyed many Silesian towns. The Jews were accused of aiding the Mongols. Christian mobs massacred the Jews in Frankfurt and other German cities.

The first recorded host-desecration libel occurred in 1243, near the newly founded city of Berlin. The charge was that the Jews had defiled, tortured, stabbed, trampled upon, and otherwise desecrated the *hostia mirifica*, "the body of Jesus Christ," and

that they used the blood that flowed from the stabbed host to bake their bread with. Ben-Sasson (1976:483) and Trachtenberg (1983:110) pointed out the absurdity of the Christian belief that the Jews knew about, let alone believed in, the "mystery and miracle" of the transubstantiation of the wafer and wine into the blood and flesh of Jesus Christ during the Eucharist in the Christian Church. Once again the Christians unconsciously projected upon the Jews what they wished to do themselves.

In 1203-4 the Crusaders and their Venetian allies besieged and captured the Byzantine capital of Constantinople, setting up camp in a Jewish suburb, whose residents suffered greatly. From 1204 to 1261 the Crusaders ruled their "Latin Empire of Constantinople" in Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, whereas the Greek Byzantines ruled the smaller kingdoms into which the Byzantine empire had disintegrated. But in 1261 King Michaelis Palaeologos of Nicaea (1224-82) became Roman Emperor of the East, allied Byzantium with Genoa, drove out the Crusaders and Venetians, and reunited the Byzantine empire. It was soon attacked on all sides.

JEWS AND OTHER HERETICS

Twelfth-century France was made up of many principalities, duchies, and counties. It was only during the following centuries that the king of France expanded his territory to include most of present-day France. After the massacre of Blois (1171) King Louis le Jeune sent his regrets to the Jewish community leaders of Paris. His successor Philippe Auguste (Philip II, 1165-1223) had all the wealthy Jews of Paris arrested in their synagogue on the Sabbath and held for ransom. He only released them upon receiving 15,000 silver pounds. In 1181-82 Philippe Auguste expelled all the Jews from the northern Duchy of France, later known as the Isle de France. Other feudal lords of France took them under their protection. In 1191 Philippe Auguste played a major role in the Third Crusade, which failed to dislodge the "Saracens," yet gained access to the Holy Sepulchre. In 1198 the august king let the Jews back in, in order to be able to use them financially once more.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christian European society attained its high medieval form. Kings, feudal lords, the Catholic Church, and the free cities emerged as the four major political forces. National monarchies consolidated themselves in Spain, France, and England. Germany remained divided into numerous principalities "united" by the "Holy Roman" Emperor. Not surprisingly, the French and German Jews were violently persecuted by the Christians when Christianity itself was rent asunder by the "heresy" of the Waldenses and Albigenses.

The "Waldensian heresy" was named after Pierre Valdes (Peter Waldo), a Lyon merchant, who in 1175 began to preach in the vernacular French, rather than in the ecclesiastical Latin, and founded a new order of lay monks who took the vow of poverty. Valdes was accused of heresy and did not get the recognition of Pope Alexander III (1105-81). Nonetheless his mission spread to other French towns. Valdes attended the Third Lateran Council in Rome (1179), where he made the profession of faith

required of accused "heretics" and was confirmed in his vow of poverty by the pope, but his order was still not recognized. Valdes rejected some of the holy sacraments, repudiated prayers for the dead, the adoration of the crucifix, and the holiness of churches, refused to recognize secular courts, and denounced the abuses in *mater ecclesia*. Rejected by the holy father and mother church, Valdes and his followers called themselves *pauperes Lugdunumi* (poor men of Lyon) and preached the return to the true evangelical faith in Lyon, whose archbishop condemned Valdes.

Pope Alexander III died in 1181 and was succeeded by Pope Lucius III (1097–1185). During the Synod of Verona (1184) Pope Lucius III issued a papal bull entitled *Ad Abolendam* that banned the Waldenses, whose "heresy" spread to Spain, northern France, Flanders, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Hungary. The Church vigorously persecuted the "heretics," executing those it seized. By the end of the thirteenth century the Waldenses had virtually disappeared. They were revived during the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century and again in the nineteenth century.

The Visigothic kingdom of Tolosa (Toulouse) in the Pyrenees had become unified and independent from Rome in the fifth century. This kingdom spanned Gallia (Gaul) and Hispania (Spain). Toulouse remained a center of anti-Roman feeling. The Albigenses of Languedoc (southern France) were named after the Pyrenean city of Albige (Albi), the capital of the Gallic-Roman Albigenses (Albigeois), although the movement was based in Toulouse. The Albigenses were Cathari (purists), who unconsciously split their world into all-good and all-bad objects, believing in the Manichaean dualism of good and evil, God and Satan. They rejected the sacraments and hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, which denounced them as "heretics." Because of its unconscious emotional appeal to primitive splitting, their movement soon became powerful and influential. In 1119 the Council of Toulouse ordered the secular powers to suppress the heresy. Abbot Bernard de Clairvaux (1090–1153), author of the *Praises of the Virgin Mary*, and his Cistercian monks could not quell the Albigensian "heresy." In 1167 the Albigenses held a council of their own in Toulouse, which greatly upset the Roman Catholic Church.

Saint Dominic (Domingo de Guzmán, 1171–1221) was a Castilian subprior at Osma in 1203 when his superior, Bishop Diego, took him on a royal mission abroad. In southern France, the heart of the Cathar heresy, Dominic got to know the Albigenses. He was so impressed by their puritanism that he sought to win them over by an austerity equal to theirs. In 1205 the bishop and his subprior visited Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216) in Rome. This pope, who pushed his office to the height of its prestige and power, refused the Spanish monks permission to preach to the "pagans" and instead sent Dominic and his band of poor preaching friars to Languedoc to talk the Albigenses out of their "heresy." Dominic and his preachers became known as the Dominicans.

The religious war against the Albigensians became a Crusade when the papal legate Pierre de Castelnau, a Cistercian monk, was murdered near Saint-Gilles (1208), purportedly by an agent of Count Raymond de Toulouse (Raymond VI, 1156–1222), an Albigensian noble and brother-in-law of King John of England. Comparing the "Cathari" to the hated "Saracens," Pope Innocent III proclaimed the "Albigensian

Crusade." The religious war between the Roman Catholic Church and the Albigenses was joined by political powers seeking to exploit it for their own ends. King Philippe Auguste of France, who had played a key role in the Third Crusade, backed Simon de Montfort (1165–1218), leader of the Catholic forces. King Pedro of Aragón (Peter II, 1174–1213) backed Count Raymond de Toulouse, who led the Albigenses.

In 1209 Count Raymond of Toulouse, in seeming penance, switched sides, joining the Crusaders against the Albigenses. But northern French noblemen, seeking land in the south, invaded Raymond's lands, and Raymond once again switched sides and fought with the Albigenses against the Crusaders. At the Battle of Muret (1213), near Toulouse, Simon de Montfort defeated Pedro de Aragón and Raymond de Toulouse. Pedro was killed; Raymond fled. Toulouse was ravaged; its people, Cathar and non-Cathar alike, were massacred. The Albigensian "heresy" was crushed.

Two years later (1215) the victorious Pope Innocent III convened the Fourth Lateran Council in Rome to crown his achievements against the "heretics" and to set the dogma of the Roman Catholic Church. The council was attended by thirteen hundred clergymen from all over the Latin Christian world. It excommunicated the count of Toulouse, condemned the tract of the Italian Christian mystic Gioacchino da Fiore (Joachim of Flora, 1130/35–1201/2), awarded the county of Toulouse to Simon de Montfort, and ruled, among other things, that in the transubstantiation of the Eucharist the bread and wine of the sacrament were literally transformed into the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ.

The Fourth Lateran Council decreed that all Jews and "Saracens" must stay in their ghettos, wear distinctive dress, and carry a distinctive mark, ring-shaped double circles, on a clearly visible part of their garment, to distinguish them from Christians. This was designed to prevent Jews and Muslims from "defiling" Christian blood by sexual relations. The Star of David, an old non-Jewish magical symbol, was *not* the *Kennenzeichen* (identifying mark) of the medieval Jews. Only centuries later did the Star of David become the Jewish emblem. The German Jews became victims of the host-desecration libel in 1243.

The Dominicans set up an Inquisition to try the "heretics" who refused to embrace Catholicism. In 1217 the narcissistically injured and enraged Count Raymond de Toulouse exacted vengeance from his enemies. With the help of Aragón he occupied the city of Toulouse, which was soon besieged by Simon de Montfort. In 1218 Simon de Montfort was killed in battle. His elder son Amaury de Montfort (Amalric, d. 1241) was defeated in war (1229), lost his father's lands in Languedoc to King Louis le Lion (Louis VIII, 1187–1226) and in 1231 was made *dapifer Franciae* (constable or seneschal of France). Simon's younger son, also named Simon de Montfort (1208–65), was the earl of Leicester, who led the Barons' Revolt against King Henry III of England in 1262–65 and ruled England briefly. During the 1262 riots some seven hundred Jews were massacred. During the entire reign of Henry III (r. 1216–72) the English Jews were repeatedly expelled from various towns, accused of ritual murder, persecuted, and killed. The war between the Catholics and the Albigensians raged until 1229, when Raymond's son, Count Raymond VII de Toulouse (1197–

1249), capitulated honorably and the Peace of Paris gave the county of Toulouse to King Louis IX of France (Saint Louis, 1226–70).

Thirteenth-century Christian Europe was obsessed with the Jews. “Saint Louis” was devoted to the Catholic Church, led the Seventh Crusade (1248–54), was captured by the “Saracens,” was ransomed, returned to France, and sought to convert the Jews. Jean de Joinville (1224–1317) was the seneschal of Champagne, the king’s companion, and author of the *Livre des saintes paroles et des bons faits de notre roi Louis* (Book of holy words and good deeds of our king Louis), better known as *Histoire de Saint Louis*. Joinville quoted Louis as saying that while moderate priests may argue with Jews, laymen who hear the Christian faith defamed must kill the blasphemer upon the spot. Spain did not lag behind France. In 1233 the Inquisition was set up in Aragón. In 1238 Pope Gregory IX (c. 1170–1241) appointed the Catalan Dominican friar Ramón de Penyafort (Saint Raymond of Peñafort, 1185–1275), father-confessor of King Jaime el Conquistador (James the Conqueror, 1208–76), as head of the Dominican Order and inquisitor general for Aragon and Castile.

Ramón de Penyafort set up Arabic and Hebrew schools so that his Dominicans could better do their missionary work among the Muslims and better refute Jewish arguments at public disputations. One of Penyafort’s preachers was a converted Jew named Pablo Christiani. In 1263 the Inquisition forced the Spanish Jews to hold a public disputation with Pablo Christiani at the Catalan capital of Barcelona. In 1269 Louis IX of France forced the Jews to attend Pablo Christiani’s sermons. The Jews, who suffered greatly under Dominican persecution, called the Dominicans *Domini canes* (the Lord’s dogs). Louis IX was killed during his North African Crusade at Tunis (1270) and canonized (1298).

Germany and England kept up with France and Spain in persecuting the Jews. Roger of Wendover (d. 1236) reported in his *Flores historiarum* that in 1228 an Armenian archbishop visiting the English monastery of Saint Albans reported that the Wandering Jew who had taunted Jesus Christ on his way to the Cross (John 18:22) was well known in the Orient and his name was Joseph Cartaphilus. In 1252 other Armenians visiting Saint Albans confirmed this report (Paris 1872–73, 3:161, 5:340). Judaism was considered a heresy. In 1235 the Jews of the Franconian German towns of Fulda, Lauda, and Tauber-Bischofsheim were charged with the ritual murder of Christian children. On Christmas Eve 1235 the house of a Fulda miller was set afire by Crusader gangs and his five sons were burned alive. The Jews were accused of the arson, and several were hanged or burned at the stake. In 1236 “Holy Roman” Emperor Friedrich II and Pope Innocent IV proclaimed that they had investigated these charges and found them false. This did not change the mind of most Christians, who fervently believed them to be true. Over a century later, in 1348, the year of the plague, after fifty years of violent persecution of the German Jews, Pope Clement VI (c. 1291–1352) similarly announced that the plague was the hidden will of God and that the Jews were not to blame for it. “The papal statement did not have the slightest effect” (Ben-Sasson 1976:487). The Christians’ anxiety and their need to blame the “devilish” Jews were too powerful.

34

Disputations and Inquisitions

Following the disastrous Crusades, the Jews of the “Holy Roman Empire” became bones of contention between kings, popes, and emperors. During the Great Interregnum (1250–73) there was no clearly defined emperor. The Hohenstaufen dynasty died out and the Habsburg dynasty had not yet come to power. In 1256 several English, Dutch, and Spanish princes, including Richard, earl of Cornwall (1209–72) and Alfonso el Sabio of Castile and León (Alphonse the Wise, or Alfonso X, 1221–84), vied for the imperial crown. The need for power and greed both have infantile roots. Power assuages early feelings of helplessness; greed is the baby’s need to take in endlessly so as not to feel empty. The greedy German princes and the power-hungry “foreign” contenders used each other. Bribing the seven German *Kurfürsten* (elector princes) was the only way to get the imperial crown.

Richard of Cornwall, the richest nobleman in England, bought four of the seven German electoral votes, and was elected “King of the Romans.” At least one German *Kurfürst* must have sold his vote to both contenders, for Alfonso el Sabio also bought four electoral votes, and was elected “Holy Roman” Emperor. But Alfonso was too busy suppressing the revolts of the Moroccans, Granadans, and Murcians in Muslim Andalusia to go to Germany, and lost the crown. Richard of Cornwall was crowned at Aachen in 1257 by Pope Alexander IV. Richard further bribed the German Rhineland princes into accepting him as their king and returned to England in early 1259.

The wars between pope and emperor went on. The protagonists were now Pope Clement IV (d. 1268) and King Ottokar II of Bohemia (1230–78). Ottokar was the son of King Václav of Bohemia and Moravia (Wenceslas I, 1205–53), who had brought Austria under his crown. The Central European Christian rulers passionately hated the “pagans” who did that which they longed to do but had to repress into unconsciousness. Ottokar II conducted bloody crusades against the “heathen” of East Prussia and Lithuania, and exploited the weakness of his fellow princes to seize their lands and build a great kingdom from Silesia to the Adriatic sea. Ottokar II became the most powerful prince of the “Holy Roman Empire.” He proclaimed the rights of the Jews as *servi camerae nostrae* (serfs of our chamber).

The pope angrily denounced King Ottokar for having trampled under foot the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). That council had ruled that Jews and “Saracens” must wear distinctive clothing to prevent sexual contact with Christians.

In 1267 the pope convened two church councils, one in the Silesian capital of Breslau (Wrocław) for Poland and Silesia, the other in Vienna (Vindobona) for Austria and Bohemia. These councils ruled that Christians must not buy food from Jews because it might be poisoned (Trachtenberg 1983:100) and that Jews must wear distinctive marks on their clothing and have no commercial or sexual traffic with Christians. In 1268 King Ottokar II defiantly proclaimed the rights of the Jews who "belonged to his royal treasury."

In 1268 Pope Clement IV died and the papacy went vacant for three years. The European Christian crusading fantasies had not died out. In 1271 Pope Gregory X (1210–76) succeeded to the seat of Saint Peter. When Richard of Cornwall died (1272), the pope made a deal with the most powerful contender for the "Holy Roman" imperial crown, Count Rudolf of Habsburg (1218–91). The pope would support Rudolf's election as king of the Romans (German king) and "Holy Roman Emperor" if Rudolf led a new Crusade and left Italy to the pope. In 1273 Rudolf of Habsburg was elected German king at Frankfurt and crowned at Aachen. Pope Gregory X recognized Rudolf as "Holy Roman" Emperor after Rudolf agreed to renounce all imperial rights in Rome, the papal states, and Italy and to lead the new Crusade.

The Habsburg dynasty had begun in the German land of Aargau, now part of Switzerland. Gunther (Guntram the Rich), the Habsburg family ancestor, may have been the Count Gunther who in 950 had rebelled against the German king Otto I. In 1020 Gunther's grandson Count Radbot and his brother-in-law Bishop Werner of Strassburg built a castle on the Aare River in Aargau, which they called the Habichtsburg (Hawk's Citadel). The name was eventually shortened to Habsburg, becoming the name of a great royal German-Austrian dynasty. In 1240 the city of Aarau was founded near the Habichtsburg by the count of Kyburg, and in 1264 the Habsburgs took it over and moved their seat of power there. In 1415 Aarau was taken by the Bernese, and Aargau became Swiss.

After Rudolf of Habsburg was elected German king by the seven *Kurfürsten* (1273), King Ottokar II of Bohemia and Moravia, who wanted the imperial crown for himself, angrily contested Rudolf's election. Rudolf was never formally crowned "Roman" Emperor by the pope, who knew the Latin phrase *dividere et impere* well. Ottokar had a powerful rival in Rudolf. Had Ottokar submitted to the uncrowned emperor, he might have kept his lands and his power. But like many a king, Ottokar's narcissistic grandiosity was his undoing. He alienated both rival princes and his own nobility. In 1274 Ottokar refused to appear before the Reichstag of Regensburg (Imperial Diet of Ratisbon), which divested him of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia. In 1276 Rudolf placed Ottokar under the ban of the empire, invaded Austria, and forced Ottokar to renounce all his territories save Bohemia and Moravia in the Treaty of Vienna (November 1276). This was a deep narcissistic injury to Ottokar. The humiliated Ottokar reinvaded Rudolf's Austria, only to be killed by Rudolf's soldiers at the Battle of Dürnkrut on the Marchfeld River (1278).

In 1282 Rudolf of Habsburg jointly invested his sons Albrecht (Albert I, 1255–1308) and Rudolf (Rudolf II of Austria) with Österreich (Austria), Steiermark (Styria,

now in Austria), and Krain (Carniola or Kranjska, now in Slovenia). The Austrians must not have liked having two kings, for in 1283 the Treaty of Rheinfelden removed Rudolf and made Albrecht sole ruler. When Rudolf I died (1291), his son Albrecht was displaced by Count Adolf of Nassau (1250–98), who had bribed the German electors and was crowned German king at Aachen (1292). A bloody war of succession broke out between Albrecht and Adolf, which lasted seven years (1291–98).

FIFTY YEARS OF HORROR

When Adolf of Nassau's lands and power grew, the unhappy German *Kurfürsten* deposed him at Mainz and elected Albrecht of Habsburg German king (23 June 1298). Adolf fought to regain his throne but was killed in battle near Grödlheim (2 July 1298). Albrecht was reelected German king at Frankfurt (27 July 1298). The German Jews were pawns in this struggle. In 1298 they were massacred in the Franconian town of Röttingen, south of Würzburg, when a rumor spread that the Jews had stolen the *hostia mirifica* from the local Christian church and desecrated it. A rabble-rouser named Rindfleisch (Beef) led a mob that massacred the Jews of Röttingen and went on to murder the Jews of the Bavarian towns of Rothenburg, Würzburg, and Nürnberg, raiding all of Bavaria and Austria. No less than 140 Jewish communities were plundered and slaughtered. The killing stopped only when Albrecht of Habsburg, friend of the serfs and protector of the Jews, was crowned German king at Aachen (24 August 1298). Once again heretical and decidal feelings were unconsciously but massively projected upon the Jews. The Rindfleisch massacres were followed by fifty years of violent persecutions (1298–1348), culminating in the Black Death massacres of 1348–49 (Ben-Sasson 1976:486–87). Pope Clement VI's feeble attempts to defend the Jews were of no avail.

APOSTASIES AND DISPUTATIONS

The Greek word *apostasia* means "turning away" or "withdrawing." During the first centuries of Christianity the term "apostate" came to designate Jewish converts to Christianity. Jewish "apostates," unconsciously externalizing their self-hate, often became savage enemies of their erstwhile brethren. In 1239 Nicolas Donin de La Rochelle, an "apostate" Jew turned Dominican priest, denounced the Jews in a letter to Pope Gregory IX (c. 1147–1241). The pope was busy waging a bitter power struggle with "Holy Roman" Emperor and German king Friedrich (Frederick II, 1194–1250), whom he had just excommunicated for the second time. Under this emperor banking became a recognized European profession, gold currency was introduced, and Italian merchants began to replace the Jews as Europe's moneylenders (LaMonte 1949:366).

Donin's letter said (correctly) that the Aramaic-Hebrew Talmud contained anti-Christian texts. These texts were written in early Christian times; the Jewish sages

saw Christianity as a threat to Judaism and angrily called Jesus of Nazareth "Mary's whoreson." Pope Gregory ordered all Talmud manuscripts seized and examined for anti-Christian statements. The French Dominicans, eager to obey, entered the Paris Jewish synagogues on 3 March 1240 and seized their books. They forced the Jews into a public "disputation" concerning the Talmud in Paris on 12 June 1240, with Nicolas Donin debating four Jewish scholars led by Yekhiel ben Joseph. The Jews lost because they believed in the Talmud as a holy writ, and the Talmud does contain polemics and curses against Jesus Christ and against all Christians. A church tribunal found the Talmud guilty of blasphemy. The Jewish leaders bribed a priest in the French court, who talked the king into annulling the order, and in 1242 the Dominicans of Paris burned twenty-four cartloads of all the manuscripts of the Talmud they could find.

The disputations with the Christians led to the creation of a new genre of Jewish learning (Ben-Sasson 1976:553–60). While Jewish scholars denigrated the great Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals as "ugly abysses" (Ben-Sasson 1976:554), they answered such questions as "Why are the Gentiles white and handsome and the Jews black and ugly?" not with a simple "Rubbish" but with the convoluted explanation that Christian women, who had sexual intercourse during menstruation, gave their children a reddish complexion, and that when Gentiles make love they are surrounded by beautiful paintings (Wagenseil 1681:251–52). The Jews had internalized the bad Christian image of themselves. They had developed an evil self.

In 1263 the Jewish scholar Nahmanides (Moses ben Nahman, 1194–1270) was summoned by King Jaime el Conquistador of Aragón (1208–76) to face his Christian foes at a disputation in Barcelona. They were the Jewish "apostate" Pablo Christiani and the Catalan Dominican priest Ramón de Penyafort, who tried to restrict Nahmanides to "not saying insults." The Jewish sage obtained permission from the king to answer as he pleased. He successfully argued that the ancient talmudic texts were not binding upon the Jews. The Jews had won a temporary reprieve, but Christian Jew-hatred grew. Disputations turned into libel, and libel into murder. In 1286 the Jews of Munich were charged with slaying Christian children and with drinking their blood.

During the thirteenth century the Jews of Spain enjoyed a privileged status in Castile, León, and Aragón. Many Jews rose to prominence in the Spanish courts. But at the end of the century the Jews began to feel the triple onslaught of the Spanish noblemen, the cities, and the Church. The noblemen imposed their rights upon the Spanish kings by means of the Cortes (parliament). The Spanish cities were united in *hermandades* (brotherhoods) to protect their own rights. The Spanish Catholics were spearheaded by priests and bishops. King Sancho el Bravo (Sancho IV of Castile and León, 1257–95) appointed the Jewish Ibn Waqars as his personal court physicians; they witnessed the signing of his will. When Sancho died (1295) he was succeeded by his widow, the warrior queen Maria de Molina, then the regent, who dominated her son Don Fernando (Ferdinand IV, 1285–1312), the new king, then only ten years old.

Don Fernando's Jewish councillor, Don Samuel, narrowly escaped assassination

by agents of the ruthless Maria de Molina. Fernando IV had a turbulent life. His throne was threatened by many pretenders, and he resented his mother's control of him as regent. His rage was unconsciously displaced to the Muslim Moors. After failing to seize Algeciras in southern Spain from the Moors and capturing Gibraltar, he died mysteriously at the age of twenty-seven, being succeeded by his son, Alfonso el Justiciero (Alphonse the Just, or Alfonso XI, 1311–50). But Maria de Molina was still regent, and it was not until 1325 that Alfonso became king. He made the Jewish physician Samuel ibn Waqar his personal physician and another Jew named Joseph ben Ephraim ibn Benveniste de Ecya his treasurer.

The Order of Alcántara was a Spanish Christian military order founded in 1156 by Don Suero Fernández Barrientos to defend Christian Spain against the Moors. In 1177 it was recognized in a special papal bull issued by Pope Alexander III. In 1218 King Alfonso IX of León gave it the town of Alcántara, and its knights defended the southern borders of Christian Spain with the Moorish kingdoms. In its fourteenth-century heyday the order numbered one hundred thousand knights and became quite wealthy. Gonzalo Martinez, Alfonso XI's minister of state, was also grand master of the Order of Alcántara, which was one of the great military religious orders of medieval Spain.

Gonzalo Martinez, the valorous knight, was jealous of the two Jewish courtiers and accused them of embezzlement of royal funds and financial incompetence. In 1337 Martinez talked King Alfonso XI into arresting the two Jews and trying them for state crimes. Benveniste died in prison, and Ibn Waqar was tortured to death. Two years later Martinez defeated the emir of Granada, seizing Algeciras and becoming a Spanish military hero. But fate has its tragic ironies. King Alfonso's lover, Leonora de Guzmán, talked the king into recalling Martinez to Madrid. Martinez rebelled at the head of his Knights of Alcántara but was defeated by his king, captured, tried for high treason, and burned at the stake.

In 1295 a Spanish Jewish mystic named Abner de Burgos was greatly excited by the messianic mystics around a Jew called the Prophet of Ávila, who believed he was the Messiah. This Messiah's followers were discouraged when Christian crosses mysteriously appeared on their garments in the synagogue. In 1321 Abner de Burgos underwent a deep personal religious crisis, converting to Christianity and calling himself Alfonso de Valladolid. He began to attack the Jews vociferously, writing venomous tracts against them in both Hebrew and Spanish. His epistles were answered satirically by Isaac ben Joseph ibn Pulgar, which only made the "apostate" more furious. In 1336 Abner de Burgos got King Alfonso XI of Castile to issue a royal decree forbidding the ancient execration of Jewish apostates. In 1348, the year of the Black Death, King Alfonso issued a further decree forbidding Jews and Muslims from lending money at interest and from collecting their debts. Baer (1961–66, 1:354) angrily denounced the "fanatical apostate" whose "malice-filled homilies" paved the way for the anti-Jewish riots of 1391.

St. Francis of Assisi (1181–1226) preached austerity, penance, and poverty, and in 1209 founded the Franciscan Order. The thirteenth century saw the rapid rise of the

Franciscans, who soon split into rival camps—that of the zealous Spirituals, known as the Fraticelli, and that of the community-oriented Conventuals. Pope John XXII of Avignon (d. 1334) favored the latter. In 1322 he put the Franciscans on the same level as the other monastic orders, and in 1323 ended their narcissistic boast that their way was the most perfect. By 1325 the Conventuals became dominant. In 1328 the Jews of Navarra were massacred when the murderous mob was inflamed by a Franciscan monk named Pedro Olligoyen.

The zealous Franciscan Spirituals were supplanted during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century by the Friars Minor of the Observance, known as the Observants, a more extremist, fanatical, and ascetic sect led by the fiery monks Bernardino da Siena (Little Bernard of Siena, 1380–1444), Giovanni da Capistrano (John Capistranus, 1386–1456), and Giacomo da Gangala (James of the March, 1394–1476). In 1426 these firebrand monks destroyed the Fraticelli houses, burnt the Fraticelli at the stake, and sought to reconcile the Hussites, but were unable to reconcile their own Franciscan Observants with their Franciscan Conventuals brethren. They took a leading role in persecuting the Jews.

Other disputations (religious trials) took place in 1375 at Burgos and Ávila in Castile. The “prosecutor” was once more a Jewish “apostate,” one named Juan de Valladolid; the “defendant” was a Jew named Moses de Tordesillas. Pedro Cardinal de Luna (1328–1423), the future anti-pope Benedict XIII (r. 1394–1423), disputed with the Jewish sage Shemtob (ibn) Shaprut. The Jewish scholars wrote entire books to prepare future disputants to refute the arguments of their haters. After the riots of 1391, another Spanish Jew, Salomón haLevi (1352–1435), turned “apostate” and pursued a Christian clerical career. He became Bishop Paul of Burgos and took part in the Tortosa disputation of 1413.

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

The Jews of medieval England were also persecuted. Medieval Englishmen, like other Europeans, believed in monsters, vampires, ghouls, witchcraft, demons, and Satan as real entities. Their unconscious internalized archaic, devouring mother imago was externalized and projected upon outer reality, of which the Jews were part (Neumann 1970a: 148–49). Filicidal feelings were projected upon the strange, evil Jews. As we have seen, in 1144 the Jews of Norwich were accused of torturing and crucifying a Christian victim, and in 1255 the Jews of Lincoln were accused of crucifying a Christian boy and removing his bowels for purposes of witchcraft. Medieval Jews did in fact believe in magic and witchcraft, but never practiced what they had been accused of. They were in fact “excluded from the medieval fraternity of sorcerers and witches” (Trachtenberg 1984:15).

After much persecution and suffering, the Jews were banished from England in 1290 by the Plantagenet king Edward I (1239–1307). His apparent motive was greed. Edward had begun his reign in 1274 with a large indebtedness incurred by the Crusades.

Through acts of Parliament he had levied taxes and customs duties on all movable goods and borrowed heavily from the Italian bankers, who had replaced the Jews as Europe's moneylenders. Edward's customs revenues were security for these loans. The Jews had been forced into usurious moneylending, which made them unpopular. Royal exploitation had impoverished them, and they no longer had as much money to lend as before; the Italian bankers did. Edward no longer needed the Jews. In return for one of his taxes, granted by Parliament, he agreed to expel them. Edward proceeded to seize the Jews' property, which he needed to finance his wars. The king also confiscated the goods of the Knights Templar (LaMonte 1949:488).

In 1381 began the Peasants' Revolt in England, led by Wat Tyler, John Ball, and John Litster. Its immediate cause was the imposition of a highly unpopular poll tax by the government of the fourteen-year-old King Richard II (1367–1400). The peasants, who were treated as less than human and as the property of the feudal lords, had been furious for a long time. Artisans, *villeins* (serfs), and destitute people joined their rebellion. After some rebel victories, King Richard promised the peasants cheap land, free trade, and the abolition of serfdom and forced labor; but Wat Tyler was treacherously killed and the king forgot his promises. The oppressed peasants hated the Jews.

The absence of Jews from England after 1290 did not prevent the English people from holding the worst opinion of them. It may even have reinforced their unconscious projections and externalizations. Chaucer described in *The Prioress's Tale* how the evil Jews had seized and murdered an innocent Christian child and were executed en masse. Shakespeare had the witches in *Macbeth* throw the "liver of a blaspheming Jew" into their roiling cauldron.

The persecution of the Jews was also rampant in France. The kings of France gradually annexed the dukedoms and principalities around them. The persecution of the Albigensian "heretics" ended with the annexation of Toulouse, Provence, and most of southern France to the French crown in 1229. In 1246 the Council of Béziers ratified the ancient discriminatory prohibitions against the Jews. King Louis IX of France (Saint Louis, 1214–70) could not stand the Jews either. He sought to convert them to Christianity. In 1269 Saint Louis forced the Jews to attend the sermons of the Catholic preacher and Jewish convert Pablo Christiani.

The kings of France gradually expanded their realm. In 1271 Philippe le Hardi (Philip the Bold, or Philip III, 1245–85), second son of Saint Louis, acquired the rest of Languedoc. Philip's eldest son, Louis, died in his youth (1276). In 1284 Philippe's second son, Philippe le Bel (Philip the Fair, or Philip IV, 1268–1314) acquired Champagne. Philippe le Bel became king of France upon his father's death the following year (1285). LaMonte (1949:464) called Philippe a "handsome, friendly, modest man." On Good Friday, 26 March 1288, in Troyes, Champagne, a Christian mob destroyed the house of a wealthy, learned Jew named Isaac Chatelin. He, his entire family, and eight other Jews were arrested and falsely accused of murdering Christians. They were tried by the Inquisition, headed by the king's own father confessor. Thirteen Jews were burned at the stake. The Jewish response to this horror was to compose elegies and lamentations in Hebrew and in a Hebrew-scripted Old French dialect.

Philippe le Bel incurred very heavy expenses and losses by greatly expanding his government payroll, fighting disastrous wars with England and Flanders, and pursuing a prolonged conflict with Pope Boniface VIII, which led to the infamous "Crime of Anagni" (1303). Philip's minister Guillaume de Nogaret denounced Pope Boniface as a heretic, a simonist, and a sinner, and demanded the convening of a church council to try the pope. Boniface intended to publish a *bull*a excommunicating Philip le Bel. Nogaret went to Anagni with his king's troops. A day before the pope was to publish his bull, Nogaret seized the pope and his troops pillaged Anagni. Two days later Nogaret abandoned Anagni and Boniface, who soon died (11 October 1303). In 1304 the new pope, Benedict XI Blessed, excommunicated Nogaret, but he too died shortly thereafter. All these wars and conflicts drained Philippe's treasury.

In 1305 Philippe le Bel lost his beloved wife Jeanne of Champagne, the former queen of Navarre, whom he had married twenty years earlier and who was a devout, scholarly follower of Saint Louis. Philip, who had already lost his brother and his father, could not mourn his great loss. He considered abdicating his throne, consolidating the Crusader orders and assuming the kingship of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the "Holy Land." If war is the "paranoid elaboration" of mourning, Philippe le Bel is a good case in point. Unable to mourn his loss of his beloved wife, he unconsciously turned his great grief into righteous rage at the Jews. In 1306 Philippe expelled the Jews from France, seizing their property and confiscating all debts owed to them. Philippe treated the Jews much like his grandfather, Saint Louis, did. They were Christ's murderers and he was the crime's avenger. Philippe also attacked the Knights Templar, who had served as his own financial agents, because they opposed his efforts to unite the Crusader orders. In 1307 Philippe raided the Knights Templar in France and seized their property. Philippe le Bel died in 1314 amid a general revolt against his economic measures. LaMonte (1949:469–70) observed the irrationality and self-destructiveness of Philippe le Bel's actions:

Philip managed to get along with extraordinary expedients. He collected the regular scutages and tallages on towns, taxed the clergy, nobles and commons and employed all the ordinary means of taxation; but these were not enough and he resorted to special confiscations of the property of the Jews in 1306, of the Templars in 1308 to 1311 and of the Lombard bankers in 1311. These spoliations of the Jews and Lombards were severe blows to the prosperity of the country and the fairs of Champagne particularly suffered from the withdrawal of the Italian bankers. Philip also attempted to debase the coinage from the standard which had been established by St. Louis. The crisis which resulted . . . was so great that he restored it to its full value, only to debase it again somewhat later. This continuous shifting in the value of money was of course the worst possible thing for business.

During the thirteenth century the Jewish scholars of France and Spain were busy fighting one another. Maimonides' Arabic-language books were translated into Hebrew, Latin, and other languages. His new rationalism won enemies among orthodox Jews because it threatened their comforting belief in talmudic myth. The Provençal

Talmudist Solomon ben Abraham of Montpellier attacked Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed*, as did Rabbis Jonah ben Abraham of Gerona (Jonah Gerondi, d. 1264) and David ben Saul. The rabbis of northern France joined them in banning Maimonides' books and all other nontraditional philosophy (1232). The Maimonideans of Lunel, Béziers, and Narbonne retaliated by banning the three Talmudists.

Nahmanides (Rabbi Moses ben Nahman of Gerona, 1195–1270) was unable to reconcile the feuding Talmudists and Maimonideans. The furious Solomon ben Abraham of Montpellier and Jonah Gerondi appealed to the Dominican heads of the Papal Inquisition, who had Maimonides' books burned publicly in Montpellier and Paris (1233). The Maimonideans in turn told the Inquisition that their talmudic enemies had given false evidence. Some Talmudists were punished by having their tongues cut out. In 1242 the talmudic texts were burned publicly in Paris. Jonah Gerondi had an inner conversion, feeling that he had committed a grave sin, and atoned for it by writing his *Shaaray Teshuva* (Gates of penitence).

The great Jewish scholarly dispute was revived a couple of generations later. In 1288 a fanatical northern French Jewish Kabbalist named Salomon Petit (Shlomoh Katan) traveled through Europe and the Middle East, agitating against Maimonides. He was embraced by the Orthodox German rabbis, who hated Maimonides' modern views, and proceeded to Italy and Palestine. Salomon Petit was denounced by the Maimonidean rabbi Hillel of Verona (1220–95), who wrote to his friend, the pope's personal physician, as well as to the Jews of Egypt and Palestine, warning them against Salomon Petit and challenging him to a public disputation. The Oriental Jews banned Salomon Petit.

THE PLAGUE AND THE JEWS

The fourteenth century was a time of great political upheaval, economic setbacks, and social unrest in Europe (Barracrough 1982:56). The feudal German lords fought their autocratic kings. The "Holy Roman Empire" of Germany and Italy broke up into principalities. The Diet of Frankfurt (1310), convened by the German king and "Holy Roman" Emperor Heinrich of Luxembourg (Henry VII, 1269/12–1313), awarded Bohemia, with the consent of the Bohemian estates, to Henry's son Johann. In 1312 Henry became the "Holy Roman" Emperor. In 1314 Ludwig von Wittelsbach (Louis the Bavarian, or Louis IV, 1283–1347) became German king.

In 1315–17 there was famine in Europe, which in no way stopped its rulers' power struggles. In a striking psychohistorical fantasy, the popes called their exile to Avignon their "Babylonian captivity." The phrase was coined by Petrarch and enthusiastically adopted. In 1324 the power struggle between pope and emperor led Pope John XXII (d. 1334) to excommunicate Ludwig von Wittelsbach, who refused to acknowledge the pope's authority to approve his election. The king warned the German elector princes that their rights and powers were endangered by the subjection of his election to papal approval. The princes supported their king. In 1327 Ludwig von

Wittelsbach accepted the iron crown of Lombardy in Milan, and in 1328 he received the "Holy Roman" crown in Rome from the Roman people's representatives, rather than from the pope, who refused to crown him.

As usual, it was an oedipal struggle. The young king fought the aging Holy Father. Ludwig von Wittelsbach issued a decree deposing the pope. An incompetent anti-pope was appointed. The struggle went on. Pope John XXII died in 1334 and was succeeded by Benedict XII (d. 1342). After four more years of struggle the six German elector princes issued the Declaration of Rhens (1338), proclaiming their right to elect the emperor and declaring that the German king-elect became "Holy Roman" Emperor without waiting for the pope to crown him. The Diet of Frankfurt (1338) ratified their declaration. In 1356 the golden bull of the Czech-born "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles IV (Václav Karel of Bohemia or Wenceslas Carl of Luxembourg, 1316–78) reaffirmed the princes' rights, naming the seven *Kurfürsten*, and fixed the three classes (estates) of German society—the electors, the princes and the burghers of the imperial cities.

In 1334 the bubonic plague, then known as the Black Death, broke out in the Byzantine capital of Constantinople. In 1346 it appeared in the Crimea, and in 1348–49 it raged throughout Europe. Unlike the outbreak of the pneumonic plague in India in 1994, there were no antibiotics. The people of Europe died by the millions. They lived in constant fear, terrified of touching one another, deeply suspicious of everything and everybody. (The great Swedish film director Ingmar Bergman captured the atmosphere in his film *The Seventh Seal*.) Amid all the sufferings and upheavals, the Jews became the scapegoats. The special ferocity of the Christian hatred of the Jews was due to their terrible fear of the plague, which they could neither understand nor prevent. The medieval Christians attributed it to the hated Jews and to the devil, which in their minds were one and the same.

We now know what the people of the fourteenth century did not, namely, that the bubonic plague was a highly infectious, malignant, epidemic, and acute febrile disease caused by a bacterium later named *Pasteurella pestis*. The germ is transmitted to human beings by fleas from infected rats. The bubonic plague is characterized by high fever, chills, prostration, delirium, enlarged and painful lymph nodes that suppurate and discharge, black hemorrhages, and blood poisoning (septicemia). Death comes in three to four days. The plague quickly spread through Europe via rats and returning Crusaders. In 1348–68 the plague wiped out three-fourths of the European and Asian population and left the survivors deeply traumatized. The people of Europe were terrified. They searched for explanations and could not find any. This led to widespread paranoia fueled by unconscious projection and externalization.

In southern France and northern Spain the Jews were blamed for the plague. Rumors spread that the Jews had poisoned the wells and springs of Europe in order to kill the Christians, and the Christians believed it. The persecution of the Jews spread all over central, western, and southwestern Europe. In Switzerland and Savoy, Jews were tortured on the rack to make them confess their crimes. A Jewish physician named Balavini "confessed" under torture that a Toledo Jew named Jacob Pescata,

along with the rabbi of Chambray and another Jew, had delivered the poison to all the other Jews. The poison, he said, was concocted from the dried-up bodies of snakes, frogs, and scorpions, from holy wafer dough, and from Christian hearts.

This fantastic story was fervently believed by the Christians. In the Savoy, in September 1348, Jews were burned en masse at the stake. This was followed by the public burnings of Jews in the Swiss-German cantons and cities of Aargau, Bern, Basel, Zurich, Freiburg, Constance, Schaffhausen, and Überlingen, and in the Alsatian city of Strassburg. In January 1349 the Alsatian burghers, noblemen, and clergy met at Benfeld, between Strassburg and Colmar, to discuss the fate of the Jews. The city fathers of Strassburg defended the Jews, but they were outnumbered and outshouted by those who blamed the Jews for the plague. *On 14 February 1349 the entire Jewish community of Strassburg, some two thousand souls, were locked up in a wooden building in the Jewish cemetery and burned alive.* Their property was divided among their murderers. When the Strassburgers found a ritual shofar in a Jewish synagogue, they were certain it was a trumpet used by the Jews to betray the city to the enemy, and for the next four centuries the shofar was sounded in Strassburg twice daily.

In Catholic Spain, which then consisted of Castile and Aragón, Jewish communities were plundered. While the Jews of Castile enjoyed some security (Ben-Sasson 1976:488), widespread rioting broke out in Aragón. The courts began to torture Jews. The fanatical Flagellants came into the Jew-baiting picture. The Flagellants sought to cleanse themselves of their sins by beating and mutilating themselves in public. They may have been borderline or psychotic. They had grown into a mass movement around 1260 but had been suppressed by the Church.

With the plague, the Flagellant movement flared up again. They not only flagellated themselves but also tortured and killed the "heretical" Jews, whom they believed to have caused the plague. The horrors of Strassburg spread to all Germany. The violent persecution in Germany lasted throughout 1349. Jews were burned alive in the Rhenish cities of Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and Cologne. On 1 March 1349 the Jews of Worms burned themselves to death. Only in Mainz did the Jews offer serious armed resistance, killing some two hundred of their attackers. When the enraged Christian mob fell upon them with great fury, many Jews burned themselves to death. They saw their martyrdom as *Kiddush haShem*. On 24 August 1349, some six thousand Jews burned themselves at Mainz alone. In 1352 the Speyer City Council readmitted the Jews, declaring them "ours in respect of body and property" (Ben-Sasson 1976:563). The burning of the Jews did not stop along the Rhine but spread to Erfurt, Frankfurt on the Main, and Austria.

A NEW ORDER IN EUROPE

The fifteenth century saw terrible wars and bloodshed. The horrific "Hundred Years' War" between England and France, which actually lasted 116 years (1337–1453),

began when Edward of Windsor (Edward III of England, 1312–77) assumed the title of King of France (1337) and fought Philippe de Valois (Philip VI of France, 1293–1350) for control of Flanders. It was, among other things, a dynastic war between the Norman successors of William the Conqueror in England, who held the duchy of Guienne in France, and the French kings who exacted homage from them and were gaining increasing power over their feudal vassals. The Hundred Years' War brought death and devastation to much of western Europe. During the war, from 1378 to 1417, another Great Schism rocked the Roman Catholic Church and with it all of Christian Europe. There had already been a Great Schism between the Roman Catholic Church and Greek Orthodox Church in 1054, when the pope and the patriarch excommunicated each other. Now the split was within the Catholic Church. Personal power politics split the Church, and two lines of popes emerged: the popes in Rome and the antipopes at Avignon (France). There was great tension, suspicion, and hatred between the two lines.

It was no accident that during those years of inner anxiety, turmoil, insecurity, and instability the persecution of the Jews in Spain and elsewhere greatly intensified. The Spanish royal court had adopted Moorish customs, including the *fantasia*, in which light horsemen called *farfanés*, mounted and equipped in the Arab style, performed wild horseback riding and shooting in the air. In 1390 King Juan of Castile and León (John I, 1358–90) was killed during such a *fantasia* by falling off his horse and was succeeded by his ailing eleven-year-old son, Enrique el Doliente (Henry the Sufferer, or Henry III, 1379–1406). Enrique's regent let the fanatical Spanish priests preach passionate Jew-hatred. The archbishop of Seville also died, and in 1391 a wave of anti-Jewish riots broke out in Seville, the chief city of Andalusia. The massacres spread to Valencia in the east and to the rest of Spain. Many Jews were killed and many more were forcibly converted to Catholicism (the latter were known as *conversos*). Ben-Sasson (1976:569) attributed the riots to social and economic crises. While this may be true, the psychological processes must not be overlooked. The massive unconscious externalization of internal conflict was obvious.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the beginning of the great revolt against the Roman Catholic Church later known as the Reformation. In England John Wycliffe (1328–84) spearheaded the attack on established Catholic doctrine, especially that of transubstantiation. During the reign of "Holy Roman" Emperor Sigismund (1410–37), the Czechs' revolt against their Austrian overlords led to the movement of the Czech scholar Jan Hus (John Huss, 1372/73–1415) in Bohemia. Hus was burned at the stake (1415). The bloody religious wars between Catholics and Hussites in Bohemia and in Austria were known as the Hussite Wars.

Sigismund's son-in-law, Albrecht of Habsburg (Albert V, 1397–1439), became duke of Austria (1404) and fought on the Catholic side against the Hussites. He truly believed that the Jews desecrated the holy wafer and wine, which were the body and blood of Jesus Christ. In 1420 Albrecht expelled all the "common" Jews and arrested all the Jewish community leaders. On 12 March 1421 Duke Albrecht had some two hundred Jewish men and women burned alive at Enns in Upper Austria for having

"desecrated the holy wafer" and having refused to embrace Christianity. On that very day Duke Albrecht expelled all the Jews of Austria. The expulsion edict was revoked in 1431. In 1438 Duke Albrecht became king of Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia and "Holy Roman" Emperor Albert II.

Medieval German Jews were allowed a measure of self-government. In 1370 the Jews of Schweidnitz, Lower Silesia (now Swidnica, Poland), were granted permission to elect a four-man council. Jewish communities that could afford to do so were allowed to elect "bishops" (Bondy and Dworsky 1906, no. 145, pp. 74–75). In 1498 the Jews of Regensburg (Ratisbon), Bavaria, who were restricted to residence in the *Juden-Gasse* (Jews Street), had a ten-man governing council and thirty-one *boni viri* (good men) to regulate their lives (Straus 1964, no. 676, pp. 228–30). Their chief function was "to settle quarrels and prevent appeals to the gentile authorities" (Ben-Sasson 1976:593).

The Ottoman Turks from Central Asia were rapidly expanding their empire from Turkey to the Balkans and eastern Europe. They had defeated the Christian Magyars and their allies at Kosovo (1389) and at Nikopolis (1396). In 1444 the Ottoman sultan Murat (Murad II, 1404–51) signed the peace treaty of Szeged with King Wladyslaw Warnenczyk of Poland (Wladyslaw III, 1424–44), who in 1440 became King Ulászló I of Hungary, and with his Magyar ally Hunyadi János (John Huniades, 1407–56). In an obvious act of self-destruction, two days after signing the Peace of Szeged, Wladyslaw Warnenczyk broke the treaty, renewing the war on the Ottomans "in the name of religion." The Polish and Magyar armies were roundly defeated at Varna (now in Bulgaria) and Wladyslaw Warnenczyk was killed.

In 1446 Hunyadi János became governor of Hungary. In 1453, after many years of warfare, Ottoman sultan Mehmet Fatih (Mehmed the Conqueror, or Muhammad II, 1432–81) seized the Byzantine city of Constantinople, ending the Byzantine empire. Only Hunyadi János of Hungary was able to defeat the Ottomans at Belgrade (1456). The new Ottoman empire lasted until the First World War. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, many Spanish Jews settled in the Muslim Ottoman empire.

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN JEWRY

The religious Hussite Wars brought death and destruction to the Jews of Europe. In 1451 Pope Nicholas V (1397–1455), afraid of losing his hold on Christianity, dispatched the sixty-five year-old Franciscan monk Giovanni da Capistrano (John Capistranus, 1386–1456), to preach to the masses of Austria and Germany against the "heretical" Hussites and Jews. In 1448 the pope had reached an understanding with "Holy Roman" Emperor Friedrich III, and its acceptance by the rump Council of Basel led to the abdication of Nicholas's rival, the antipope Felix V, ending the schism. As a young man, in 1412, Capistrano had been the magistrate of the papal state of Perugia. He became embroiled in a quarrel with a powerful Perugino and was imprisoned.

Prison was no fun in those days, and young Giovanni suffered from great inner torment. While in prison, Capistrano underwent an emotional religious conversion and became a Franciscan monk upon his release in 1416.

In 1426 Capistrano was ordained a priest. He became a fiery preacher, whose burning ambition was to bring about doctrinal uniformity in the Church. Capistrano was a founder of the Franciscan Observants, an extremist group of ascetic friars. In Austria and Silesia he became known as the Scourge of the Jews. In 1453, the year Constantinople fell to the Ottomans, this fanatical monk's fiery sermons in the Silesian capital of Breslau (now Wrocław) so incited the Christian mob that they accused the Jews of killing Christian children and using their blood in baking their Passover bread. The mob fell upon the Breslau Jews and burned forty-one of them to death. Capistrano returned to Italy in triumph. In 1456 he led an army that liberated Belgrade from an Ottoman siege, but died of the plague on his return.

The powerful unconscious processes of splitting, projection, and externalization played a key role in the mass murder of the Jews by Christians, as they did later in the Holocaust. Filicide is the unconscious wish of every father—jealous of his son and angry with him, he is afraid of being displaced and even killed by him. Easter was the time of the killing of the Son of God, Jesus Christ. It was then that filicidal wishes came into powerful play, especially during the plague, when death was so terrifyingly real. These wishes were unconsciously projected upon the Jews.

How did the Jews react to all these libels, persecutions, burnings and killings? The Jews "adapted" to their own annihilation by accepting their martyr role and upholding their myth of election, which reinforced Christian fears, rage, and hatred (Ebel 1986). Rather than pick up and leave for safer havens, defend themselves by force of arms, or take any other realistic measures to save themselves, they resigned themselves to their martyrs' fate, believing that they were sanctifying the holy name of God.

The most important and most common Jewish reaction to catastrophe was the liturgical composition of *selihoth* (repentant prayers) (Yerushalmi 1982:45). The Jews asked their God to forgive *them* for their sins. They interpreted the dates of their own destruction by the meaning of the Hebrew letters designating the year in the Hebrew calendar (Roskies 1984:15–52). This was a ritualized denial of terrible reality, of death and of mourning. The Jews lived in desperate fantasy.

SIMON OF TRENT AND THE JUDENSAU

The Tyrol region has a colorful history. It is divided between Austria and Italy and has a mixed German and Italian population. The name Tyrol derives from a castle near Merano (Meran). The Tyrol was ruled by the bishops of Trent (Trient or Trento), for whom the counts of Tyrol were land agents. In the eleventh century the Tyrolean city of Brixen (Bressanone) became the seat of an ecclesiastical principality ruled by a bishop. In 1248 the counts of Tyrol acquired extensive lands from the bishop of Brixen, and by 1271 had replaced the bishops of Trent as the rulers of the region. The Tyrol

became Austrian in 1363 with the death of Princess Margaret of Carinthia and was ruled by the dukes of Lower Austria.

In the fifteenth century, as the Middle Ages waned and the modern era began (Huizinga 1954), the persecutions of the Jews in central and western Europe intensified. In 1462 the Jews of Brixen were accused of the ritual murder of the young Andreas (Andrew), a local boy. Many Jews were executed. That year the Jews of Mainz were expelled by Archbishop Adolf von Nassau. Later they were invited back, but in 1473 the Jews were summarily and finally expelled. In 1475 the Franciscan preacher-monk Bernardino da Feltre incited the Germans of Trent against the Jews, accusing them of the ritual murder of a two-year-old boy named Simon. The entire Jewish community of Trent was arrested; several were tried by the Holy Inquisition, tortured on the rack, found guilty, sentenced to die, and burned at the stake.

As mentioned, medieval Germans believed that the devilish Jews were mothered by a sow, called the *Judensau* (Jews' Sow), which both gave milk to them and shat in their mouths. The devil himself was the father of the Jews. In the German mind the *Judensau* became associated with the murder of Simon of Trent: both were depicted on a medieval bridge at Frankfurt (Shachar 1974; Trachtenberg 1983:26, 47, 137, 218). The Sow of the Jews is the end product of an unconscious externalization of the internalized archaic bad mother. The German Christians were unconsciously projecting their painful feelings and introjects upon the hapless Jews. For the German peasants, who lived with pigs and sows in their front or back yard, the sow was a natural unconscious symbol of the mother. Since pigs like to lie in the "dirt," all "dirty" human wishes can easily be projected upon them. The wish to eat excrement, for example, was expressed in the fantasy that the Jews ate the *Judensau's* feces.

In 1582 Pope Gregory XIII canonized the "martyred" Simon of Trent. The common people believed that the blood of little Saint Simon of Trent liquefied every year. Sigmund Freud related a fascinating slip of memory involving Simon of Trent (known to Freud scholars as the *aliquis* story) in his *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (Freud 1901:9–11). The Trent ritual-murder libel led to further calamities. In 1476 the Jews were expelled from the Tyrol, and in 1496 from Styria and Carinthia. It took five centuries for the Roman Catholic Church to admit its error. In 1965 Simon of Trent was finally decanonized by Pope Paul VI (1897–1978).

In 1493 the Jews of Magdeburg were expelled from the *Juden-Dorf* (Jews' Village) section of the city. Emperor Friedrich (Frederick III, 1440–93) prevented the feudal lords from killing the Jews and invited the Jews to return to the Austrian lands, but his successor Maximilian (Maximilian I, 1493–1519) abandoned the Jews to their fate. Throughout the fifteenth century the Jews were being expelled from the German cities, principalities, counties and duchies. In most cities the Jews were confined to certain areas—the *Judengasse*, *Judendorf*, or *Judenviertel*—and denied residence outside these areas. They closed themselves up within their sections, attempting to live in a world apart from the surrounding Christians. As the mayor of a German city is called the *Bürgermeister* (burghers' or citizens' master), the leader or rabbi of the Jewish community was known as the *Judenmeister* (Jews' master).

In 1407 the German king and "Holy Roman" Emperor Ruprecht von Wittelsbach (Rupert Clem, 1352–1410) appointed one of the rabbis *Hochmeister* (high master) over all the other rabbis and Jewish community leaders, giving him both spiritual and temporal powers over all the Jews. This edict was violently resisted by the Jewish communities, who threatened to excommunicate those who obeyed the *Hochmeister*. The emperor had to back down. In the face of violent persecution, death, and destruction, the Jews became more obsessional, isolating and denying their painful feelings. Rabbinical literature, the obsessional preoccupation with rules and regulations about every minute aspect of life, flourished, while poetry, drama, and other vibrant literary forms dried up and withered. The Jews attempted to escape the very harsh reality by denial, isolation, and flight into fantasy.

EASTERN EUROPEAN JEWRY

The Jews who fled their persecution in the German lands of the "Holy Roman Empire" in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries went east to Poland, Lithuania, and other Eastern European lands ruled by the Lithuanian "Jagiellonian" dynasty. The Lithuanians call their country Lietuva. The Russians call it Litva. The Jews called Lithuania by its German name of Litauen, which in Yiddish became Lita. The Lithuanian capital of Vilnius was called in Yiddish Vilna. In 1385 Grand Duke Ladislaus Jogaila of Lithuania (1351–1434) married Crown Princess Jadwiga of Poland, becoming King Wladyslaw Jagiello of Poland the following year (1386). His "Jagiellonian" dynasty ruled Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, and Bohemia at various times for the next two centuries. One of Jogaila's descendants was Vladislav of Bohemia (Vladislas II, 1456–1516), who ruled Bohemia from 1471 and was elected King Ulászló of Hungary (Ulászló II) from 1490. Vladislav's predecessor in Hungary was Hunyadi Mátyás Corvin (Matthias Corvinus, 1443–90), the younger son of Hunyadi János; he held back the Ottoman Turks. His nickname of Corvinus derived from the Latin word *corvus* (raven), because he engraved a raven on his coat of arms. Corvin had a deep craving for power and territories. In 1469, having conquered Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, Mátyás had himself crowned king of Bohemia. The Bohemian diet refused to recognize Mátyás as king, and in 1471 it crowned Vladislav king of Bohemia. The enraged Matthias made war on Vladislav. After nine years of warfare, a strange peace treaty was concluded: both Mátyás and Vladislav remained king of Bohemia, but after the death of Mátyás his conquests were to revert to Bohemia.

"Holy Roman" Emperor Friedrich (Frederick III) fought several wars with Mátyás Corvin from 1477 to 1485. Mátyás then seized the imperial capital of Vienna and conquered most of Austria. Neither class (estate) had any empathy for the feelings of the other. In 1487 the Bohemian nobles exploited Vladislav's weakness to pass laws in the diet making the peasants virtual serfs (slaves). When Matthias Corvinus died (1490) his conquests not only reverted to Vladislav and to Friedrich, but, ironically, the Hungarian nobles, to ward off the ambitious designs of Maximilian von Habsburg,

elected Vladislav king of Hungary, Magyarizing his name to Ulászló (Ulászló II, Latin Uladislaus II). The Hungarian nobles similarly exploited the weakness of this king to enslave the peasants. In 1497 the Bohemian nobles once more passed laws in the diet to suppress the peasants. This was to lead to a great revolt in the sixteenth century.

The most famous late-medieval "Holy Roman" imperial diets were the Diet of Worms (1495) and the Diet of Cologne (1512), followed by those of the Reformation: the Diet of Worms (1521), the diets of Speyer (1526, 1529), and the diets of Augsburg (1500, 1530, 1547, and 1555). The burning religious and political issues debated at those diets did not include the Jews. Everybody hated *them*. The Jews were repeatedly expelled from various cities and lands of eastern Europe. They had to pay high fees for the right to live in many cities of Silesia, Moravia, Bohemia, and Austria. They lived in constant fear of libels, persecutions, and expulsions. They were often restricted to finance and trade. Their position as merchants and moneylenders made their situation very precarious. Money is a very emotional issue, symbolizing in our unconscious mind our mother's milk, life itself. When people owed money to the Jews, they felt the interest was usurious, and hated the lenders. In Poland the Jews eventually became victims of their association with the nobility.

FORCED CONVERTS AS SWINE

Like Germany and Italy, medieval Christian Spain was divided into kingdoms and feudal fiefs. The western part of Spain was the kingdom of Castile, the northeastern part was the kingdom of Aragon, and Navarre was a smaller kingdom in the Pyrenees. The smaller Muslim kingdoms of the south such as Granada and Málaga and the larger Christian kingdoms of the north fought each other for centuries, but that did not prevent each of them from fighting internecine wars or from persecuting the Jews. The edicts against the Jews kept multiplying during the fifteenth century.

Valladolid, the north-central Spanish city liberated from the Muslim Moors in the tenth century, became part of the kingdom of Castile and León, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the royal capital of Castile and all Spain. The Castilian nobility was represented in the Cortes (literally, "courts"), which played a role akin to the English Parliament. King Enrique of Castile (Henry III, 1379–1406), helplessly ill, jealously guarded his power through the Royal Council, the Audiencia (Supreme Court), and the *corregidores* (magistrates). Enrique succeeded to the throne in 1390, under a regency, and the Jewish communities were sacked. In 1405, bowing to the nobles' pressure, Enrique granted the petition of the Cortes of Valladolid, voided the Spanish noblemen's debts and bonds to the Jews, reduced the judicial rights of the Jews, and ordered the Jews to wear distinctive marks on their clothing. Enrique died the following year (1406). In 1410 another host-desecration libel was leveled at the Jews of Segovia. Dr. Meir Alguadez, court physician to the late King Enrique, was accused of having poisoned his master four years earlier. Confessing under torture, Alguadez was sentenced to die and quartered by four horses.

Spain was still divided into several kingdoms. The king is the psychological father of his subjects, but King Juan of Castile and León (John II, 1405–54) lost his own father Enrique el Doliente when he was only a year old (1406), hardly an age to be a father himself. Juan's mother, Catalina (Catherine of Lancaster) and his paternal uncle, Fernando de Antequera (Ferdinand I of Aragon, r. 1412–16), became regents. In 1412 the kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia sent nine commissioners to Caspe, southeast of the Aragonese capital of Zaragoza in northeastern Spain, to discuss their political union. They decided that the throne of Aragon belonged by inheritance to Fernando de Antequera. This decision became known as the Compromise of Caspe. Fernando de Antequera was the first scion of the Trastámara family of Enrique II to rule Aragon.

Under the influence of the "apostate" Jew, Bishop Paul of Burgos, in the same year (1412), Queen Catalina, regent of Castile and León, enacted a law in the name of her seven-year-old child-king Juan. Margolis and Marx (1985:453) called Catalina "bigoted" and her legislation "in every way intended to reduce the Jews to poverty and humiliate them." The anti-Jewish law certainly hemmed in the Jews of Castile and León. As Margolis and Marx (453–54) put it,

They were to keep strictly to their quarters; they were shut out from the professions; nor were they to engage in handicrafts, act as brokers, deal in wine, flour, meat, or bread. They were not permitted to hire Christian help; all social intercourse with Christians was forbidden. They were shorn of the right to settle their internal disputes in their own courts, nor might they, without royal sanction, levy their [own] communal taxes. Jews might not assume the title of "Don," nor carry arms, trim their hair or shave their beard. Jews and Jewesses were enjoined to clothe themselves in long mantles of coarse material. No Jew might leave the country, and a heavy fine was placed upon any grandee or knight shielding a [Jewish] fugitive. Transgressors were to be punished by one hundred lashes and heavy fines, one-third of which went to the informer.

Many Spanish Jews converted to Christianity to avoid the harsh edict, while secretly continuing to practice Judaism. Jewish converts were called *conversos* (converts) or *nuevos Christianos* (New Christians) to distinguish them from the Old Christians of Spain. Those who secretly practiced the old Jewish faith were called Marranos, an obscure Spanish word for pigs. Following the Marrano Pofiat Durán, some scholars think the Spanish word "Marrano" comes from the Hebrew *hamarah* (conversion). While *conversos* designated all converts, Marranos referred to forced converts who secretly practiced their Judaism.

In 1409 the Council of Pisa deposed both Pope Gregory XII and the antipope Benedict XIII, electing Alexander V as the new pope. The schism went on. In 1412–14, at the height of the Great Schism in the Roman Catholic Church, three Catholic fanatics forced the Jews into the longest religious disputation ever with the Christians at the Catalan city of Tortosa. These three were Pedro de Luna, now the antipope Benedict XIII, who issued a papal bull summoning the Aragonese and Catalan Jews to the disputation; the Jewish "apostate" Salomon haLevi (1352–1435), now Bishop

Pablo de Santa Maria of Burgos (Paul of Burgos); and a fiery Dominican friar named Vicente Ferrer, who roamed the Castilian and Aragonese countryside at the head of a band of fanatical flagellants, frenziedly preaching the conversion of the Jews.

The Tortosa disputation lasted two years (February 1413–November 1414) and sixty-nine sessions. It spilled over into nearby San Mateo. An “apostate” Jew, Josua de Lorca (Joshua Lorqui), now called Geronimo de Santa Fé (Jerome of the Holy Faith), set out to prove the basic Christian tenet that the Jewish Messiah had already come in the person of Jesus Christ. Lorqui used arguments from *Pugio Fidei* by Raymond Martini, who quoted Jewish texts to prove his point. The Jewish sages Vidal Benveniste, Zerachiah haLevi, Joseph Albo, and Astruc haLevi could not prevail against the threats of the Church to try them for heresy and blasphemy.

In 1415 the antipope decreed that all Talmud books be burned. Out of fear and despair, many Jewish community leaders and elders converted to Christianity. Following the anti-Jewish Castilian legislation of 1412 and the Tortosa disputation of 1413–14, a Spanish Jewish scholar named Solomon ibn Lakhmish Alami wrote a Hebrew text entitled *Iggereth Musar* (Letter of reproof) lamenting the woes of the Jews. Ben-Sasson (1976:569–70) provided this English translation:

Evil has befallen us . . . throughout the length and breadth of the provinces of Castile and in the Kingdom of Catalonia in the year 1391 . . . and for twenty-two years thereafter those who were left in Castile were a parable and a by-word [i.e., were humiliated], their situation becoming even worse. . . . They were required to change their garments, and various trades and leasings and crafts were denied to them. . . . Those who had lived comfortably in their homes were expelled from palaces of ease and delight . . . and all Jews dwelt in shacks both in summer and winter, in shame and misery . . . for they had not learnt crafts wherewith to make a living. And further because of their ruin and distress . . . they were not included among the craftsmen . . . and so it happened in the Kingdom of Aragon to the remaining communities when a new king rose against them to enact new discriminations.

The Great Schism continued. In 1417 the antipope Benedict III (Pedro de Luna) was again deposed by the Council of Constance (1414–18), which also deposed Gregory XII and Alexander V, electing Martin V the new pope; but the persecution of the Jews only grew worse during the rest of the fifteenth century. In 1419 King Juan of Castile and León (John II) freed himself from his mother and uncle’s regency. The “weak” Juan, who had grown up fatherless, found a father figure in his older friend Alvaro de Luna (1390–1453), who manipulated his king. In 1420 Alvaro de Luna rescued Juan from the tutelage of rebel nobles. In 1423 the grateful Juan made Alvaro de Luna Constable of Castile. Alvaro de Luna fought against the rebels, especially the sons of Fernando of Aragón, who were also Castilian lords. But Juan lost his first wife, and in 1447 Alvaro de Luna persuaded Juan to marry Princess Isabella of Portugal. She soon opposed the domineering Luna, and in 1453 talked her husband Juan into arresting Alvaro de Luna and trying him for attempted murder. Alvaro de Luna was publicly tried at Valladolid, condemned, and executed. King Juan was overwhelmed

by guilt feelings, could not mourn his beloved friend's death, became deeply depressed, and died (or killed himself) a year later.

Spain was the only country in Christian western Europe with large Muslim and Jewish minorities. During the fifteenth century the Spanish Catholics fervently wished to unite all of Spain through *reconquista* and to impose one faith, one rule, and one culture on all of Spain by means of conversion. They sought to convert every "heretic" by force. The Spanish Visigoths had been "pagan." The Spanish Christians were fanatical in their belief and ruthless in persecuting heretics. They were more Catholic than the pope. Were the Spaniards unable to mourn their historical losses? Could it have been the Spanish Christians' own doubts about their belief that made them so fanatic in forcibly converting all nonbelievers?

THE INQUISITION AS UNCONSCIOUS DEFENSE OF THE CHRISTIAN SELF

The Papal Inquisition had been set up in 1233 by Pope Gregory IX, who dispatched Dominican friars to southern France to fight the Albigensian heresy. There was no Spanish Inquisition until the late fifteenth century. It came about through the union of Castile and Aragon. Princess Isabel of Castile and León (Isabella the Catholic, 1451–1504) was courted by King Afonso o Africano of Portugal (Alphonse V, 1432–81) and also by the duc de Guienne of France. But in 1469 the eighteen-year-old Isabel, ambitious to unite Castile with Aragón, married the seventeen-year-old Fernando of Aragón (Ferdinand the Catholic, or Ferdinand II, 1452–1516) in the palace of San Juan de Vivero at Valladolid. The marriage spelled doom for the Jews. Isabel was a rigid person with deep religious convictions. As a child she had been the object of dangerous intrigues. Her father, Juan II, died when she was only three (1454). The orphan princess developed an obsessive-compulsive personality. As a result, her husband found her difficult. The restless young king was often away from the palace, and had love affairs with several women, who bore him several illegitimate daughters. This he later confessed to the grand inquisitor, Tomás de Torquemada, the Jewish *converso* who became the great destroyer of the Jews.

Queen Isabel bore the king five children: a son and four daughters. The first infanta was Isabel (1470–1498), future wife of King Manuel o Afortunado of Portugal (Emmanuel the Fortunate, or Emmanuel I, 1469–1521), who expelled the Jews and Moors from Portugal in 1496–97. Fernando and Isabel's only son and heir apparent was Juan (John III, 1478–97). In the year of his birth the Spanish Inquisition was established. When Juan died, his sister Isabel became heiress to the Spanish crowns with her husband Manuel o Afortunado of Portugal, but she died before the Portuguese and Spanish crowns could be united. The second infanta, Juana la Loca (Joan the Mad, 1479–1555), was the future wife of Philippe IV of Burgundy (Felipe el Hermoso, 1478–1506).

Juana became psychotic after her brother's and sister's deaths, when she was

eighteen, but the causes of her madness had to do with her earlier unhealthy family relationships. Juana's father had many extramarital love affairs, her mother was often jealous and unhappy, the king blamed the queen for pampering herself, and the king was an absentee father, being away from home most of the time on political business. Fernando and Isabel kept up appearances, however, and upon her death in 1504 he called her "the best and most excellent wife king ever had." The third infanta, Catherine of Aragón (Catalina, 1485–1536), became the first wife of Henry VIII of England. The Church of England was created when Pope Clement VII refused to annul Henry's marriage to her. The fourth infanta, Maria, became the second wife of King Manuel o Afortunado of Portugal after her older sister Isabel, his first wife, died in 1498. Maria bore Manuel nine children.

Queen Isabel's tragic half-brother, King Enrique el Impotente (Henry IV of Castile, 1425–74), also known as Enrique el Liberal, brought about civil war in Castile. Enrique's first marriage was childless. The heartbroken king divorced his first wife and married a Portuguese princess named Joana (Juana or Joan). She bore Enrique a daughter, Juana la Beltraneja (Joan of Beltrán, 1462–1530), thus named because her father was rumored to be the courtier Beltrán de la Cueva, duke of Albuquerque. Enraged at these rumors, Enrique disowned Juana (1468) and made first his half-brother Alfonso, and, after Alfonso's death that year, his half-sister Isabel heir to the Castilian throne. After Isabel married Fernando, in 1470, Enrique recognized Juana la Beltraneja as his heiress. Juana was also recognized as legitimate heir to the throne by the Castilian Cortes and was later supported by her fiancé King Afonso o Africano of Portugal (Alphonse V, 1432–81), who had been spurned by Isabel.

The rivalry between the Castilian nobles and the king came to a head with Enrique's death in 1474. A war of succession broke out between Queen Isabel and the young infanta Juana la Beltraneja, betrothed to Afonso o Africano of Portugal. Fernando and Isabel assumed joint rule of Castile. In 1476 their forces defeated Afonso's at Toro, but the civil war went on until 1479, when Isabel was finally recognized as queen of Castile and Juana retired to a convent in Portugal. People need enemies (Volkan 1988). Did Isabel have trouble mourning the loss of her rival? Fernando assumed the throne of Aragón and Castile (as King Fernando V), and the union of Castile and Aragón was final. The Jews of Castile were soon deprived of their right of criminal jurisdiction and other civil rights.

In 1496 Juana la Loca (Joan the Mad, 1479–1555), third child of Fernando and Isabel, married the Habsburg prince Philip of Burgundy (1478–1506), son of "Holy Roman" Emperor Maximilian of Habsburg and of Queen Mary of Burgundy. Their son Carlos (1500–1558) became King Carlos (Charles I) of Castile and Aragon in 1516 and "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles V in 1519. Juana's madness may have been due to a violent jealousy of her husband, who kept two-timing her. Juana la Loca became queen of Castile and León when her mother Isabel died in 1504. Juana, being mad, was not allowed to rule, and her father Fernando became regent. The death of her young husband in 1506 made Juana madder still. She refused to part with his body. From 1509 she lived under guard at Tordesillas. Juana la Loca probably had a

fusional relationship with her mother. Most of Spain was united under Fernando and Isabel. The Jews of Castile and Aragón had been living under pagan Visigothic, Muslim, and later Christian rule. In southern Spain, including Granada and the other Moorish kingdoms, they still lived under Muslim rule. The Jews hoped that Fernando and Isabel would better their lot, since the king was close to the converted Jews known as *conversos* or *nuevos Christianos*.

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Inquisitors and Messiahs

ACTS OF FAITH

During the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the Papal Inquisition, Dominican preaching, relentless persecution, and clergy reform killed the Albigensian "heresy" in southern France and northern Spain. In the fifteenth century the Papal Inquisition, which had been directed by the pope, spawned the horrific Spanish Inquisition, controlled by the king of Spain. In 1478, after protracted money-and-power negotiations with the Spanish court, Pope Sixtus IV (1414–84) issued a papal bull creating the Royal Court of the Inquisition to uncover crypto-Jews, false converts, and other heretics. In glaring violation of the basic precepts of Christianity—love, charity, and peace—the Inquisition used torture to extract "confessions." In 1480 Queen Isabel of Castile and Aragón (1451–1504) signed a royal decree establishing the Inquisition. Except for the inquisitor general, who was appointed by the pope, all appointments to the Inquisition were made by the Spanish crown. To save their lives, many Spanish Jews converted to Christianity while secretly practicing their Jewish religion. The Inquisition hated such deceivers. It had an army of lay Catholic "familiaris" spying on "heretics." A *converso* who was found practicing Judaism secretly was arrested, tortured, made to confess, and burnt at the stake.

The first court of the Spanish Inquisition was set up in Seville, the capital of Andalusia. The Dominican priests Miguel de Murillo and Juan de San Martín, and their assistants Juan Ruiz de Medina and Diego Merlo, were appointed inquisitors. The Spanish Inquisition began its horrible work of extracting confessions. Its methods were terror to frighten the "heretics" and torture to extract confessions. It accepted denunciations by accusers eagerly and unquestioningly. Its procedures were secret. The accused had no legal counsel. They could not confront their accusers, and did not even know who they were. Their property was confiscated and shared between the Inquisition, the Crown, and the accusers.

Life in Spain became a nightmare. The Inquisition's actions were horrific. Hundreds of thousands were tortured on the rack to make them "confess." Church and state fought for control of this powerful and dreaded secret police force. The Jews fared worse and worse under the Inquisition. Between 1480 and 1482 Queen Isabel attempted to expel the Jews from Seville and Córdoba. Many Jews fled to Muslim-ruled Málaga and Granada. Seville became the headquarters of the dreaded Spanish Inquisition,

which published thirty-seven ways to tell a *converso* who secretly practiced Judaism from a true convert and exhorted all Christians to spy upon and inform on the heretics. Marranos suspected of secretly practicing Judaism were thrown in jail, tortured, and killed, their property confiscated and put into the royal treasury. When Diego de Susan and other wealthy Marranos of Seville plotted to scare away the inquisitors, Diego's daughter informed her Christian lover, who told the Inquisitors. The conspirators were arrested, tortured, and burned alive.

The Portuguese phrase *auto da fé* means "act of faith." In fifteenth-century Spain and Portugal this Act of Faith was a show trial of Jews and witches, a ceremony of public humiliation. Marranos found guilty of being secret Jews were paraded in the town square naked to the waist, carrying signs announcing their offenses. They were sentenced to fast each Friday for six months, or to live in a galley for three years as slaves. In 1481 the first *auto-da-fé* was held in Seville. Six forced converts were soon burned alive at the stake. A few days later Diego de Susan and his fellow conspirators were similarly executed. The public ceremonies were attended by royalty and became increasingly elaborate and spectacular, comprising a lengthy procession, a solemn mass, an oath of obedience to the Holy Inquisition, a sermon, and the reading out of the sentences. The victims were "apostate" Marranos (former Jews), Moriscos (former Muslims), Alumbrados (mystics), Protestants, bigamists, and sorcerers. The inquisitor imposed life sentences, and the civil authorities imposed the death penalty. These infamous Acts of Faith persisted until 1850.

In January 1482 Pope Sixtus IV wrote Fernando and Isabel of Spain reprimanding them for their actions and threatening to replace their inquisitors with his own. King Fernando angrily rejected the pope's intervention. In August 1483 the pope was forced to appoint the Dominican priest Tomás de Torquemada (1420–98), a former Jew, as inquisitor general of Castile and León, and in October, of Aragón. This began a holy terror the likes of which had never been seen even in Spain. Torquemada deeply feared the Marranos and Moriscos as a menace to Spain's welfare. Ironically, Torquemada himself came from a family of Jewish *conversos*. Troubled in his family, at war with himself, he converted to Christianity in his youth and joined the Dominicans. In 1452–74 he was prior of the Santa Cruz monastery.

In 1474 Torquemada became father confessor to Fernando and Isabel, who told him their personal secrets. In 1483 Torquemada was appointed grand inquisitor of Castile and León, Aragón, Catalonia, Valencia, and Majorca (Mallorca). He was charged with the centralization of the Inquisition. He set up local Inquisition tribunals at Seville, Jaén, Córdoba, Ciudad Real, and Zaragoza. In 1484 Torquemada set forth twenty-eight guidelines to inquisitors trying crimes of heresy, apostasy, witchcraft, bigamy, usury, and blasphemy. He authorized torture to extract confessions. Two thousand people were burned at the stake. Unconsciously projecting his bad self-image upon the Jews and Moors, Torquemada hated them with a passion. He persuaded the Spanish king and queen to forcibly convert them to Christianity. Since he could not be sure of what went on inside the minds of the converts, he tortured converts into confessing their secret practice of Judaism. Torquemada was proud of killing sinners

by fire—a “bloodless death,” as the Inquisition put it. Those who died had their corpses exhumed and burnt. Those who fled abroad had their pictures burnt in public.

After some of its own officials were assassinated, the Spanish Inquisition redoubled its zealous efforts to apprehend the heretics. In May 1485 four inquisitors were appointed for Aragón. Pedro Arbuiz (Peter Arbues) and Gaspar Juglar were appointed inquisitors for Zaragoza; Pedro d'Epila and Martín Iñigo were appointed inquisitors for Valencia. Arbuiz was especially hated, and some conspirators, both *conversos* and Old Christians, assassinated him in church. The Inquisition persecuted its “enemies” more ferociously than ever. The Inquisition courts of Seville, Zaragoza, and Barcelona had hundreds of Jews burnt at the stake. In 1481 alone the Inquisition burned three hundred Marranos to death. Over seven hundred *conversos* were burned at the stake between 1481 and 1488, and over thirteen thousand by 1492 (Potok 1978:318).

In 1492, the year Christopher Columbus discovered America and the Muslim Moors were finally driven out of Spain after five centuries of Reconquista, the angry Torquemada talked his royal confesseees into expelling the Jews from Spain as well. Fernando and Isabel signed a royal edict of expulsion in newly captured Granada, ordering all the Jews of Spain to embrace Christianity or leave the kingdom. While many Jews accepted Christian baptism, some 170,000 Jews left Spain for the Netherlands, the Ottoman empire, Morocco, wherever they were accepted. By the end of the fifteenth century there were some 300,000 *conversos* in Spain. This was one of the great catastrophes of Jewish history, a watershed rivaling the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E. and of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. In 1494 Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503) appointed four assistant inquisitors to restrain Torquemada's fanatical thirst for blood. Torquemada died at Ávila four years later.

Torquemada was assisted in his “holy work” by a *converso* monk named Alonso de Espina. McCalden (1982:30), who hates both Jews and homosexuals, called him “a flaming homosexual . . . another Marrano, or Jewish pretended convert.” In an irrational statement, one of many in his pamphlet, McCalden added that “Torquemada's successor Fray Diego de Deza was also a Christianized Jew. So here again, the Jews can hardly complain about a Spanish ‘Holocaust’ when it was in fact other Jews who were doing the persecuting and Jew-burning. If anyone has a complaint it is surely the Protestants, who were tortured and murdered both by Catholics and by Jews pretending to be Catholics.” Needless to say, there were hardly any “Protestants” in fifteenth-century Catholic Spain. The Protestant Reformation began in the early sixteenth century. Torquemada and his assistants did not “pretend” to be Christians. Like most *conversos*, they deeply believed in Christianity. Torquemada's victims were overwhelmingly Jews and Marranos. McCalden's argument is so illogical as to obviate the need for refutation. Like Torquemada himself, McCalden unconsciously projected his own self-hate onto “Jewish self-hate.”

As with the Nazis in the twentieth century, the idea of racial “purity of blood” began to haunt Spanish minds during the sixteenth century. Most of the Spanish *conversos* and their descendants were good Catholics. They made Spain's “golden century” possible. Well-known Spanish Jewish *conversos* included San Juan de Dios

(Saint John of God, 1495–1550), founder of the Hospitaller Order of Saint John of God; San Juan de Ávila (Saint John of Ávila, 1499–1569), the reformer and preacher; Santa Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada (Saint Teresa of Ávila, 1515–82), founder of the Order of the Barefoot Carmelites; Diego Laínez, a friend of Saint Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) and a second general of the Jesuit order; the humanist writer Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540); Fernando de Rojas (1465–1541), author of *La Celestina*, the first great literary work of the Spanish Renaissance; Mateo Alemán (1547–1614), author of the highly popular picaresque Spanish novel *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599–1604); Luis de León (1527–91), a mystic and poet; Francisco de Vitoria (1486–1546), the sixteenth-century jurist and theologian who defended the rights of the American Indians; and Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566), the Dominican historian of the American Indies. Yet the Spanish Christians, who hated the Jewish “swine,” truly believed in the *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) of the Old Christians to distinguish themselves from the despised Marranos. In 1547 Archbishop Siliceo of Toledo, a man of humble origins and “pure blood,” imposed a *limpieza de sangre* statute on the cathedral chapter of his town, which decreed that only Christians of pure ancestry, untainted by the blood of *conversos* and by any official accusation of heresy, could be appointed to any church position. In 1556 the Habsburg king Felipe (Philip II of Spain, 1527–98), who had just succeeded to the Spanish throne after his father Carlos V’s abdication, endorsed this racist statute because “all the heresies in Germany, France and Spain had been sown by descendants of Jews.”

Why did the Spanish Catholics persecute the Jews so violently? Why did they hate the Jews so? Why could they not put up with religious and cultural pluralism? Why did they become obsessed with racial purity? Why were they so afraid of their blood being tainted by Jewish blood? Many features of fifteenth-century Catholic Spain resemble those of twentieth-century Nazi Germany. The most important single psychological aspect of racial hatred is projection and externalization. The Jews were what Volkan (1988:31) has called “suitable targets of externalization” for the conflicted Christians, who were acting out their infantile conflicts on a monstrous and monumental scale. As Volkan put it

In externalization, elements of factual circumstances are invested with psychological magic that represents aspects of the child himself. These may include his own mental images and/or previously formed and internalized images of others, with their attendant feeling states. I call such reservoirs “suitable targets of externalization” and hold that they play an important role in the genesis of the concept of political and social enemies and allies and concepts of ethnicity and nationality that become entangled in enemy/ally interaction.

What Volkan has found about ethnicity and nationality was true of religion. The Jews, who were different, strange, and held themselves to be God’s chosen people, were held by the Christians to be the devil himself. They were believed to have killed Jesus Christ and to drink the blood of Christian children. Everything the Christians unconsciously wished to do themselves was unconsciously projected upon the Jews.

RATIONALISTS AND MYSTICS

One of the most telling responses to persecution and catastrophe was Spanish Jewish scholarship and literature. The Jews used writing to defend themselves against forced conversions and persecution. Denying reality, they convinced themselves that their fellow Jews had died as martyrs and that their Jewish faith would save them from persecution. Orthodox scholars were assailed by fiery mystics. The rationalistic, Orthodox viewpoint prevailed among most Jewish scholars. Hasdai Crescas (1340–1410) “stood like a veritable rock upholding Judaism and Jewish learning” (Margolis and Marx 1985:451). A younger Jewish scholar, Isaac ben Moses haLevi, was forcibly converted during the riots of 1391, becoming the Marrano Profiat Durán. His best friend, a fellow Marrano named David Bonet Bongorón, promised Durán to migrate to Palestine with him and reembrace Judaism. On their way, at Avignon, Pablo de Burgos talked Bongorón out of this plan. The deeply disappointed Durán wrote a heavily ironic Hebrew letter to Bongorón, the recurring refrain of which was *al tehi kaabotecha* (Be not like thy forefathers). The Christians mistook it for a defense of Christianity and called it *Alteca Boteca*. Durán also wrote *Kelimath haGoyim* (The shame of the Gentiles), in which he argued that Marrano, an old Spanish word for swine, actually came from the Hebrew word *hamarah* (conversion). This fantasy may have alleviated Durán’s anxiety and guilt feelings about his own conversion.

Like the medieval Christians, thirteenth-century Jews believed in the transmigration of souls and in their ascent into heaven. Rabbi Michael Mallach (the angel) was said to have been dead for three days while his soul ascended to heaven to seek answers to life’s questions, after which he came back to life. The ascetic Jewish mystic Rabbi Moses ben Isaac Botarel attacked the ossified rabbinical religion. Botarel heard from his father that one Ezra of Moncontour was a prophet who had ascended to heaven and heard a celestial song, which he recorded upon awakening (Idel 1988a:91–92). Botarel claimed that the prophet Elijah had proclaimed him the Messiah. Despite the seeming antagonism between rationalist rabbinical scholars and ecstatic mystics, the rationalist Crescas was said to have recognized the mystic Botarel as the true Messiah.

The rationalist fifteenth-century Jewish scholar Abraham Bivach (Bibago) argued in his *Path of Faith* that the Jews alone were attracted toward pure intellect and that “the path leading upwards is disliked by the multitude” (Ben-Sasson 1976:612). His colleague Abraham Shalom wrote his *Tabernacle of Peace* in the same orthodox, rationalistic vein. Joseph Albo (1380–1440) wrote his *Book of Dogmas* to preach the Orthodox Jewish way of life as protection against both Christian persecution from without and Jewish heresy from within. He believed that Halachah, not messianism and redemption, was the major pillar of Judaism. These scholars maintained the superiority of the Jews to all other peoples and thought of the Jews as a “holy nation” and “God’s chosen people.”

Don Isaac Abrabanel (1437–1508), a Spanish Jewish exile leader who traveled across southern Italy in 1496–98, disagreed with Joseph Albo and wrote several books

to prove that messianic redemption was at hand. He even predicted the coming of the Messiah in 1531. "The immersion into mystic speculation served as an anodyne for the unabated misery of the people," wrote Margolis and Marx (1985:452) with surprising psychological insight. The new Jewish historiography, which we shall discuss below, was the most significant development in Jewish history.

Some fifteenth-century Mediterranean Jews became prominent Italian Renaissance scholars. The Jew Elijah del Medigo of Candia (1460–97) was a well-known Paduan and Venetian Latin scholar, and the tutor of the famous scholar Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Elijah Del Medigo's relative Samuel Menahem del Medigo taught philosophy at Padua and returned to Candia to serve as rabbi. A descendant named Giuseppe (Joseph) Salomone del Medigo of Candia was a famous Hebrew scholar in the early seventeenth century.

With the Spanish expulsion of 1492 many Jews fled to the Ottoman lands in Turkey, Greece, the Balkans, and North Africa. During the sixteenth century the Ottoman sultans Selim Yavuz (Selim the Grim, 1470–1520) and Süleyman the Magnificent (1494/1495–1566) completed the expansion of the Ottoman empire. The "blood-thirsty" Selim became sultan and caliph in 1512. Within five years Selim defeated the Persians and Mamluks, annexing Kurdistan (now in Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Azerbaijan), Egypt, and Syria. Süleyman became sultan of the Ottomans in 1520. He lost no time in fighting the "infidel"—primarily the "Holy Roman" (German) Empire, Habsburg Austria, and Venice.

In 1521 Sultan Süleyman took the Hungarian Serbian capital of Belgrade from the Magyars. In 1522 the Knights Hospitaller, expelled from Rhodes, went to Malta. In 1530 "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles V gave them the island. The Hospitallers fortified Malta, withstanding savage Ottoman attacks. Hungary became a battlefield between Austria and Turkey. In 1526, leading an Ottoman army of two hundred thousand men, Süleyman dealt a crushing defeat to the ill-prepared and undermanned Magyar army of twenty-eight thousand at Mohács. The twenty-year-old King Lajos of Bohemia and Hungary (Louis II, 1506–26), son of King Vladislav II of Bohemia (Ulászló II of Hungary), was killed. Archduke Ferdinand became king of Bohemia and Hungary. The Ottoman Turks controlled Hungary, and Süleyman cunningly supported János Zápolya of Hungary against Archduke Ferdinand of Austria. In 1529 Süleyman besieged Vienna but was beaten back. When Zápolya died in 1540, Süleyman annexed most of Hungary to his Ottoman empire.

Other Jews fled to the Low Countries, which during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had come under the rule of the dukes of Burgundy. The last reigning Burgundian was Charles le Téméraire (Charles the Bold, 1433–77), who ruled Burgundy, Flanders, Artois, Brabant, Luxembourg, Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, and Hainaut—what are now northern France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. Most of the Dutch towns still belonged to the Hanseatic League, which gave them great autonomy. In 1477 Burgundy was divided. Its western part was annexed by France, its eastern part by the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation." The

West Burgundian Jews became French, their eastern cousins German. The Hanseatic League began to disintegrate at the end of the fifteenth century.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

The sixteenth century saw a great religious revolution in Christian Europe. Fiery anti-Catholic reformers such as Martin Luther (1483–1546) in Germany, Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) in Switzerland, Martin Bucer (1491–1551) in Alsace, Jean Calvin (1509–64) in France and Geneva, and John Knox (1514–72) in Scotland shook the Catholic Church to its foundations, and split Christianity between Catholics and Protestants. In 1519, the year of Charles's accession to the imperial throne, Martin Luther openly espoused anti-Catholic doctrines and denied the religious authority of the Church. In 1520 Luther published his *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, inflaming the fires of German nationalism against papal control of the German churches. The pope excommunicated Luther, and the emperor denounced him as well. Luther's revolt against the pope (*papa*) may have been a displacement of deep unconscious rage at his own father. Indeed, Luther defied both his symbolic fathers, the pope and the emperor.

When Martin Luther received the papal bull of excommunication, *Exsurge Domine*, he burned it in public and published angry pamphlets assailing the pope. As often happens, religion affected politics. The German elector princes tried to make their new emperor share some of his power with them. In 1521 the Diet of Worms asked Emperor Charles V to restore the powers of the Reichsregiment. The emperor only consented to give it full powers in his absence. At the Diet of Worms the emperor summoned Luther for questioning. The righteous reformer refused to recant. Emperor Charles V ordered Martin Luther to leave town and issued the Edict of Worms, banning Luther and outlawing his Reformation. But the powerful elector Friedrich der Weise (Frederick III) of Saxony gave Luther his protection, having him kidnapped and placing him in the safe haven of the Wartburg Castle. Erikson (1958:231) thought that Luther underwent great inner torment at Wartburg. That year the emperor's brother, Archduke Ferdinand von Habsburg, became king of Austria.

The religious wars between Catholics and Lutherans were part of the power struggle between emperor and princes. As the ancient Romans said, *cujus regio ejus religio*. The German princes dictated which religion, Catholicism or Lutheranism, would prevail in their lands. The "Holy Roman" Emperor wished to enforce Catholicism, and the Lutheran German princes fought him. Class war broke out. In 1522–23 the leader of the Reichsritterschaft (Imperial Knights' Society), Franz von Sickingen (1481–1523), led the Knights' War against the princes of the church, which ended in failure. The bloody Peasants' War of 1524–26 pitted the proud German princes against the rebellious German peasants. Luther himself was a rebel of the first order, and one might have expected him to side with the peasants. Yet Luther came out vociferously

for "law and order," i.e., against the rebellious peasants and for the princes. Rather than empathize with the poor, downtrodden peasants and support them, Luther fulminated against them. In 1525 Luther published a vitriolic pamphlet calling the peasants robbers and murderers and clamoring for their physical extermination. Luther advocated "the fist that brings blood from the nose" for the rebellious German peasants. Erikson (1958:236) thought that Luther had identified with the aggressor, his violent father Hans, who had beaten him senseless as a child. He upheld the secular authority of the German princes, arguing that while religious salvation was a personal matter, secular authority could not be disputed.

Luther believed that even if a German Christian were captured and sold into slavery by the Muslim Turks, he would have no right to escape because this would deprive his master of his property (Kerr 1943). What could explain Luther's patent irrationality? Erikson (1958:51–58) pointed out that Luther considered his father and grandfather "true peasants" and that as a child he had been repeatedly and savagely beaten by his peasant father. "Do we hear [the father] beating the residue of a stubborn peasant out of his son?" asked Erikson (1958:236). Did Luther's attack on the peasants betray his unconscious parricidal rage? Kren and Rappoport (1980:21–27) cited Luther's attack on the peasants as an example of what they saw as the deep split between "extreme private sentimentality" and "extreme public rationality" in the German mind. Thomas Müntzer (c. 1490–1525), a religious and political reformer, led the rebels at the calamitous battle of Frankenhausen (15 May 1525). Some 130,000 peasants were massacred at Frankenhausen. Müntzer himself was taken prisoner, tortured, and executed at Mühlhausen, Thuringia (27 May 1525).

AN INDEFATIGABLE LOBBYIST

The German peasants who fought the German princes burned the German cities and attacked their Jews as well. Alsace was then part of the "Holy Roman Empire" (Germany). The Jews were defended by the Alsatian Jewish leader Joseph ben Gershon Loans (1478–1554), better known as Josel (Joselmann) von Rosheim, who was called "Lord and Master of the Jews of Germany." Josel was a *shtadlen* (lobbyist or advocate) for the Jews during the reigns of the "Holy Roman" Emperors Maximilian I (r. 1493–1519) and Charles V (r. 1519–56). His life's work was to intercede with princes and potentates for the protection of the Jews. From 1510 onward Joselmann pleaded the Jewish cause before the emperor, the *Kurfürsten*, the Landtag delegates, and the city councils. He gradually became the leader of all German Jewry. In 1515 Joselmann pleaded with the rulers of Alsace not to expel their Jews. In 1516 he appealed to Emperor Maximilian in the name of the Jewish community leaders assembled at Worms not to expel the Jews from his empire. In 1519 Maximilian died and Charles V of Spain, who had bribed the German elector princes, was elected German king and Holy Roman Emperor; he was crowned German king at Aachen the following year (1520). Joselmann presented the emperor with a memorandum refuting the popular

charge that the Jews were allies of the Ottomans, his enemies. The emperor canceled plans for anti-Jewish legislation. Joselmann convened a Judenrat (Jews' Council), an assembly of all the German Jewish leaders, which resolved that the Jews desired better relations with the imperial government and enacted ethical rules governing moneylending. In 1530 the decisions of the Judenrat were submitted for approval to the Reichstag at Augsburg. Joselmann himself read them to the Reichstag in an attempt to pacify Christendom. The Judenrat was revived in Hitler's Nazi Germany as the governing body of the Jewish ghettos of Europe, and played a tragic role in the Nazi extermination of the Jews (Ben-Sasson 1976:1026–27).

In 1525, during the bloody Peasants' War, the Jewish community of Rosheim was threatened by marauding peasants. Joselmann bribed them into promising to pillage his town only after they had sacked all others. When they had burned the other German towns, however, the peasants were too exhausted to plunder Rosheim. Joselmann wrote in his diary that the peasants "intended to swallow us alive" and that he barely managed to sway their leaders from their evil designs (Ben-Sasson 1976:651). After the peasants were defeated by the princes, the latter began to persecute the Jews. Ben-Sasson (1976:688) thought that Joselmann's leadership of the German Jews was "strong and firm." Joselmann may have felt like the emperor of the Jews, but he was only a lobbyist. He could only plead with the authorities.

King João o Piedoso (John the Pious, or John III of Portugal, 1502–57), who expanded Portugal's colonies in Brazil, was engaged in a power struggle with Pope Clement VII (1478–1534). João wanted an autonomous Portuguese Inquisition; the pope wanted ultimate control of the Holy Inquisition, and refused the king's wish. João appealed to the pope's rival, "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles V, who pressured the pope. In 1534 Clement VII was succeeded by Pope Paul III (1468–1549), the first pope of the Counter-Reformation. In 1536 Pope Paul III granted Portugal its autonomous Inquisition, and the emperor granted the Marranos of Spain and Portugal the right of residence in the Spanish Netherlands. The first grand inquisitor of Portugal was Diogo da Silva. In 1539 he proved his religious zeal by publicly burning Manuel da Costa, a Marrano who had inscribed the churches of Lisbon with signs contesting Jesus as Christ.

LIGHT AGAINST DARKNESS

The sixteenth century began with a violent controversy over the burning of Jewish books and moved on to expulsions and massacres. Many Jews were forced to convert to Christianity. Some converted voluntarily. Some former Jews who converted to Christianity suffered from problems of self-esteem. The medieval Catholic Church made apostasy from Christianity a capital crime. The Jews regarded apostates from Judaism as traitors.

Unconsciously externalizing their self-hate upon the Jews, some "apostates" from Judaism hated their former brethren. In 1507–9 an "apostate" German-Moravian Jew

named Joseph Johannes Pfefferkorn (1469–1522/23) became a serious threat to the Jews. Some Jewish historians believe that Pfefferkorn was a former butcher who got in trouble with the Jewish community of Nuremberg, was expelled for theft, and converted to Christianity “out of spite.” The enraged Pfefferkorn published racist anti-Jewish tracts such as *Der Juden-Spiegel* (The Jewish mirror) and *Der Juden-Feind* (The Jewish fiend). Pfefferkorn was embraced by the Jew-hating Dominicans of Cologne, who were in charge of the Papal Inquisition. Reviving the age-old allegations against the Talmud as anti-Christian, Pfefferkorn wished to destroy all Hebrew books. The Dominicans helped Pfefferkorn win the heart of Sister Kunegund (Cunegonde), sister of “Holy Roman” Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519). In 1509 Pfefferkorn obtained an imperial order to confiscate all Jewish and Hebrew writings offensive to Christianity and burn them. Pfefferkorn came to the Jewish synagogue in Frankfurt on the Main and seized 168 Jewish prayer books.

The alarmed German Jewish leaders bribed their way into the emperor’s inner circles. The Frankfurt and Regensburg Jewish communities dispatched a special envoy, Nathan Zion, to see the emperor in Italy. They approached Uriel von Gemmingen, the liberal archbishop of Mainz and one of the German *Kurfürsten*, who owned a castle in the Bavarian city of Aschaffenburg and employed the great painter Matthias Grünewald (c. 1475–1528) as his court painter and art official. The archbishop became involved in the controversy, pleading with the emperor to investigate the matter carefully before burning the Jewish books. A year later (1510) the emperor rescinded his order and appointed a commission of leading scholars to consider the matter. The members of the commission were the Jew-hating “apostate” Pfefferkorn; another Jewish convert to Christianity, Victor von Carben, the Dominican inquisitor at Cologne, author of the Latin *Liber aureum* (The golden book, 1508) and its German translation, *Das goldene Buch* (1509); the fanatical Christian theologian Hochstrathen; and the liberal Christian jurist, philologist, and humanist Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), author of the Latin *De rudimentis hebraicis* (Rudiments of Hebrew, 1506).

Reuchlin firmly withstood the paranoid Jew-hatred of the Inquisition, Pfefferkorn, von Carben, and Hochstrathen. Reuchlin was a *rara avis*, an enlightened Christian Hebrew scholar, passionate about the Hebrew language and the Kabbalah. In his *De rudimentis hebraicis* he called Hebrew the *verbo mirifico* (wonderful word). In 1510, opposing Pfefferkorn’s book burnings, Reuchlin published a pamphlet entitled *Is it right for God and useful for Christianity to burn the Jewish books?* that defended the classical Hebrew works against suppression by the Church, arguing that the Hebrew scriptures contained information useful to Christians. In 1515–17 Reuchlin published a satirical work entitled *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (Letters of the obscure men).

It was not easy for the devout Jew-hating Catholics to take Reuchlin’s liberalism. They seethed with righteous rage at him. In 1516 Reuchlin was charged with heresy by his enemies. He was tried and acquitted but remained suspect in the eyes of the Church. In 1517 Reuchlin published *De arte cabbalistica* (On the kabbalistic art), the first scientific study of Jewish mysticism (Scholem 1963–73, 3:237). In 1520 Pope Leo X (1475–1521) condemned Reuchlin’s writings but stopped short of excommu-

nicating the Christian scholar. Reuchlin remained a Catholic, repudiating both Martin Luther and his nephew Philipp Schwarzerd, better known as Melanchthon (1497–1560), a Lutheran reformer who authored the *Confession of Augsburg* (1530), a basic document of the Lutheran Church. The pope died the following year (1521) and Reuchlin a year later (1522).

The Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin controversy aligned the European humanist and liberal scholarly community against the conservative clerics and Scholastics. Reuchlin's pro-Jewish tracts led to a violent dispute that embroiled the emperor and the pope. Martin Luther joined the fray on Pfefferkorn's side. The Jews did not escape the wrath of the self-righteous reformer (Erikson 1958:236). Luther's hatred of the Jews sprang from his deep unconscious emotions. Luther had at first defended the Jews, hoping to convert them to his new faith. In 1523 Luther published a tract claiming that Jesus Christ was born a Jew and attacking the popes, fools, bishops, sophists, monks, and ass-brains who persecuted the Jews. He called for practicing Christian love toward the Jews. But as mentioned, when the Jews did not convert en masse Luther became savagely anti-Jewish (Ben-Sasson 1976:648–51). Luther hated the Jews as much as the peasants. In 1543 he published a poisonous anti-Jewish pamphlet, *On the Jews and their Lies*, in which he accused the Jews of well-poisoning, killing Christian children, and black magic.

Luther's fight for religious and spiritual freedom was as extreme, fanatical, passionate, and irrational as his opposition to political and economic freedom. Erikson (1958:235) thought that Luther's fight against political and economic freedom "corresponded to his medieval notions of the estate [class] to which an individual is born." Luther's violent hatred of the Jews became the cornerstone of their persecution by the Protestants. In 1534 Paul III became pope and launched the Counter-Reformation. In 1537 Luther's protector, the elector prince Johannes Friedrich of Saxony, ordered the expulsion of the Jews from his duchy. It took the intervention of Joselmann von Rosheim to make the elector change his mind. Luther himself refused to serve as the intermediary, despite a letter of introduction from one of the Alsatian leaders of the Reformation. The German crowds were inflamed when they heard the Jews clamor for the death of Jesus in the Passion plays.

The youthful "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles V (1500–1558), son of Juana la Loca (Joan the Mad), had invaded northern Italy, which was ruled by France. His war with France over Italy lasted several years, costing thousands of lives. In 1525 Emperor Charles defeated France at Pavia and captured King François (Francis I, 1494–1547) of France. In 1526 the imprisoned François signed the Treaty of Madrid, ceding his Italian lands and Burgundy to the German "Holy Roman Empire." Upon his release, however, François repudiated the treaty and set up the anti-German League of Cognac, which was joined by the pope and by Venice, Milan, and Florence. Emperor Charles V sent an army composed of German Lutherans and Spanish Catholics to Italy; it defeated the League of Cognac and sacked Rome in 1527. Pope Clement VII was captured and imprisoned for seven months.

There were four different European cities dating from Roman times that were

named Noviomagus, after the Celtic god Magun (Mogun): Noviomagus Lexoviorum (now Lisieux, France), Noviomagus Regnensium (now Chichester, England), the Dutch city of Nijmegen, and the German city of Speyer. The Rhenish bishopric of Speyer (Spire), was a free imperial city from 1294 to 1797, when it was taken by France. In 1526 "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles V convened the First Diet of Speyer, which accepted the division of the "Holy Roman Empire" of the German Nation between Catholicism and Lutheranism, ruling that *cuius regio eius religio*: each prince could decide the religion of his territory. In 1527 Speyer was made the seat of the Imperial Chamber of Justice, which it remained until 1689, when it was destroyed by French troops of the Grand Alliance. In 1529 the emperor convened the Second Diet of Speyer, which ordered the enforcement of the emperor's ruling against the Lutheran "heretics." The Lutheran princes issued a protest, which gave the new religion the name of Protestantism.

The religious and political wars between the Lutheran German princes and their Catholic emperor raged on in Germany. In 1530 Emperor Charles V, fearing the power of the new Protestant faith, threatened to stamp out Lutheranism. In 1531 the small Thuringian town of Schmalkalden became the focus of the revolt. The Lutheran princes and the delegates of the free cities, led by two "magnanimous" princes, the Landgraf Philipp der Großmütige (Philip the Magnanimous of Hesse, 1504–67) and the Kurfürst Johann Friedrich der Großmütige (John Frederick the Magnanimous of Saxony, 1503–54), gathered at Schmalkalden, setting up the Schmalkaldischer Bund (Schmalkaldic League) to defend Lutheranism. In 1536 Pope Paul III issued a papal bull calling for a general council of the Roman Catholic Church to deal with the Reformation. Kurfürst Johann Friedrich der Großmütige of Saxony sought a compromise with the Catholic Church. At his request, Martin Luther wrote the Schmalkaldic Articles, invited several Reformer theologians to Wittenberg to discuss them, and sent them to the elector prince in early 1537.

The Protestant Reformation spread like wildfire throughout Germany. Disgruntled peasants, angry burghers, seething nobles, and rebellious monks embraced Luther's revolution with a passion. The German lands were becoming free of imperial rule. "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles V feared that the Schmalkaldic League would ally itself with his enemy, François d'Angoulême of France (Francis I, 1494–1547), who had fought a series of wars with Charles (1521–44). At first the emperor granted de facto recognition to the Lutheran princes. After he made peace with France (1544), Charles initiated the Schmalkaldic War to stamp out the Lutheran "heresy." The Council of Trent (1545) met to discuss ways to do so as well. Joselmann von Rosheim "became increasingly aware that the Jews ought to pray for the peace of the Catholic emperor and the success of his forces against the Lutherans" (Ben-Sasson 1976:688). Was this one of the reasons Martin Luther hated the Jews so bitterly? Or was it Luther's Jew-hatred that made the Jews seek out the emperor?

36

Jewish Renaissance

By the sixteenth century there were Jewish population centers all over Christian Europe, in the Muslim Arab kingdoms of northwest Africa, and in the Muslim Ottoman empire that was spread over the Middle East and North Africa. Jews had been living in Italy since the defeat of Judaea by the Romans in 70 c.e. Italy was divided into many principalities and papal states. In the latter the Jews were better off than in the secular Italian principalities and republics. In the republic of Venezia (Venice), for example, the senate passed anti-Jewish legislation. In 1516 the Venetian senate ruled that all *ebrei* (Jews) must live in the *ghetto* (foundry), a closed Venetian compound. In 1550 Venice expelled the Marranos. The first legally established ghetto in Rome was created in 1555 by Pope Paul IV (1476–1559), a champion of the Counter-Reformation and a Jew-hater. The dukes of Este in Padova (Padua) treated the Jews and Marranos better.

The European Renaissance was hardly the calm, peaceful, and golden period of our imagination. The transition from the Middle Ages to early modern times brought much anxiety, violence, fantasy, delusion, and other psychopathology (Huizinga 1954; White 1974; Harvey 1993). Anxiety fuels defense mechanisms such as projection and externalization. Outsiders and foreigners, the natural targets for externalization, are perceived as evil. It was no accident that the Jews and Moors were expelled from Spain in 1492, a time of change and anxiety. Renaissance Italy was a violent place. Herlihy (1972) explored the riotous behavior of fifteenth-century Tuscans. The political turmoil in Tuscany, especially Florence, at the turn of the fifteenth century did not bode well for the Jews. The ruling Medici were great patrons of the arts but also autocrats, and noble Florentine families wished to depose them.

The Florentine Republicans fought the Medici for control of Florence. Like serious crises in personal lives, political crises bring about new beginnings. The Italian principalities were engaged in continual warfare. In 1400–1402 Duke Gian' Galeazzo of Milan seized much of northern Italy, but Florence was saved by his death. The crisis of Florentine liberty marked the transition from medieval autocracy to early modern political culture. In the 1420s his son Filippo Maria Visconti once again tried to seize Florence, which allied itself with Venice. Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464), the first of his clan to rule the Florentine state, was succeeded by his son Piero il Gottoso de' Medici (Peter the Gouty, 1416–69), who ruthlessly put down the Pitti

conspiracy (1466). Piero's son, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449–92), had to quell the Pazzi conspiracy (1478). Lorenzo's brother Giuliano de' Medici was stabbed to death.

In 1494 the Florentines, assisted by France, revolted against the Medici. They deposed Piero il Sfortunato (Peter the Unfortunate, 1472–1503), Lorenzo's son, making Florence a republic. The Jews were persecuted both before and after career of the firebrand Jew-baiting monk Girolamo Savonarola di Ferrara (1452–98), who was excommunicated by the Borgia pope Alexander VI (1431–1503) and later hanged by the Florentine government. (Popular myth had Savonarola burned at the stake.) In 1512 the Medici took over Florence again, but in 1527 they were overthrown by another Republican coup d'état. After 1530 the Medici once more ruled Tuscany.

In the sixteenth century the Low Countries were divided into the Catholic Austrian-Spanish Netherlands in the south, which roughly comprised modern Belgium and Luxembourg, and the relatively autonomous Protestant Dutch Netherlands in the north. After the Portuguese Inquisition was created (1536), "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles V granted the Marranos the right of residence in the Netherlands, and many Jews fled to the Spanish Netherlands, especially Antwerp (Roth 1959). In the seventeenth century some of the descendants of Portuguese Dutch Jews, like Baruch Benedictus de Spinoza (1632–77) of the Portuguese Jewish family of Espinoza, became great scholars. The great wave of Jewish migration from Portugal to the Netherlands occurred during the late sixteenth century.

Esztergom, near Budapest, was the former capital of Hungary and the site of its first Christian church. The king of Hungary in the early sixteenth century was Ulászló II (1456–1516), also known as King Vladislav II of Bohemia. In 1514 the newly elected Pope Leo X (1475–1521) charged Tamás Cardinal Bakócz (Bakacs, 1442–1521), the primate of Hungary, who dominated the king, with mounting a Holy Crusade against the Muslim Turks besieging Hungary. Bakócz was a powerful man. In 1507 he had erected his sepulchral chapel at the Cathedral of Esztergom. Nonetheless the Magyar nobility ignored his call for a Crusade and a political crisis occurred in Hungary. As in England in 1381, there was a peasant uprising. The poor Magyar peasants, long suppressed and treated as serfs, now led by a Szekler soldier named György Dózsa, revolted against the nobles. Their revolt was brutally suppressed by Duke János Zápolya of Transylvania. The imperial diet of 1514 sentenced the survivors to "real and perpetual servitude" and bound them irrevocably to the soil. Their few remaining liberties were abolished, and they became the slaves of the nobles. Ten years later the Peasant's War erupted in Germany. In 1526 Hungary came under Habsburg rule.

The European turmoil continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. King Manuel I of Portugal died in 1521, being succeeded by his son João (John III, 1502–57), a passive, pious, and retiring man. João was dominated by his wife Catalina (Catherine) of Spain, a sister of "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles V, who hated the Jews. In 1531 the king sought to introduce the Inquisition, and after many delays, in 1536, a papal bull introduced the Inquisition and its horrors to Portugal. The first auto-da-fé was held in 1540. A fresh exodus of Portuguese Jews began.

Emperor Charles V issued an edict permitting Marranos to settle in the Spanish Netherlands, which he ruled (Margolis and Marx 1985:486).

CONVERSOS FLOURISH IN IBERIA

The Iberian Jewish *conversos* fell into two groups: those who truly accepted Christianity and became integrated into Iberian society, and the Marranos, who secretly practiced their Judaism. Spanish and Portuguese Jews who were forcibly converted to Christianity received "New Christian" names, often those of their godfathers or godmothers. This was the case with the Benvenistes. Don Isaac Benveniste was the personal physician to the kings of Aragón in the twelfth century, and was known as Nací (Nasi), meaning prince or leader. His son Don Shesheth Benveniste (d. 1195), a physician, diplomat, and statesman of Barcelona, was also known as Nasi. During the fifteenth century Don Abraham Benveniste (d. 1452) was treasurer and chief rabbi of Aragón. After the Spanish expulsion of the Jews in 1492, one of his descendants moved to Portugal with his two sons. Under King Manuel's coercion they converted to Christianity in 1497, receiving the names Francisco and Diogo Mendes.

The ancient Hebrew title of *nasi* eventually became the important Marrano family name Nací. Mendes was the New Christian name of the Benvenistes, Migues the New Christian name of the Nacís. These two families intermarried to produce one of the remarkable women in Renaissance Jewish history. In 1528 Francisco Mendes married Beatrice de Luna Migues (1510–69), a sister of the court physician, Dr. Samuel Migues. Francisco had a prosperous business in Lisbon, while his younger brother Diogo had an even more prosperous business in Antwerp.

When the young Francisco Mendes died (1536), his young widow Beatrice was struck with grief. She had a little daughter named Brianda to take care of, named after her unmarried sister. At home Beatrice called her daughter Reyna (queen). Unconsciously a queen is a mother. Did Beatrice want her daughter to be her mother? Her brother-in-law Diogo Mendes invited her to join him in Antwerp. Unable to mourn her loss, Beatrice moved to Antwerp with her daughter Brianda-Reyna, her unmarried sister Brianda, and her two nephews, all of whom became members of her household.

In Antwerp the young widow called herself Doña Gracia de Nací, the original Hebrew name of the Migues. By dropping both names, Migues and Mendes, she could deny the loss of her husband. She became well known in Antwerp society. Doña Gracia's brother-in-law Diogo Mendes married her younger sister Brianda. In 1542 Diogo Mendes died as well, and Brianda Migues de Mendes was widowed. Doña Gracia's grief must have been considerable. Once again she could not mourn her loss, and in 1544 she moved to Venice with her widowed sister and namesake daughter. Gracia intended to proceed to Ottoman Turkey, where the Jews were treated relatively well, but she remained in Venice, and in 1550 she wound up in Ferrara,

another important Jewish community in Italy, where she openly returned to her Jewish faith.

Doña Gracia was a great philanthropist. She supported the work of the Usques, a prominent Portuguese Jewish scholarly family that had settled in Italy. Solomon Usque, her business agent, translated the work of Petrarch into Spanish. Samuel Usque was a poet and a chronicler, the author of one of the most important Portuguese-language Jewish histories of the sixteenth century, *Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel* (Consolation for the tribulations of Israel, 1553). In 1553 Abraham Usque (Duarte Pinhel), a printer and publisher, printed the famous Spanish-language Ferrara Bible. That year Doña Gracia de Nací and her daughter Reyna reached the Ottoman capital of Constantinople. Reyna Mendez married her Marrano cousin Don João Migue (Don Joseph Nací, 1520–79), who reembraced his Judaism and became duke of Naxos under Ottoman sultan Selim Sari (Selim the Blond, or Selim II, 1524–74), also known as Selim the Drunkard because of his fondness for a life of pleasure. Selim entrusted the government to his grand vizier, Mehmet Sokollu (1505–79), who helped the Jews in Palestine and in Europe.

A JEWISH FRANKENSTEIN?

The helplessness of the medieval Jews in the face of Christian persecution gave rise to fantasies of omnipotence. The Biblical Hebrew word *golem* means “lifeless matter.” The Ashkenazi Hassidim (German Jewish pietists) of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries fancied they could create human life itself. They believed they could make a human being out of clay and breathe life into it by means of holy names and sacred incantations. Rabbi Eleazar of Worms even recorded the formula with which he made the creature (Trachtenberg 1984:85). In the eighteenth century the golem legend was ascribed to a sixteenth-century sage, Rabbi Judah Loew ben Bezalel of Prague (1525–1609), known by his Hebrew acronym as the MHRL. His golem was described as an all-powerful superhuman monster not unlike that created by Mary W. Shelley’s Dr. Frankenstein. The sixteenth-century Jewish rabbi was a highly educated and intelligent man who composed Hebrew treatises on all aspects of Jewish life, including Agaddah and Midrash (myth and allegory). Rabbi Judah Loew of Prague never created anything like the golem, but myth is more powerful than reality.

Jewish legend had the “Holy MHRL” make this monster out of clay and place the ineffable Hebrew name of God, YHWH, written on an amulet, in the golem’s mouth. As long as that name was in its mouth, the golem could do anything. He obeyed his master’s commands, wreaking vengeance on Gentiles who harmed the Jews. When the rabbi took the software out of the drive, the golem became a lifeless piece of clay. The legend had the golem once run riot in Prague until the High Rabbi turned him off. The myth of the golem symbolically represents our aggressive energy, our preoccupation with birth and death, and our fantasies of omnipotence (cf. Petrus 1966).

PERSECUTION IN ITALY

The celebrated "Renaissance humanism" did not prevent the Papal Inquisition of Rome and those of Spain and Portugal from burning at the stake tens of thousands of "heretical" Jews, Marranos, and New Christians. The horrors of the Spanish Inquisition were repeated. In 1553 Pope Julius III (1487–1555), the founder of the Collegium Germanicum (1552) and patron of the arts, issued a decree stigmatizing the Talmud, and held an auto-da-fé on Rome's Campo de' fiori at which vast numbers of confiscated Hebrew books were burned. In 1555, despite the veto of "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles V, the College of Cardinals elected as Pope Paul IV their fanatical Italian member Gianpietro Carafa (1476–1559), who hated Spaniards, Protestants, and Jews. Carafa split his world into good and evil. He published a papal bull against the Jews, setting up the Roman ghetto, where they were forced to live under curfew. Paul IV also denounced as heresy the Peace of Augsburg. The Papal Inquisition launched a reign of terror. The ailing Emperor Charles V abdicated his Spanish throne in favor of his son Felipe (Philip II, 1527–98), who became king of Spain in 1556 and of Portugal in 1580. In 1558 Emperor Charles V also abdicated the "Holy Roman" imperial throne in favor of his younger brother Fernando (Ferdinand I, 1503–64), who was elected "Holy Roman" Emperor after Charles's death later that year; Pope Paul IV refused to recognize Charles's abdication.

In 1556 Pope Paul IV put a group of Marranos on trial in Ancona, a papal port city in northeastern Italy. Doña Gracia Mendes de Nasi and her nephew, Don Joseph Nasi, who wielded much influence in Constantinople, talked the Ottoman sultan into intervening on behalf of the Jews, but the pope was unrelenting. Twenty-three Jewish men and women were burned at the stake. Twenty-seven others were sentenced to hard labor on the island of Malta. Sixty-three others were baptized. Those who were sent to Malta escaped to Pesaro, but were expelled along with the rest of Pesaro's Jews in 1558. "The incident" (Ben-Sasson 1976:668) shocked world Jewry and may have prompted some of the new Jewish historiography in the late sixteenth century.

A NEW JEWISH HISTORIOGRAPHY?

While the Italian Renaissance had a profound impact on Jewish intellectual life (Roth 1959:305), it had little effect on Jewish historiography (310–11). Yerushalmi (1982:60) thought that a historical crisis like the Spanish expulsion naturally stimulates historiography. The breakdown of the republican systems in the Italian city-states in the sixteenth century gave rise to the new Italian humanist historiography, just as the trauma of the Spanish expulsion gave rise to the new Jewish historiography. Why did the Italian Renaissance, which so profoundly affected Jewish culture and literature, have so little effect on Jewish historiography? The answer may lie in the Jewish histories of the sixteenth century. Yerushalmi (57) believed that "the resurgence of Jewish historical writing in the sixteenth century was without parallel earlier in the Middle Ages." After fifteen hundred years of an almost total absence of chronological Jewish

historiography, no less than ten major Jewish historical works appeared. Most of them were written in Hebrew. The following summary is based on Yerushalmi:

1. *Shebet Yehudah* (Scepter of Judah) by Solomon ibn Verga. The ambiguous Hebrew title may also be rendered "Tribe of Judah," "Scepter of Judah," or "Scourge of Judah." First published in Adrianople (Edirne, 1554). The Ibn-Vergas were a family of Spanish Jews exiles in Turkey. The book was attributed to the father, Judah ibn Verga, but was actually written by the son, Solomon ibn Verga, and was published by the grandson, Joseph ibn Verga. It is "a precociously sociological analysis of Jewish historical suffering generally, and of the Spanish Expulsion in particular, expressed through a series of imaginary dialogues set within the framework of a history of persecutions."

2. *Sefer Yuhasin* (Book of genealogies) by Abraham Zacuto. First published in Constantinople (1566). Zacuto was the Spanish Jewish astronomer of King Manuel I of Portugal. He fled to Tunis in North Africa in 1497, where he wrote this book. He then moved to Turkey, where he may have died around 1520.

3. *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* (Minor Order of Elijah) by Elijah ben Elkana Capsali of Candia (1490–1555). This posthumously published book is "an elaborate history of the Ottoman Turks which incorporates both a history of Turkish and of Spanish Jewry, especially in the era of the expulsion." The Capsalis lived in Venetian Candia (Herakleion), Crete, since the Spanish expulsion. In the ninth century the Cretan capital of Herakleion had become the Arab *al-khandaq* (moat), corrupted to Candia by the Venetians, who bought Crete from the "Saracens" in 1204. Candia remained Venetian until the seventh century, when it was ceded to Ottoman Turkey. Elijah Capsali was a Jewish chronicler who lived through the expulsion, and may have been related to the Ottoman Jewish *hacham bashi* (chief rabbi) Moses Capsali (1420–93).

4. *Sippurey Venezia* (Venetian tales) and *Sefer Dibrey haYamim leMalchuth Venezia* (Book of the chronicles of the kingdom of Venice) by Elijah Capsali. Published posthumously, *Sippurey Venezia* is "a chronicle of Venice and an account of the author's experiences in Padua [Padova] from 1508 to 1515." Capsali was at least as deeply attached to Venice as he was to the Jews.

5. *Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel* (Consolation for the tribulations of Israel) by Samuel Usque. First published in Ferrara in 1553, this Portuguese-language work encompasses "the whole of Jewish history within the formal structure of a pastoral dialogue between three allegorical characters: Ycabo (Jacob—the Jewish people), Zicareo (Zachariah—the Remembrancer) and Numeo (Nahum—the Consoler)." Roth (1959:311) thought that "this stupendous work . . . more significant for its imaginativeness and its composition than as a narrative of events . . . belongs to the history of the Renaissance in Portugal."

6. *Dibrey haYamim leMalchei Zarephath uMalkhei Beth Ottoman haTogar* (Chronicles of the kings of France and of the kings of the house of the Ottoman Turk) by Joseph haCohen (1496–1578). First published in 1554 in Sabbionetta, Italy. The author was born in Avignon, southern France, to a family of Spanish Jewish exiles.

He studied medicine and practiced it in Genoa. In 1550 the Jews were expelled from the city of Genoa, and Joseph haCohen moved to Voltaggio. In 1567 the Jews were expelled from the entire Genovese republic, and Joseph haCohen moved to Monferrato in northwestern Italy, which since 1536 had been under the rule of the Gonzagas of Mantova (Mantua).

7. *Emek haBacha* (The vale of tears) by Joseph haCohen, "a history of Jewish sufferings since the fall of the Second Temple." Never published in the author's lifetime.

8. *Shalshleth haKabbalah* (The chain of tradition) by Gedaliah ibn Jacchia of Imola (ibn Yahya, 1515–87). First published in Venice (1587). A complete Jewish history that also contained European history. The author, born to a southern Spanish Jewish exile family in Imola, near Ravenna, was driven out of his hometown when the Jews were expelled; he moved to Pesaro, whence the Jews were expelled in 1558, then to Ferrara, and settled in Alessandria. His book included many "miraculous and impossible stories."

9. *Meor Enayim* (Eye-Opener) by Bonaiuto de' Rossi (1514–78). The Hebrew title may also be rendered as "Light Unto the Eyes" or "Enlightenment." First published in 1574 in Mantua (Mantova). The author called himself in Hebrew Azariah min haAdumim, and is best known as Azariah de' Rossi. He was an Italian Jewish physician and scholar who devoted half his life to researching and writing this great book. "A pioneering series of historical essays in which, among other matters, Hellenistic-Jewish literature . . . was first brought back to the attention of the Jews, and both classical rabbinic aggadah (legend) and the Jewish calendar were first subjected to historical scrutiny and criticism." The greatest Jewish history since Josephus.

10. *Tsemakh David* (David's sprout) by David Gans of Prague (1541–1613). "A detailed chronology in two parts of Jewish history and of world history." First published in Prague in 1592. David Gans was a Bohemian Jew who had contacts with the astronomers Johannes Kepler and Tycho Brahe. He had studied under Rabbi Moses Isserles in Krakow and under Rabbi Judah Loew in Prague.

Some Jewish historians still think of Jewish history as divorced from world history. Ben-Sasson (1976:717–18) was amazed by the fact that "these laymen attributed to general history a value of its own . . . the two parts show how far the author is rooted in his country. He is proud of magnificent Prague and is particularly fond of Bohemia and Bohemian history. He uses many quotations . . . from Christian chroniclers." People like David Gans were at least as much Czech as they were Jewish. Were these new histories more realistic than their medieval predecessors? Here are two scholarly views of this new Jewish historiography. Roth (1959:310–11) considered these works yarn-spinning:

[A]lthough there was an unquestionable revival of interest in history among the Italian Jews in the Renaissance period, this expressed itself through the medium of episodic chronicles, in the medieval style, rather than of comprehensive histories in the modern sense, such as Machiavelli and Guicciardini had by now introduced to European literature. It is enough to mention in this connection Joseph haCohen's naïve *History of*

the French and Turkish Monarchies, or in the Jewish sphere his martyrology, *The Vale of Tears* . . . or *The Chain of Tradition* by the banker Gedaliah ibn Jacchia of Imola, so replete with legendary matter that his critics called it *The Chain of Lies*.

Yerushalmi (1982:58–60) thought that these works were the first genuinely historiographical efforts of the Jews:

[T]he primary stimulus to the rise of Jewish historiography in the 16th century was the great catastrophe that had put an abrupt end to open Jewish life in the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 15th, a link confirmed by explicit statements within some of the works themselves. Thus, for the first time since antiquity we encounter a ramified Jewish historiographical response to a major historical event . . . we find a highly articulated consciousness among the generations following the expulsion from Spain that something unprecedented had taken place . . . [yet] Except for Azariah de' Rossi, we do not find that the spirit of Renaissance historical writing was really absorbed by sixteenth-century Jewish historiography . . . even though some Jewish chroniclers drew considerable information from Italian histories.

The psychological meaning of this statement is obvious. The Jews could not mourn their ancient losses. They remained isolated in their psychological ghetto, living in past fantasy. Other leading Italian Jewish Renaissance scholars, like Leone Modena of Venice (1571–1648) and Joseph Salomone del Medigo of Candia (1591–1655), had their own doubts about the veracity of rabbinical Jewish tenets, but did not dare make them public. The Jewish Del Medigo family of Crete had produced prominent scholars like Elijah del Medigo and Samuel Menahem del Medigo.

NEW MESSIAHS

The sixteenth century saw a new wave of borderline or psychotic Jewish Messiahs, purporting to bring redemption to the Jews. Each of them must have come from a highly traumatic and pathological family background, and was clearly suffering from paranoid delusions of persecution and of grandeur. For a while they were accorded high honors, great treasures, and complete credence. Their reception as Messiahs may seem astonishing, but it was a hardly surprising psychological reaction of denial to the catastrophe of the Spanish and Portuguese expulsions. Among the new Messiahs were Ascher Lemlein (Lämmlein), who appeared in Istria and Venice around 1502, David Reubeni (haReubeni), who first appeared in Egypt in 1523, and Solomon Molcho of Portugal, who met Reubeni in 1525. Lemlein was a German Jewish mystic who showed up in Istria and northern Italy claiming that he had been sent to announce the arrival of the Messiah and calling upon the Jewish communities to repent. The wish to believe in the coming redemption was so powerful that some Jews left all their worldly goods and occupations and gave themselves over to prayer, fasting, and charity. After six months Lemlein was forgotten.

David Reubeni seems to have been a manic personality. He appeared in Venice

and other Italian Jewish communities in the early 1520s, talking and praying incessantly, claiming to be the brother and emissary of King Joseph of Reuben, the mythical vanished tribe of Israel, who would help the Christians against the Turks. Abraham Farisol of Avignon (born 1451), a Jewish geographer, migrated to Italy and settled in Ferrara. The great Lombard noble family of Este ruled Ferrara since 1264. In 1503–4 Farisol held a disputation with a Dominican and a Franciscan friar before Duke Ercole d'Este (1471–1505). In 1524 Farisol described Reubeni in his book *Orhoth Olam* (Roads of the world) as short, thin, ascetic, brave, constantly praying, swarthy, speaking mainly Hebrew, and riding a mule.

Reubeni aroused the greatest interest and credulity. Laudadio Ismael da Rieti, a Jewish banker of Siena, hosted him in his villa, telling him candidly that his only desire and affection were not for Jerusalem but for Siena (Roth 1959:32). The Jewish scholar Vitale da Pisa entertained Reubeni in his country home near Pisa. Moses da Castellazzo helped Reubeni go to Rome and secure an audience with Egidio Cardinal da Viterbo, who in turn procured him an audience with Pope Clement VII. In 1524, during the French-Austrian war, the Jewish "Messiah" David Reubeni came to see Pope Clement VII in Rome. The pope was beset both by Luther's Reformation in Germany and by Emperor Charles V's invasion of Italy.

Reubeni's charisma was such that the pope gave him letters of introduction to the king of Portugal and to other potentates. Reubeni rode through Rome on a white horse with a mob of two hundred Christians and ten Jewish escorts beside him. Reubeni's madness infected a good deal of the Jewish and Christian world of Italy, Spain, and Portugal between 1520 and 1530. In 1525 he was not only received with high honors by King João (John III) of Portugal, but also fired the feverish fantasies of Diogo Pires, a Portuguese Marrano who converted back to Judaism, had himself circumcised, changed his name to Solomon Molcho, and claimed to be the new Messiah. In 1527 Molcho went to the Ottoman lands, where he studied the Kabbalah with Jewish mystics in Salonica, Adrianople (Edirne), and Safed. When the Spanish-German armies of Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) sacked Rome that year, Molcho declared this defeat of "Edom" to be a sign of the coming of the Messiah. He returned to Rome, and in 1529 went to Ancona, where a large community of Marranos had settled, and there he was briefly arrested. He returned to Rome once more and splashed in the gutter with beggars and cripples, certain that he was the true Messiah.

In 1530 Molcho met Reubeni again in Rome. The ascetic emissary of the ten tribes of Israel had been expelled from Portugal and from Spain, had stayed in the papal cities of France, and had fled Venice, where he was being interrogated. His only protector now was Pope Clement VII, who gave him a letter of protection from the courts of the Inquisition. In 1531 Reubeni fled to Bologna and later to Germany. In 1532 Reubeni and Molcho went to the Reichstag of Regensburg (Ratisbon) in Bavaria, where the representatives of the various German estates came to plead their case with Emperor Charles V. The German Jewish leader Joselmann von Rosheim (1478–1554) wrote that he tried to warn the odd couple against approaching the emperor, but that they would not listen. The emperor had the two Messiahs arrested and

handed over to the Inquisition. Molcho was burned at the stake. Reubeni was imprisoned in Spain and died in jail.

There were many prominent Jewish and Marrano physicians in the sixteenth century, but there seem to have been no psychiatrists to save the two Messiahs from their suicidal delusions. One of the Marrano physicians was Amatus Lusitanus, who taught anatomy at the medical faculty of the Università di Ferrara in the middle of the sixteenth century. He was born in Castelo Branco in Portugal; his given name was João Rodrigues da Castelo Branco. When Doña Gracia de Mendes came to Antwerp in 1536, he was living there. He later moved to Italy. Late in his life he converted to Judaism in Thessaloniki (Salonica).

Violating the medical ethic of confidentiality, Amatus Lusitanus published seven Latin-language volumes of his case histories, rich in anecdote, drama, and famous names, which he entitled *Centuriae*. Roth (1959:228) called them "an almost inexhaustible source of information . . . as yet most imperfectly explored." Among Amatus Lusitanus's patients was the well-known Don Judah León ben Isaac Abrabanel (Leone Ebreo Napolitano, c. 1460–1523), himself physician to Don Gonzalo de Cordoba, the Spanish viceroy at Naples. Judah León's father, Don Isaac Abrabanel (1437–1508), was a well-known Spanish Jewish statesman and scholar. When the Jews were expelled from Spain and Portugal, he moved to Italy. Don Judah León ben Isaac Abrabanel was the author of the *Dialoghi di amore* and the scion of one of the great Jewish families that had fled Iberia with the great expulsion. His prominent namesake was Leone Ebreo Mantovano (Leone de' Sommi of Mantua), author of the *Nozze di Mercurio e Filologia* (Roth 1959:258–59).

Amatus Lusitanus claimed to have known and treated Azariah de' Rossi, whom he described as "a great scholar both in Hebrew and in Latin letters." Rossi, himself a physician, suffered from indigestion and insomnia, psychosomatic symptoms related to his conflicts with Orthodox Jewry and with himself. Lusitanus boasted of having cured him completely by prescribing the patient's diet, hours of study, and sexual life (Roth 1959:319–20). But the rabbis banned Rossi's book and Rossi died a few years later.

JEWISH WOMEN, FAIRIES, AND WITCHES

Several thousand years ago the European and Middle Eastern family shifted from matriarchy to patriarchy. Old Europe's early Neolithic culture was matrifocal, matrilineal, and matriarchal, while the later Indo-European Bronze Age cultures were patriarchal (Briffault 1931; Gimbutas 1982). The culture of the ancient Hebrews was patrifocal, patriarchal, and patrilineal. Women were treated as man's property. There were strict rules governing their sexual and marital behavior. During the biblical era the family was polygynous. Hebrew kings had dozens of wives and concubines. There was great rivalry and jealousy among those women, as the story of Jacob's two wives illustrates.

Some women stand out in the biblical narrative. Rachel, whom Jacob loved, was

good and beautiful, and later became a symbol of the good mother of the Israelites in Jewish folklore. Leah, Jacob's "hated" wife, forced upon him by her father Laban, was bad and ugly. Jacob thought he was in bed with Rachel but was in fact making love to Leah. The myth of Rachel and Leah, which has parallels in Hindu and other myths, can be understood symbolically: the person you think you love is not really the person you love. You unconsciously idealize a Leah into a Rachel and denigrate a Rachel into a Leah.

Miriam, sister of Moses and Aaron, led the daughters of Israel in the triumphal song of the sea (Yamm). As mentioned, Miriam's original Canaanite Hebrew name was Mariyamm (she who is beloved of [the sea god] Yamm). It was corrupted into Miriam by the medieval Hebrew grammarians of Tiberias, who vocalized and punctuated the Hebrew Bible after the Arabic Koran and sought to disguise the "pagan" origin of the Hebrew names. Miriam was adopted by the Christians as Mary, mother of Jesus Christ. Deborah was the "judge" who ruled Israel in the pre-kinship era and supported their battle against the Canaanites. She sang the praises of Yael (Jael), who killed the Canaanite general Sisera by driving a spike through his temple.

There was Maachah, daughter of Absalom and wife of King Abijam of Judah, who was the cause of King Asa's bloody religious and political revolution; Athaliah, a murderous queen who brought about great bloodshed; and Jezebel, wife of Ahab, who was similarly slaughtered by the zealots of Yahweh. There were heroines such as Ruth the Moabite, who left her people and her religion to marry Boaz the Hebrew, and the Jewish Queen Esther of Persia, who helped her uncle Mordechai save the Jews from extermination. Esther and Mordechai were derived from the Babylonian deities Ishtar and Marduk. An Apocryphal heroine is Judith, who killed the Greek general Holophernes by cutting off his head. Many biblical heroines were fighting, killing women, rather than kind, maternal ones. The Jews of the biblical era, like many ancient peoples, did not seem to look very kindly upon women.

Some women of the Mishnaic era (roughly 200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.) became Jewish folk heroines. The most famous of these was Bruriah, wife of Rabbi Meir, who suffered many personal losses and traumas at the hands of the Romans during the disastrous Bar-Kochba revolt of 132–35 C.E. She was made into a great scholar and martyr in Jewish lore. Jewish tradition either idealizes women as heroines and saints or denigrates them as evil witches. This is a result of the unconscious process of splitting. The infant, unable to reconcile the pleasant and painful aspects of its mother, splits her in its fantasy into an all-good object and an all-bad one.

The talmudic and rabbinical authorities exempted women from many Jewish commandments. Women were not considered equal to men. Women were equated with slaves (Ben-Sasson 1976:616). During the early Middle Ages, Jewish wives and daughters were still the property of their husbands and fathers. Fathers could marry their daughters to any man they pleased, receiving a certain *mohar* (bride price) and endowing the young woman with her *neduniah* (dowry). The wife then became the property of her husband. Women were given almost no religious or other instruction. Their *raison d'être* was to bear children—preferably male ones.

THE UNCONSCIOUS ROOTS OF MISOGYNY

Some historians have called medieval women "the fourth estate," after the nobility, the Church, and the bourgeoisie. Women, if they had civil rights, were definitely fourth-class citizens, discriminated against in every legal, political, economic, and religious way. They were rarely mentioned in histories or other scholarly books. In fact, they were often feared and hated by men. Dinnerstein (1976) thought that misogyny and the fear of women were rooted in the earliest mother-child relationship, in which the infant feels all kinds of terror. Jewish feelings about women can be gauged like a projective test from the misogynist fantasies of Jewish folk religion, magic, and superstition.

Female sexuality was dangerous to men. They were afraid of the powerful sexual feelings that women excited in them. Trachtenberg (1984:16-17) thought that, if medieval Jewish women were not considered witches, they were nonetheless "the spearpoint of the forces of superstition . . . it was they who propagated the bizarre notions upon which the popular imagination fed . . . they were the fountainhead of all those household recipes and remedies and whispered charms with which medieval Jewry was plagued—or saved . . . the folk-magicians, healers of wounds, prescribers of love-potions." According to Trachtenberg (1984:50-51) Jewish women were considered just one step above demons, and certainly below men:

[J]ust as woman, in herself imperfect, seeks perfection through union with man, so the demons seek to unite themselves with woman, who represents the next degree of creation above them. This is why women are more prone to sorcery than are men; the sorceress is a woman through whom the demon that has possessed her operates, or one who through close association with demons has acquired their malevolent attributes.

The fear and hatred of women is quite clear. Women were believed to attract all manner of evil: the Angel of Death, Satan, the spirits of uncleanness, and the demons (Trachtenberg 1984:178). They were often believed to be possessed by spirits called *dybbuk*. Women had to sit in a separate section of the synagogue and to walk separately from men in funeral processions. They were considered impure, unclean, and dangerous, and believed to be possessed by the devil (Trachtenberg 1984:185):

The ancient taboo against a menstruous woman persisted undiminished throughout the Middle Ages. Great pains were taken to avoid the slightest contact, even between man and wife. This policy was carried to such extremes at times that the rabbis found it necessary to scold "those who throw the key or coins into their wives' hands." Yet, it is not to be wondered at that such inordinate measures were adopted, for the whole traditional lore of Judaism served to emphasize and enhance the taboo, threatening those who broke it with the direst consequences, here and in the hereafter, for themselves and their children. The Talmud contains a charm against snakebite which illustrates perfectly the abhorrence with which the woman in menses was regarded; when a woman meets a snake on the road, it is enough for her to announce "I am menstruating" for the reptile to glide hastily away! There is even a theory that the very atmo-

sphere is polluted by the glance of a menstruating woman, a theory which may be tested by a "true experiment": "If a woman at the commencement of her period stares fixedly into a bright metal mirror she will behold in it a drop of blood, for the demon that is in her glance creates an evil influence in the air which adheres to the mirror; verily she is like the viper that kills with its glance." To have sexual relations with such a woman is not alone to commit a mortal sin, but to jeopardize one's very health and sanity.

This "male chauvinist" misogynist attitude derived from archaic, deep-seated, unconscious fears of women originating in the earliest stages of human development. People hate that which they fear. Men attributed all manner of evil to women because they were afraid of them. As infants, men had feared their mothers' seeming malevolence, their intrusiveness, and their capacity to inflict all-consuming hurt, pain, and harm (Dinnerstein 1976; Demos 1982). Men feared their mothers' menstrual blood (Ebel 1987), their mother's wish to devour them, to castrate them, and to kill them. These archaic infantile fears persist within adults. Women thus become the object of both men's fear and its resultant hatred and discrimination against the feared object.



37

Jews, Witches, and the Devil

JEWES AND WITCHES

The Jews were not the only group persecuted in late medieval Europe. In 1484 the newly installed Pope Innocent VIII (1432–92) issued a papal bull entitled *Summis Desiderantes* to two German Dominican monks, Johann Sprenger, dean of the University of Cologne, and Heinrich Institoris Kraemer of the University of Salzburg, the inquisitor of the Tyrol, authorizing them to eradicate witchcraft in the German lands. Citing the biblical injunction in Exod. 22:18, “You must not suffer a witch to live,” the two zealous Dominican witch-hunters produced a thick volume entitled *Malleus Maleficarum* (The hammer of evil-doers, 1486), setting forth the most outlandish superstitions of the German Alpine peasants as gospel truth. The *Malleus* detailed the sexual depravity of the witches, their traffic with incubi and succubi, their devilish compacts and practices, and the signs by which they could be identified. This book was the bible of witch-hunters, and went through twenty-eight editions by 1600.

Witches were believed to commune with the devil, to practice black magic, to kill and harm people, to devour live flesh, and to drink human blood. In transvection witches rode broomsticks, a classical phallic symbol. In other words, they were unconsciously externalized figures of the internalized bad, phallic mother. Demos (1982) pointed out that projection, the basic unconscious process in witch-hunting, is an archaic defensive process, originating in the earliest phase of our lives. The same is true of externalization. The witch was the externalized image of the archaic bad mother within the unconscious mind. Witches were horrible mothers. They had “bad breasts” and penises that were intruded, attacked, devoured, punished, and lopped off.

Demos (1982) believed that the psychology of the witches’ accusers and bystanders was no less crucial than that of the witches’ victims. The real victims of witchcraft may have been the witches themselves, who were disturbed women. Rather than receive psychological help, they were tortured into confessing and burned alive. The supposed “victims” of their witchcraft displayed all manner of psychopathology. Their accusers displaced all their archaic rage at their early mothers onto the witches, and projected all their unacceptable wishes, desires, and feelings upon them.

One of the most fantastic things witches were accused of doing was having a nocturnal gathering (Sabbath) to meet with the devil (Satan). During the Sabbath witches were believed to dance, to feast, to engage in indiscriminate, depraved sexual intercourse with demons, and to kiss the devil's behind under his tail to show their obedience to Satan. Medieval Europeans even thought that they knew exactly where such gatherings took place, naming remote, isolated places in Germany, France, Russia, and Sweden. Unhappily, tormented men's perverted sexual wishes were unconsciously projected upon unfortunate women, with very tragic results.

RENAISSANCE ANXIETY

When medieval Christian Europe began to move into early modern times (1450–1750), that transition was painful. The social, political, and economic upheavals of the Renaissance brought anxiety and insecurity, which in turn gave rise to emotional lability, aggression, violence, fantasy, and delusion (Harvey 1993). The European Jews, although rigidly adhering to their traditional ways, were not immune from these processes. In some ways they were more deeply affected, given their precarious sense of security. As the outstanding minority group they were the natural unconscious scapegoats and suitable targets of externalization (Volkan 1988) for whatever the Christians could not bear within themselves.

Harvey (1993) reviewed the psychohistorical literature on early modern European history. Huizinga (1954:94) warned against historians' tendency to view the past as a rational whole dictated by clearly defined interests. He pointed out the extreme emotionality and irrationality of the French and Burgundian culture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Huizinga felt that late medieval European chivalry was imbued with fantastical, delusionary notions. These knights often resembled Miguel de Cervantes' Don Quixote, whose denial of reality is rivaled by his delusional fantasy. Anxiety and insecurity permeated the late European Middle Ages, and obsessive-compulsive rituals were engaged in to ward it off.

In some royal European families, disturbed father-daughter relations ended in bloody massacres. In 1553 the Tudor princess Mary (Bloody Mary, or Mary I, 1516–58) became queen of England. Mary was the only surviving daughter of the emotionally disturbed King Henry VIII (1491–1547) and his unhappy first wife, Catherine of Aragón, who had lost five of their six children. Mary's narcissistic father had repudiated her mother, who did not bear him a son, and had broken with the Roman Catholic Church, establishing the Church of England and marrying the younger Anne Boleyn (Anne Bullen, 1507–36), who gave him his daughter Elizabeth, the future queen. The poor Anne was beheaded on false charges of adultery and incest after failing to give Henry a son, and Henry married his new paramour, Jane Seymour (1509–37), who died the following year after giving him a son and heir, Edward VI. Three more wives—Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, and Catherine Parr—fared no better.

For personal and political reasons, the Catholic Mary Tudor decided to marry the

younger King Felipe of Spain (Philip II, 1527–98). Mary was close to her Spanish Catholic mother and both loved and hated her father. She was determined to restore Roman Catholicism to England, making enemies of the Protestant English noblemen. When Parliament sent a delegation to Queen Mary pleading against her planned Spanish marriage, she haughtily told the delegates that her marriage was her own affair. Mary's pride was her own undoing. In 1554 the young Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger (1521–54), son of the poet Thomas Wyatt (1503–42), led an uprising against Mary, who quelled the revolt and executed Wyatt. For the next three years, hundreds of Protestant "heretics" were hanged, beheaded, and burned at the stake. The executed Protestants were called "the martyrs of Bloody Mary." Byman (1978) found that these martyrs engaged in obsessional rituals in the face of imminent immolation. Mary herself was a tragic figure. She was hated by her people, lost her French territories, had three miscarriages, and died childless, sick, and grief-stricken. She was succeeded by her half-sister Elizabeth (1533–1603). Huizinga (1954:27) described the instability of late-medieval and early-modern European life:

So violent and motley was life, that it bore the mixed smell of blood and roses. The men of the time always oscillate between the fear of hell and the most naïve joy, between cruelty and tenderness, between harsh asceticism and insane attachment to the delights of the world, between hatred and goodness, always running to extremes. (Harvey 1993:144)

Several modern French historians have probed the emotional roots of our "rational" modern times. Febvre (1953, 1973) warned against psychological anachronism—the imposition of our modern psychological framework on earlier times. Febvre developed the concept of *mentalités* (mentalities), which became very popular among modern French historians (Febvre 1973). However, Febvre derided psychoanalysis while remaining ignorant of it. Marc Bloch developed Emile Durkheim's sociology into an anthroposociological history (Hughes 1987). Bloch wrote that "historical facts are in essence psychological facts," but did not propose a psychological system for their investigation. Friedländer (1978:1) dismissed Febvre and Bloch's work as not truly psychological but "strictly descriptive."

Anxiety breeds violence, which relieves anxiety by externalizing the conflict and alleviating the feeling of helplessness. Mandrou (1975:58) found that early modern French members of the *parlement* often came to blows in the midst of their sessions, "to repay a heated remark or settle some dispute over precedence or the sharing out of *douceurs* [ladies' charms]." Mandrou (1975:58, 226) described the anxieties and violence of early modern France (1500–1640):

In their anxiety when confronted by the outside world, by an impenetrable nature which it was still impossible to interpret, the people of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were ever more aggressive toward their fellow men . . . one should recall that even the most balanced of men, those who were most endowed with the famous, evenly-distributed "common sense," lived daily in a phantasmagoria, in a universe inhabited

by spirits and semi-divine or para-divine demons, who controlled natural forces and produced interrelated phenomena. (cf. Harvey 1993, 145–46)

Clark (1983) criticized the cultural condescension with which he felt the new French historians treated their lower-class subjects.

Medieval Europeans believed in a humoral psychology dating back to early Greek physiology. It held that four bodily humors (fluids) controlled man's state of mind: blood, phlegm, choler (yellow bile), and melancholy (black bile). The predominance of each of these humors in turn gave rise to the sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, or melancholic character types; their various mixtures determined the individual's complexion or temperament. Violent behavior was ascribed to a surfeit of choler in the body. Life expectancy was short. Herlihy (1972) studied the 1427 census in Tuscany (Italy) and found that half the Tuscan population of the fifteenth century was aged twenty-two or younger. Smith (1973) similarly found the same thing in seventeenth-century London. Youths were numerous in wealthy families, and males married late, in their late twenties or early thirties. This gave rise to riotous, violent behavior, which was explained by the prevailing humoral psychology. In fact, these young Europeans suffered from deep anxiety, alienation, and insecurity.

White (1974:25–26) felt that pervasive, overwhelming anxiety was the key psychological trait of early modern Europeans from the late Middle Ages to the eighteenth century. He believed, first, that

the period, roughly 1300–1650, generally called the age of the Renaissance, was the most psychically disturbed era in European history; second, that this irrationality was symptomatic of abnormal anxiety; third, that the anxiety arose from an ever-increasing velocity of cultural change compounded by a series of fearful disasters; and fourth, that at last, in the 17th century, this spiritual trauma was healed by the emergence, in the minds of ordinary people, of an absolutely novel and relaxed attitude toward change.

The causes of this great Renaissance anxiety are commonly held to be the prevalent epidemics, the economic change, the transition from corporate to individual organization, the political disorder and instability, the fear of death, and the disarray in the Church. The great changes in family relations may be a more direct cause of the pervasive anxiety.

DEATH, WITCHES, AND THE DEVIL

Anxiety is a painful feeling. Our ego defends us against anxiety by using unconscious "mechanisms" like repression, denial, or projection. To alleviate anxiety, the inner conflicts of the early modern Europeans were unconsciously externalized, resulting in strife and war. The Jews, being different and strange, were the natural targets of such externalizations. The beliefs in the devil and witches are prime examples of the externalization of very painful feelings. The broomstick-riding, blood-sucking, infant-

devouring witch is a projection of the internalized image of the archaic mother of early infancy. Religious rigidity and ritual are also common defenses against anxiety. Obsessive-compulsive cleanliness is similarly a defense against "dirty" thoughts and feelings: the unconscious process involved is reaction formation and reversal.

The English Puritans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are a good example of the operation of unconscious defensive psychological processes. Walzer (1963) thought that the Puritans were recent migrants to London with an acute sense of danger, wickedness, disorder, and alienation. They perceived the "blooming, buzzing confusion" of the new urban world as painful, incomprehensible, and uncontrollable. This was not only a reality but also an externalized image of their inner conflicts. Bouwsma (1980:222) thought that the Puritans' anxiety led them to embrace Calvinism with a passion. Harvey (1993:155) believed that "they chose Calvinism for its promise of meaning and order and structure, both internal and external, for self and for society." The split between God and the devil was an externalized image of the inner split between pleasant, good feelings and very painful evil ones. The sixteenth and seventeenth century were a time of great political strife in England. King Henry VIII had broken with the Roman Catholic Church and established the Church of England. Many Protestants who were persecuted under his Catholic daughter Mary Tudor (Bloody Mary) in 1553–58 fled to Geneva, where Jean Calvin (1509–64) had set up his reformed church. This gave rise to the so-called Puritans, who embraced a rigid morality, seeking to "purify" the Church of England from the "impure" remnants of Roman Catholic "popery" and to purge the souls of men from "sinful" thoughts and feelings.

Elizabeth became queen of England upon Mary's death in 1558; she at first ruled peacefully, but after twenty-nine years of plots and intrigues she executed her Scottish rival Mary Stuart (Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–87). Two books became popular in England at that time: the Geneva Bible and *The Book of Martyrs* by the fiery Puritan preacher John Foxe (1516–87). In a striking example of unconscious splitting and ethnic narcissism, Foxe portrayed England as an elected nation, chosen by God to complete the Protestant Reformation, and Catholic Spain as the evil empire of the hellish Inquisition. After the death of the childless Queen Elizabeth, the English and Scottish crowns were united. The Protestant King James of Scotland (James IV, 1567–1625) became King James I of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. He soon became embroiled in a power struggle with Parliament, dismissing Puritan grievances with the phrase "no bishop, no king." The Puritans' rigidity and that of James's son Charles I (1600–1649) led to bloody civil war between king and Parliament (1642–48) and to the execution of the tragic Charles. His son, Charles II, seized the Scottish throne. Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) made England into a commonwealth and made war on Ireland and Scotland, which helped externalize the English civil war. In 1660 the monarchy was restored under Charles II.

The New World attracted the Puritans, who imagined America as an earthly paradise. From the beginning of the seventeenth century entire Puritan communities migrated from England to America, settling in places like Jamestown, Virginia (1607),

and Plymouth, Massachusetts (1620), where colonies were established. These Puritans believed that they were creating a "Holy Commonwealth" in America and that they had a special covenant with God, like the biblical Abraham. From 1628 to 1640 the Massachusetts Bay Colony became a "covenant community." Sir Thomas Dale, who governed the Jamestown community in 1611, had visions of himself as a laborer in God's vineyard and as a member of Israel building the "heavenly New Jerusalem" (Rev. 21:9–22:5). Dale was a strict, severe governor.

Many new Puritan colonies were established in New England. The Puritans never properly mourned the loss of everything they had left behind. In their new communities interpersonal strife was great and witch hunts erupted (Demos 1970, 1982). Bouwsma (1980:222, 230), using a historical cultural anthropology, thought that the Puritans embraced rigid Calvinism with a passion because of their pervasive anxiety. Early modern European anxiety, he said, was "an inevitable response to the growing inability of an inherited culture to invest [new] experience with meaning." The diffuse anxiety of the early modern Europeans took concrete forms via externalization and projection. Late medieval and early modern Europeans dreaded the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Death, Famine, Pestilence and War. The notion originated in the mystical New Testament book of the Revelation of Saint John:

I watched as the Lamb broke the first of the seven seals, and I heard one of the four living creatures say in a voice like thunder, "Come!" There before my eyes was a white horse, and its rider held a bow. He was given a crown, and he rode forth, conquering and to conquer. The Lamb broke the second seal, and I heard the second creature say, "Come!" Out came another horse, which was red. Its rider was given power to take away peace from the earth that men might slaughter one another; and he was given a great sword. He broke the third seal, and I heard the third creature say, "Come!" There, as I looked, was a black horse, and its rider was holding in his hands a pair of scales. I heard what sounded like a voice from among the four living creatures; it said, "A day's wage for three quarts of flour, a day's wage for three quarts of barley-meal! But do not damage the olive and the vine!" He broke the fourth seal, and I heard the fourth creature say, "Come!" There, as I looked, was another horse, sickly pale; its rider's name was Death, and Hades [the Greek god of the underworld] followed close behind. To them was given power over a quarter of the earth, power to kill by sword and famine, by pestilence and wild beasts. (Rev. 6:1–8)

It is no accident that the fantasy of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse was revived in the late fifteenth century by artists such as Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), whose woodcut on the subject (1498) is among the best known of all European works of art.

Modern historians have been very ambivalent toward psychoanalysis. Barbu (1960:45) accepted the Freudian notion of unconscious defense mechanisms like displacement, compensation, and regression, yet wished to "exorcise the Freudian spirits lying in them." Barbu (1960:61) felt that the great social and physical insecurity of early modern times increased the emotional character of the individual's behavior and the ambivalence of his feelings. Studying psychosocial change in Tudor England,

Barbu (1960:196) thought that the newly affluent but deeply insecure English "middling sort" (middle classes) of the gentry, yeomen, professionals, and merchants unconsciously displaced, isolated, and rationalized their feelings to achieve control, discipline, and organization.

Stone (1967:108) described the behavior of propertied Englishmen in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as ferocious, childish and uncontrolled. They often used intemperate and violent, if not deranged, language, and resorted to violence to settle their differences. The level of English violence briefly declined in the 1610s and 1620s thanks to better government, the decline in the power of the nobility, the rise of litigation as a way to solve problems, and the attractiveness of education, but the level of violence rose again in the 1640s and 1650s. Stuart Englishmen were violent people. Stone thought that malnutrition and badly balanced diets aggravated that condition. Sharpe (1978:9) pointed out "the quite unprecedented states of emotional tension" among English members of Parliament in the seventeenth century, who often became violent. Kenyon (1978:46-47) described seventeenth-century English parliamentarians as childish, hysterical, vicious, and humorless.

DYBBUK POSSESSION AND JEWISH WITCHCRAFT

Medieval Jews believed in witches every bit as passionately as their Christian counterparts. Trachtenberg (1984, 13) pointed out that Jewish sources refer to witches as early as the eleventh century. "Witches" were believed to be possessed by the devil or some demon. Some witch-hunters sought to exorcise the demon before burning the witch. In Jewish tradition, both men and women were believed to be possessed by a dybbuk (spirit) possessing a person. The word *dybbuk* comes from the Hebrew root *dbk* meaning "cleave," "adhere," "stick," or "cling." Dybbuk possession is first mentioned in sixteenth-century Jewish sources and in the German Jewish *Maase-Buch* (Storybook) of 1602, where the spirit of a dead sinner, fleeing persecution, enters the body of a virtuous young man and makes him act sinfully. The dybbuk could only be exorcised by the most violent means (Trachtenberg 1984:50-51).

Bilu (1985) interpreted dybbuk possession as operating on several collective "levels of control." One level is the outwardly directed cultural molding of "aberrant impulses." Dybbuk possession appeared in close-knit, traditional, rigid Jewish communities. It articulated in socially acceptable form ego-alien, unacceptable sexual urges, as well as nonsexual, antisocial "aberrant impulses." Another level is the rectification of individual deviance from social norms by exorcising the dybbuk. The third level is the strengthening of social conformity in the Jewish community by drawing moral implications from the dybbuk possession and exorcism.

Individuals who believed themselves, and were believed by their community, to be possessed by demons, and similarly Jews who believed themselves and were believed by their community to be possessed by a dybbuk, were severely hysterical, borderline, or otherwise emotionally disturbed people. Most of them were not psy-

chotic: they had enough ego strength to mold their symptoms into culturally accepted forms. Krohn (1978:153) thought that the hysterical personality of social deviants "plays out dominant cultural identities, often to a marginal but never to a socially alienating extreme, in an attempt to promote the myth of passivity . . . an attempt to disown, both internally and interpersonally, responsibility in the broadest sense for thoughts, acts and impulses." Bilu (1985) thought that in traditional Jewish communities dybbuk possession was just such a myth, and that dybbuk possession should be regarded as a culture-specific, culture-bound syndrome.

Like the belief in God and the devil, the belief in witchcraft was part of the prevailing Christian culture. The "witches" themselves either believed they had communion with the devil, or were believed by their accusers to do so. As the level of anxiety in the European society increased, so did the witch hunts. By the second half of the fifteenth century, trials, convictions, and executions of witches by burning them at the stake were common. Witches were accused of all manner of sexual perversion, most of which was in the mind of their accusers. Shakespeare understood projection three centuries before Freud: "Thou, rascal beadle, hold thy bloody hand: why dost thou lash that whore? Strip thine own back: thou hotly lust'st to use her in that kind, for which thou whipp'st her" (*King Lear* 4.6.162-65). The accusers truly believed that witches were possessed by the devil, and that only near their death would they confess the truth. Under severe torture they "confessed" to their witchcraft. The Spanish Inquisition in the late fifteenth century burned dozens of "witches" daily.

The Inquisition's show trials of Jews, witches, and heretics were called autos-da-fé (acts of faith). After the ceremony Jews were tried by civil authorities, condemned to die, and burned alive along with the witches. The burning of Jews and witches made the Christian inquisitors feel good: evil in the shape of witches or Jews had been stamped out. Evil was outside them, and they could feel separated from badness. The auto-da-fé looked like a carnival. People bought souvenirs, rosaries, holy images, and food at the stands. People unconsciously thought, "How evil those Jews and witches are, and how good we are by comparison!" Witch-hunting went on until the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, especially in Puritan New England (Demos 1982). The "witches" for their part unconsciously expressed their unacceptable sexual fears and desires through their bizarre behavior, and the people's belief in witches made it possible for them to vent their unconscious fears of women and their rage at them in socially acceptable form. The killing of witches was partly unconscious matricide.

MEDIEVAL JEWISH CHILDREN

There is very little in Jewish history books about children. In the ancient Near Eastern cultures, such as the Sumerian, Canaanite, and Egyptian, children were abused, beaten up, abandoned, sacrificed to the gods, or otherwise killed (Potok 1978:18-19, 62, 135, 312). This is confirmed by many ancient texts, including the Hebrew Bible. The

killing of the firstborn sons is a major theme of the Book of Exodus. In the patriarchal Hebrew and Israelite families, children were as much the father's property as were women. People had little empathy, if any, for children's feelings. The Jews believed that God could punish children for the sins of their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers (Exod. 34:7).

From a very early age, medieval Jewish children were either made to study the holy scriptures of the Torah, Mishnah, and Gemara (Talmud) or made to work for their parents. Corporal punishment was common. Fathers and mothers who became angry with their children could vent their anger on them in any way they saw fit. Children were locked up, beaten up, and otherwise maltreated. Even in the best of cases a Jewish child received a good education in the Hebrew and Aramaic scriptures but remained ignorant of the secular learning of the surrounding peoples and cultures.

JEWSH WOMEN IN RENAISSANCE EUROPE

Roth (1959:44–58) thought that the Italian Renaissance brought sexual emancipation and educational advancement to Jewish women. At the same time their Eastern European sisters lived under considerable suppression. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was a great wave of Jewish immigration from the German lands to Poland and Lithuania, which gradually acquired the largest Jewish population in Europe. Taxation was a vital issue. In 1569, under Russian pressure, Lithuania merged with Poland in the Union of Lublin and the Lithuanian aristocracy and bourgeoisie became thoroughly Polonized. The Jews embraced some Polish customs but remained locked into their traditional lifestyle. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Polish Jews had organized themselves into tax districts, which were they called the "lands" of Poland: Great Poland (centered around Poznan), Little Poland (centered around Kraków and Lublin), Galicia and Podolia (centered around Lwów, now in the Ukraine), Volhynia (also in the Ukraine), and Lithuania (including Brest, Grodno, and Vilnius). The number of "lands" kept changing with their political unions or breakups.

Each Polish Jewish "land" had its council. The supreme governing body of Polish Jewry was at first called the Council of Three Lands: namely, Poland, Lithuania, and Galicia. Later this council kept changing its name. By 1580 it was called the Council of Five Lands: Great Poland, Little Poland, Galicia, Volhynia, and Lithuania. After the Lithuanian Jewish Council seceded in 1623, the supreme council of the Polish Jews was known as the Council of Four Lands. This name stuck, and remained the official name of the council. The Council of Four Lands had thirty-six members: six rabbis and thirty laymen. It met every spring at the Lublin fair and every summer at the Jaroslaw fair, both in Little Poland. Fearful of provoking the goyim, the council passed many regulations concerning the daily life of the Jews.

Sexual matters greatly preoccupied the council. Jewish daughters were still the property of their fathers, and Jewish wives the property of their husbands. Jewish women's sexual relations with non-Jews were taboo. Fearful of Jewish girls being

seduced or raped by non-Jews, "Laws were passed against extravagance in dress and adornment, lest it might rouse the envy of the Christian population. It was strictly forbidden for a Jew to surrender his wife or daughter to a Christian in lieu of a debt; nor was a Jewish woman permitted to visit the house of a Christian on business unless accompanied by an adult Jew" (Margolis and Marx 1985:539).

In the late sixteenth century the Polish Jewish land councils became increasingly concerned with women's affairs. Their regulations dealt with Jewish charities for poor newlywed brides, as well as with Christian wet nurses and female domestic servants in Jewish homes. As the Jews grew wealthier, their demand for such help kept growing. The penetration of Christian females into Jewish homes brought with it the lures and dangers of sexual seduction. It was common for Christian wet-nurses and maids to initiate the Jewish male children in their charge into sexuality. The councils wished to promote the hiring of Jewish women. The Council of Little Poland in Kraków ruled in 1595 that

if the daughter of a poor man or woman shall reach the age of ten years and they refuse to permit her to enter service [as a domestic servant], then if he or she has been receiving an allowance [from the charity fund] they will not receive it any more. And when the said daughter marries he will not receive anything as a contribution to her wedding, even if he no longer receives an allowance. (Balaban 1913-16, 10:345)

In 1607 Rabbi Joshua Falk (1555-1614) headed a rabbinical council at Lublin that regulated Jewish business practices, including the lending and borrowing of money at interest. But the Polish Jewish councils were more concerned with sexual than with financial matters. In 1637 the Lithuanian Land Council denounced "a man . . . who wishes to give his child to the home of the wet-nurse or to keep her and her husband in his home, when the wet-nurse is required to take oath or give her hand not to engage in sexual intercourse with her husband" (Ben-Sasson 1976:685).

In 1638 the Jewish Council of the Land of Lithuania ruled that poor girls from the rural areas around the large Jewish communities must

enter into service for three years. . . . Poor virgins from the vicinity . . . are not to be given anything until they have in hand . . . some visible proof from the leaders of the community that they have served in the homes of the householders dwelling within the community for a period of three years from the time that they were twelve years old, since this age is fitting for domestic service. (Ben-Sasson 1976:684)

In Germany it took another century and a half and the French Revolution for Jewish *grandes dames* to flourish. The status of Jewish women in Eastern Europe did not change much until the twentieth century. They were considered their husbands' property and had few rights. Yet in a subtle way wives often held real power in the Jewish family. This was especially true when the husband was a scholar and the wife the breadwinner. It was also true in families where the husband was busy making a living outside the home, and was often absent on business. The position of the Jews

amid a Jew-hating Christian population did not enhance the self-esteem of the Jewish male, who impotently faced a hostile social and business environment. The fear of catastrophe and loss was ever present. Anxiety permeated Jewish life. The abnormal structure of the Eastern European Jewish family, with its ambivalent, possessive, symbiotic, and domineering "Jewish mother," may be the pathological Jewish reaction to the abnormal circumstances of Jewish life in eastern Europe.

38

Slavs, Balts, and Other Jews

The largest European Jewish population centers from the late Middle Ages to the twentieth century were in Poland and Russia. During the early Middle Ages there had been great migrations of Central Asian tribes to Europe and vast dislocations within Europe itself. For both economic and psychological reasons, ethnic groups kept migrating, invading, and displacing each other. Some Germanic peoples, including the Danes, Norwegians, Icelanders, and Swedes, eventually settled in Scandinavia, as did the Suomi (Finns), displacing the native Lapps. Linguistically both Lapps and Finns belong to the Finno-Ugric group, which also includes the Magyars.

Ethnic identity and nationality are in the mind (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry 1987). Language is the key element of ethnicity. The ancient Baltic and Slavic tribes settled in eastern Europe, between the shores of the Baltic Sea and those of the Black Sea. Modern "Balts," including the Letts (Latvians), Liths (Lithuanians), and Eesti (Estonians), like to distinguish themselves from the Slavs, yet Latvian and Lithuanian are Slavic languages. Those who only recently were "Soviets" are now Russians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, Tadzhiks, and Azeris. The Yugoslavs of yesteryear are now Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Montenegrins, and Slovenes. The Bosnians themselves are tragically divided into warring camps of Serbs, Muslims, and Croats. In Bosnia, the Muslims are an *ethnic* rather than a religious group: they consist of Islamized Slavs and Turks. "Balts" is the nineteenth-century name for the Slavic tribes that Tacitus called Aestii because they lived on the East (Baltic) Sea. The Aestii included the Liths, Letts, and the extinct ethnic groups of the Jatvingians, Prussians, Cours, Semigallians, and Selians. Ironically, Eesti is the Estonian name for Estonia, and the Estonians are a Finnic people, not Slavs.

As mentioned, the Latin word for Slav, *sclavus*, came to mean "slave," because the early Germanic tribes conquered the Slavs and enslaved them. The Slavs had migrated from Asia to eastern Europe in the third and second millennium B.C.E. During the first millennium B.C.E. the Celtic and Germanic tribes settled west of them. During the fifth and sixth centuries C.E. there were great Slavic migrations westward, southward, and northward. The wars between the Germanic and Slavic peoples climaxed in the thirteenth century, when the Russian prince Aleksandr Nyevisky defeated the

German Teutonic Knights. In our own century Hitler's Germans invaded Stalin's Russia and were similarly defeated, with terrible losses on both sides.

Anthropologists have divided the Slavs into three cultural groupings: the West Slavs, East Slavs, and South Slavs. The West Slavs include the Liths, Letts, Poles, Czechs, Moravians, Wends (Sorbs), and Slovaks—all peoples who were heavily influenced by Roman Catholic Europe, adopting the Catholic religion and the Latin alphabet. The East Slavs include the Russians, Byelorussians, and Ukrainians; they were strongly influenced by Eastern Orthodox Greek and Byzantine culture, adopting the Greek Orthodox religion and the Cyrillic alphabet. The South Slavs include the Macedonians, Bulgars, Serbs, Bosnians, Croats, Slavonians, and Slovenes, people who were affected by the Mongol, Islamic, and Turkish cultures. The first three groups adopted the Cyrillic alphabet, the last three the Latin.

Few ethnic groups, even those inhabiting islands, have a totally isolated history. Russian history grew out of Scandinavian and Baltic history. The Finns called themselves *Suomi* and the people who lived on the other side of the Baltic *Ruotsi*. This name was corrupted by the Slavic tribes into "Rus." Like the Mongol kings, their rulers were called khans. Around 830, near the future Saint Petersburg, in the regions around Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega, the *khagan* (great ruler) of these Rus ruled all the lands north of the Turkic Khazar kingdom. In the mid-ninth century the Rus were joined by Scandinavian Viking (Varangian) tribes in raiding the great river routes of the Dnyepyr, Volga, and Don. The Slavic tribes called the Varangians "Rus" as well.

These Viking "Rus" were led by Prince Rurik (in Russian, Rurik) of Jutland, who came to Lake Ladoga around 855, built a fortress at Ladoga, and proceeded south along the River Volkhov to Novgorod (The New City), first mentioned in an 859 chronicle. Ironically, Russian history begins outside Russia, in the Ukraine. In 882 Rurik's kinsman Prince Oleg of Novgorod founded the city-state of "Kievan Rus" at Kiev on the Dnyepyr (in the Ukraine). Its location on the trade route from Scandinavia to Greece made Kiev important. Kievan Rus was perennially fighting the nomads of the Asian steppe, such as the Turkic Khazars and Pechenegs. In 965 Duke Sviatoslav of Kiev defeated and conquered the Turkic Khazars, whose empire disappeared. Kiev later became the capital of Ukraina (the border lands), which at various times was called "Ruthenia," "Red Russia," and "Little Russia."

One of Oleg's successors, whose parents destined him for greatness, was called Vladimir (ruler of the world). Vladimir the Great (Saint Vladimir, 956–1015), grand prince of Kiev, accepted Eastern Orthodoxy in 988 and united Kiev with Novgorod. By the twelfth century Christian Kiev had more than four hundred churches. The city of Vladimir, east of Moscow, was founded by Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh (Vladimir II, 1053–1125) in 1108.

From 1229 to 1279 the Teutonic Knights conquered and force-converted the "heathen" Prussian Slavs. "Liwonien" was the medieval German name for Livonia, the land of the Livs, a Finno-Ugric people living on the Baltic Sea, at the mouths of the Western Dvina and Gauja Rivers. During the thirteenth century Livonia covered

roughly what are now Latvia and Estonia. The Germanic Order of the Brothers of the Sword, a branch of the Teutonic Knights founded in 1202, conquered and Christianized Livonia. After 1237 they were known as the Order of the Teutonic Knights of Livonia, or simply the Livonian Knights. The loose "independent" Livonian Confederation of ecclesiastical states, free towns, and regions ruled by the Teutonic Knights lasted until the sixteenth century, when it was taken by Russia.

During the late Middle Ages Russian history became intertwined with Mongol history. The Mongol "Golden Horde" from Central Asia ruled vast areas of southern Russia. In the thirteenth century the Russian city of Vladimir became the seat of the Grand Principality of Vladimir, the foremost among the medieval Russian principalities. Aleksandr Nievsky (Saint Alexander Nevsky, 1220–63) was successively prince of Novgorod, prince of Kiev, and grand prince of Vladimir. He fought the Swedes, Germans, Finns and Lithuanians, as well as his younger brother Andrei. In 1242 Aleksandr Nievsky won the "massacre on the ice" against the invading Teutonic Knights on a narrow land channel between Lake Chud (Peipus) and Lake Pskov. The great Russian Jewish film director Sergei Eisenstein made his famous film *Aleksandr Nievsky* (1938), with music by Sergei Prokofiev, about this battle. Aleksandr Nievsky exploited the rivalry between the two Mongol leaders, Batu Khan and the Great Khan. Aleksandr's brother Andrei was made grand prince of Vladimir by the Great Khan, but was later deposed by Batu Khan's son, Sartak Khan, in favor of Aleksandr.

At various times the vast country of Russia comprised lands in the west and southwest that were known as "White Russia" and "Red Russia"—lands that roughly correspond to the newly "independent" republics of Byelarus and the Ukraine. Russia began as Moskva (Muscovy or Moscow), a royal appanage (grant) within the grand principality of Vladimir. Moskva became a principality under Aleksandr Nievsky's son, Prince Danilo Aleksandrovich (Daniel, r. 1276–1303). In the fourteenth century Moscow became the seat of the metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church; in 1328 the "Tatars" (Mongols) made its prince the grand prince of Vladimir. Rurik's dynasty ruled both Kievan Rus and Muscovy until 1598. The princes of Muscovy "gathered the Russian lands." Prince Ivan (John III, r. 1462–1505) annexed Ryazan, Yaroslavl, Rostov, Tver, and Novgorod; Prince Vassily (Basil III, r. 1505–33) united the Great Russian lands of Kiev and Muscovy, the East Slavic lands, White Russia, and the Ukraine. Muscovy then became identical with Russia.

"Czar" (from the Latin "Caesar") was the title that medieval Russians gave to the Byzantine emperors and Mongol khans. Grand Prince Ivan Grozny (Ivan the Terrible, or John IV) of Moscow (1530–84), a sick man tormented by paranoid fears, suspicions, and rages, sought to allay his feelings of helplessness by becoming all-powerful. In 1547 Ivan assumed the title of czar, fancying himself the absolute ruler of Russia. In reality his power was checked by that of the Russian Orthodox Church, the boyars (noblemen), and the Russian legal codes. Czar Ivan often called a *zemsy sobor* (assembly of the land), composed of church leaders, boyars, landowners, and urban freemen, to decide matters of state. In 1566 a *zemsy sobor* called by Ivan during the Livonian War with Poland, Lithuania, and Sweden rejected a Lithuanian

peace offer. The Russians continued to call their rulers czars until the twentieth century, even though Czar Peter the Great adopted the Roman title of *imperator* in 1721.

THE "OPEN COUNTRY"

Polish myth ascribes the founding of Poland to a legendary hero named Lech, who made Gniezno his capital. This myth attributes the origin of the Slavic peoples to three mythical brothers named Lech, Czech, and Rus. In fact, the early medieval "pagan" West Slavic tribe that called itself the Polanie (open-country dwellers) invaded a land they called Polska (the open country), already settled by Germans and Balts. During the ninth and tenth centuries these Polanie gradually mixed with the Wislanie (Vistulans), Ledzianie, Slezanie (Silesians), Pomorzanie (Pomeranians), and Mazowianie (Mazovians) to form the "Polish" nation. Between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, the territory of Poland expanded and contracted. In 950 "pagan" Bohemia was defeated and forcibly converted to Christianity by "Holy Roman" Emperor Otto I of the Germans and annexed to his empire. To avoid this fate, Prince Mieszko I (Mieszko I, 930–92), who assumed the Polish throne in 963, accepted Christianity from Rome (966), seized the Ukrainian Galicia from Bohemia, and annexed Pomerania as well, expanding Poland's borders to the Baltic Sea.

GREAT POLAND AND LITTLE POLAND

As everywhere else, psychogeography played a key role in the naming of the Polish lands. Poland then comprised the central lands around Poznan, Gniezno, Kalisz, and Kruszwica, straddling the Warta River, which were united during the first part of the tenth century by Siemowit, Leszek, and Siemomysl and were later known as Wielkopolska (Great Poland). The capital, Poznan, became a Christian bishopric in 968. Only seven centuries later, in the seventeenth century, the first royal dynasty of Great Poland was given the name of Piast, after its mythical founder. The tribes of southeastern Poland were united in the territory later known as Malopolska (Little Poland), whose capital Kraków (Cracow) became a bishopric in the year 1000. Its other great city was Lublin.

Between 992 and 1025 King Boleslaw Chrobry (Boleslaw the Brave, or Boleslaw I, 966–1025) expanded Poland by annexing Pomerania, Lausitz, Silesia, Mazovia, and Little Poland. Western European Jews first began migrating to the Polish lands after the Crusader massacres of 1096. In 1097 "Holy Roman" Emperor Heinrich (Henry IV) allowed the Jews to return to their faith and ordered the interrogation of Archbishop Ruthard of Mainz, who had raided the Jews. But in 1098 Prince Bretislav of Bohemia stopped the Jewish refugees in Prague and confiscated their property. Throughout the twelfth century Jews kept migrating to Poland.

Fraternal rivalry can be lethal, as in the biblical myth of Cain and Abel. In 1102

Prince Boleslaw Krzywousty (Boleslaw the Wry-Mouthed, or Boleslaw III, 1085–1138) became king of Great Poland. Enraged with the disloyalty of his elder half-brother, Zbigniew, Boleslaw accused him of treason and had Zbigniew blinded (1107). Zbigniew died soon thereafter. The Polish *szlachta* (nobility) pressured Boleslaw to grant autonomy to the Polish provinces. Ambivalent about his sons, and seeking a tenuous compromise between primogeniture and equality, Boleslaw Krzywousty divided Poland into five principalities: Great Poland, Silesia, Mazovia, Little Poland (Kraków), and Sandomierz (LaMonte 1949:703).

These principalities were given to the king's sons by the "seniority system." The eldest, Wladyslaw the Exile (Wladyslaw II, r. 1138–46), was given the "land of the senior" stretching from Silesia and Little Poland to central Poland and north to the Baltic provinces of Pomorze (Pomerania) and Gdansk (Danzig). His younger brother Boleslaw the Curly (Boleslaw IV) was given Mazovia, the "land of the junior." A third brother was given the lesser duchy of Kujavia. The narcissistic injury inflicted on the younger sons was a prescription for war. Each son was jealous of his brothers and coveted their lands. In 1146 Wladyslaw was forced into exile in Germany by his brother Boleslaw, who asserted himself as the senior and ruled until 1173. This led to war with the sons of Wladyslaw the Exile and with "Holy Roman" Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa, who twice intervened to secure Silesia for them (1163 and 1172).

The Jews who settled in Great Poland, Little Poland, Mazovia, Kujavia, and Silesia were gradually forced to become moneylenders (Ben-Sasson 1976:471). The interest rates were high because the risk involved in the loan was high; often there was no collateral. Their borrowers often could not pay the usurious interest rates, let alone the principal itself. Soon there were anti-Jewish riots, which moved the Polish princes to intervene. These princes were busy fighting each other. King Boleslaw the Curly was succeeded as senior in 1173 by Prince Mieszko Stary (Mieszko the Old, or Mieszko III of Kraków, 1126–1202), who ruled Little Poland from 1173 to 1177, was exiled from Kraków by a rebellion but held on to Great Poland. Mieszko was kind to the Jews. He decreed heavy fines for Poles, especially priestly novices, convicted of violence against Jews. He also granted the Jews the lease to mint the royal coins. The Jews minted Hebrew-script coins inscribed "Mieszko Karl Polski."

People are often their own worst enemies (Dixon 1987). The revolt that exiled Mieszko III from Kraków in 1177 was sparked by his own brutality and despotism, and by his anti-Catholic, pro-Jewish stance. It was led by the Polish nobles and the Church. The Polish magnates and Bishop Gideon of Kraków helped Mieszko's Jew-baiting younger brother Duke Kazimierz Sprawiedliwy (Casimir the Just, or Casimir II, 1138–94) of Kraków and Sandomierz depose Mieszko. The two brothers fought it out bitterly for the throne. The *szlachta* and the clergy at the Congress of Leczyca (1180) recognized Kazimierz II as king of Poland. In 1190 Mieszko the Old briefly regained power in Little Poland, seizing Kraków from Kazimierz, but was driven out again in 1191.

The Jews depended for their safety on the political fortunes of their protectors and benefactors. During the late Middle Ages some Jews followed the German

Christians who fled the great religious wars to Poland. Others fled the Black Death and the persecutions that followed; still others were expelled from the German lands. The Germans and Jews who migrated to Poland were organized in self-governing communities based on German law. The Polish kings themselves were not always secure. In 1241–42 the Mongols under Batu Khan conquered Kiev (now the Ukrainian capital) and invaded Poland, defeating the Poles at Chmielnik, south of Kielce, and the Silesian Teutonic Knights at Legnica (Liegnitz). The Mongols retreated to the Ukraine but continued to raid Little Poland. In 1264 Prince Boleslaw the Pious of Kalisz, ruler of Great Poland, seeking to attract German Jews to his realm, granted the Jews a thirty-seven-clause Latin charter, giving them many judicial rights and protecting them against Christian molestation. But as soon as their protector died, the Jews, the target of the unconscious projections and externalizations of the Polish Christian majority, were once more at the mercy of Jew-hating Poles.

Prince Wladyslaw Lokietek of Kujavia (Wladyslaw the Short, or Wladyslaw I, 1260–1333) united the Polish principalities under his crown. He acquired Great Poland in 1314 and was crowned king of Poland in 1320 in Kraków, making it his royal capital. The German Teutonic Knights were constantly fighting the Poles over the Baltic and other lands. They captured Pomerania in 1308 and made advances in Poland; but Wladyslaw defeated the Teutonic Knights at the Battle of Plowce (1331). Henceforth the kings of Poland were crowned at Kraków's royal Wawel Castle and buried in Wawel Cathedral on Kraków's Wawel Hill. The Polish *szlachta* wielded considerable power, and the king had to consult it on major policy decisions.

In 1333 Wladyslaw died and his son Kazimierz Wielki (Casimir the Great, or Casimir III, 1310–70) became king of Poland. Kazimierz, who was thrice married with no male issue, expanded Poland further by annexing lands from Germany and Russia, and encouraged durable construction of stone buildings. Kazimierz Wielki granted the Jews many privileges. He ratified the Jewish Charter of Prince Boleslaw, removed the jurisdiction over Jewish-Christian disputes from the anti-Jewish city magistrates to the Polish crown, gave the Jews access to public baths and free transit through the country, and gave them the right to live wherever they pleased. His liberal policies attracted massive Jewish immigration (LaMonte 1949:703–4). For the next six centuries, until the Second World War, Poland was one of the largest Jewish population centers in the world. Hitler's Nazis killed three million Polish Jews.

The fifteenth-century Polish historian Jan Dlugosz (Johannes Longinus, 1415–80), author of the monumental, patriotic, and tendentious twelve-book *Historiae Polonicae*, attributed Kazimierz Wielki's pro-Jewish stance to a Jewish mistress named Esterka (Little Esther), who bore him four illegitimate children and lived in a royal palace near Kraków. Most modern Polish and Jewish historians dismiss this account as myth. It bears a striking resemblance to the biblical story of Queen Esther and King Ahasuerus of Persia. But myths have a psychological meaning. Did Dlugosz hate the Jews? Did he feel that the only way a Polish king could like the Jews was if he had a Jewish mistress? Be that as it may, the fact remains Kazimierz Wielki favored Jewish immigration.

THE BORDER LANDS

The medieval "Ukraina" were the vaguely defined borderlands between Poland and Russia. Borders have a powerful unconscious meaning (Falk 1974, 1983); the Ukraine was often the scene of political and religious drama, revolt, conflict, and war. Galicia is a historic region in southeastern Poland and the western Ukraine. At various times the Ukraine included Volhynia, Galicia, and Podolia, which at other times were Polish. The lands southeast of Little Poland known as Galicia (now in the Ukraine) were more or less coterminous with "Red Russia" or "Ruthenia," the Latin name for Russia. The Ukraine did not designate any political entity until the nineteenth century.

From the ninth century the Ukraine was the site of the kingdom of "Kievan Rus," which included Kiev, Chernigov, and Pereyasavl. In 981 Grand Prince Vladimir of Kievan Rus (Saint Vladimir) annexed Eastern Galicia. In 988 Vladimir made Greek Orthodox Christianity, which had been introduced into his kingdom by Byzantine Greek missionaries, the state religion of Kievan Rus. From 1037 the Russian Orthodox Church was ruled by Greek metropolitans appointed by Byzantium. In 1087 Galicia became an independent principality. In 1199–1200 Prince Roman of Volhynia united Galicia and Volhynia. The Galician-Volhynian principality of the Ukraine lasted until 1349, when King Kazimierz Wielki of Poland annexed it to his realm.

In 1439 the Greek metropolitan of Kiev signed the Union of Florence, reuniting the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches. The Russian Orthodox Church became "autocephalous" (having its own head). In 1589 Metropolitan Iov of Moscow (Job, d. 1607) was named patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church and became the fifth-ranking official of the Greek Orthodox Church. From 1458 the Ukraine had its own metropolitan "of Kiev and all Russia" under the patriarch of Constantinople. In 1596 many Ukrainian clerics and laymen converted to the Polish religion of Roman Catholicism. In 1654 the Ukraine became part of Russia. In 1687 the Kiev metropolitanate was reunited with the Moscow patriarchate, and many Ukrainians converted back to Russian Orthodoxy. In 1721 Czar Peter the Great abolished the Moscow patriarchate, replacing it with the Most Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Galicia and Volhynia remained Polish until the eighteenth century. Eastern Galicia was ceded to Habsburg Austria with the first partition of Poland (1772). With the second partition of Poland (1793) and third partition of Poland (1795–97), all of Galicia became Austrian. Lithuania, White Russia, Volhynia, and Podolia were annexed by Russia. Poland ceased to exist as a political entity. The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815) ended with the Congress of Vienna (1814–15), which made Galicia an official part of Austria. The rest of Poland was divided between Prussia and Russia.

The Balts were "pagan" until the thirteenth century, when King Mindaugas of Lithuania (d. 1263) united the Lithuanian, Samogitian, and Byelorussian tribes under his rule. To ease the military threat from the Germanic Teutonic and Livonian Knights, Mindaugas let himself be baptized a Christian by the latter in 1250/51, and in 1253

received a royal crown from Pope Innocent VI. Yet Mindaugas reverted to "paganism" when he felt stronger. He and his sons were murdered in 1263 by rival Samogitian tribesmen. The "pagan" Gediminas (1275–1341) became grand duke of Lithuania in 1316, establishing a strong, unified grand duchy that kept growing east and south by annexing parts of Poland and Russia.

Gediminas's sons Kestutis and Algirdas seized and annexed western Ruthenia, but fought each other for its control. Kestutis' son Vytautas the Great (1350–1430), fought Algirdas's son, Ladislaus Jogaila, who in 1382 captured his uncle Kestutis and his cousin Vytautas, and had Kestutis murdered. Vytautas escaped and later made peace with Jogaila. Meanwhile, German Jews began settling in Lithuania, setting up communities in Grodno (Horodna), Brest (Brzesc), and Vladimir. The twentieth-century Lithuanian president, Vytautas Landsbergis, who won Lithuanian independence from the former Soviet Union, was named after Vytautas the Great.

Lwów (Lemberg), the second-largest city of the Ukraine, was a medieval cross-roads city founded in 1256 by Prince Danilo Romanovich of Galicia (1201–64). Danilo lost his father as a child of four, became king in 1238, and fought the invading Mongols for decades, only to end up their vassal. In his efforts to expand his domain he built Lwów and Chelm (now in Poland). In 1348–49, during the Black Death massacres in Europe, many German Jews fled to Poland; many were massacred there (Ben-Sasson 1976:486–87). The survivors composed atonement prayers (*selihoth*). Nevertheless Jewish immigration to Poland continued under Kazimierz Wielki (Casimir the Great) and his successors. In 1349, when Kazimierz Wielki of Poland annexed Eastern Galicia, it included Lwów, which became an important Jewish population center and the capital of Eastern Galicia. In the late eighteenth century, with the partitions of Poland between Prussia, Austria, and Russia (1757–92), Lwów became the Austrian city of Lemberg. The last decades of Kazimierz Wielki's reign saw a great increase in Jewish immigration from the German lands to Poland.

The Union of Kriavas (Krewo, 1385) joined the kingdoms of Poland and Lithuania under one crown. Grand Duke Ladislaus Jogaila of Lithuania (1351–1434) undertook to unite Lithuania and Kievan Rus with Poland through marriage. In early 1386 Grand Duke Ladislaus Jogaila was elected king of Poland, was baptized a Catholic, married the twelve-year-old Queen Jadwiga of Poland, and was crowned King Wladyslaw Jagiello (Wladyslaw II of Poland). Wladyslaw Jagiello ruled Poland and Lithuania until his death in 1434. But the Lithuanians were not quiescent. In 1392 Wladyslaw Jagiello was forced to make his brother Vytautas the virtual ruler of Lithuania.

The Polish-Lithuanian conflict did not stop the persecution of the Jews. Late medieval Christians believed that the Eucharist or sacred host was transubstantiated into the actual body of Jesus Christ. In 1399 the rabbi of Poznan and thirteen other Poznan Jews were burnt at the stake after being charged by the local bishop with killing the sacred host. The king intervened to save the Jews of Kraków from a similar fate, but in 1406 a Jew of Kraków was found guilty of counterfeiting coins and burnt alive. In 1410 the combined Polish-Lithuanian forces defeated the Teutonic Knights at Grünwald (Tannenberg or Stebark). A young Polish priest named Zbigniew

Olesnicki (1389–1455) saved the life of King Wladyslaw Jagiello. Olesnicki was made a member of the king's privy council and later became bishop, archbishop, cardinal, and regent of Poland.

“JUDAIZING HERESIES”

During the fifteenth century many German Jews migrated to Poland, Lithuania, and Russia, spurred on by persecutions and massacres in the German lands. Poland-Lithuania gradually acquired large numbers of Jews who “had to prove themselves by displaying their usefulness to the ruling agricultural nobility” (Ben-Sasson 1976:565). They engaged in commerce, handicrafts, and moneylending. Strangely, the Christian Slavs felt that the Jews had magical spiritual power over them, enough to make the Christians want to convert to Judaism. In Russia, during the reign of Ivan the Great of Rurikid Muscovy (Ivan III, r. 1462–1505), a “Judaizing Heresy” in the Russian Orthodox Church frightened Czar Ivan into suppressing the Jews, whose settlement was confined to the Polish-Lithuanian state. A similar “Judaizing heresy” arose in Poland during the reign of Zygmunt Stary (Sigismund I, 1467–1548).

Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk (Casimir Jagiello or Casimir IV, 1427–92) became grand duke of Lithuania in 1440 and king of Poland in 1447. In 1453 he ratified the Charter of Kazimierz Wielki to the Jews. The power struggle between nobility, church, and state raged in Poland. The powerful Zbigniew Cardinal Olesnicki of Kraków, who had been regent of Poland (1434–37), railed against the king's protection of “the murderers of Jesus Christ” and invited Giovanni da Capistrano, the Italian Franciscan friar who had baited the Jews in Silesia and Bohemia, to strike at the Jews of Poland as well. The German Jewish sages, who imagined that Poland was the safest place for the Jews, were amazed (Halperin 1954, 2:234). The commercial success of the Polish Jews only fueled anti-Jewish feelings. In 1454 the king was forced to grant the *szlachta* major concessions under the Privilege of Nieszawa. In 1455 Cardinal Olesnicki died, and King Kazimierz exerted more power. Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk fought the Teutonic Knights for control of the Baltic seaboard but was otherwise passive in foreign policy, losing territories to Russia and Turkey.

In 1485 the royal city of Kraków forced the four leaders of its Jewish community to sign away the Jewish right to engage in trade (Halperin 1954, 2:235–36; Ben-Sasson 1976:581). Kraków translated the humiliating Jewish surrender document into German, the common language of its merchants and craftsmen. In 1492 King Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk of Poland died. The kingdom of Poland and Lithuania was divided between his second son, King Jan Olbracht of Poland (John Albert or John I, 1459–1501), and his third son, Grand Duke Aleksandr Jogaila of Lithuania. Prince Mikolaj Radziwill (d. 1509) became palatine of Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, and chancellor of Lithuania. He began a long line of Radziwills who played important roles in Polish and Lithuanian affairs and became famous in America.

When disaster struck, the Jews were blamed for it. In the wake of internal Polish

upheaval and serious economic problems in 1493, anti-Jewish riots broke out in 1494, and King Jan Olbracht briefly expelled the Jews from Kraków. Many Jews settled in Kazimierz, near Kraków, where making a living was much harder. They were joined by Jewish refugees from Bohemia and Silesia, who spoke Czech and German. In 1495, when many Lithuanian noblemen owed money to Jewish moneylenders, Grand Duke Aleksandr Jagiello expelled the Jews from Lithuania. But in 1501 King Jan Olbracht of Poland died, and the Union of Mielnik joined Poland and Lithuania again, making Grand Duke Aleksandr Jagiello king of Poland-Lithuania. In 1503 he let the Jews back into Lithuania, after they undertook to pay him for the annual upkeep of one thousand horsemen. King Aleksandr Jagiello appointed Rabbi Jakob Polak as "Rabbi of the Jews" with full judicial authority over the Jews (Halperin 1954, 2:236).

Jewish immigration from the German lands to Poland-Lithuania increased considerably during the sixteenth century. King Zygmunt Stary (Sigismund the Old, or Sigismund I, 1467–1548) of Poland and Lithuania ascended the throne in 1506, fought Muscovy over Smolensk, and established Polish rule over East Prussia and Mazovia. His chief financial aides were the Jewish revenue collector Michael Jozefowicz of Brzesc (Brisk or Brest), and Franczek Fiszl and Abraham Bohemus, chief tax collectors in Little Poland (Kraków) and Great Poland (Poznan). In 1514 Bohemus was made head of the Jewish community of Poland and Jozefowicz in Lithuania. The non-Jewish merchants deeply resented Jewish commercial success, and Zygmunt Stary alternately issued edicts forbidding violence against Jews and restricting Jewish trading.

The Polish Sejm (parliament) was the battlefield for power struggles between king, nobles, clergy, and citizens. Between the Sejm of Piotrkow in 1493 and the Union of Lublin in 1569, the Polish Estate Kingdom developed into a parliamentary democracy. The Sejm consisted of representatives of the nobles, clergy, and burghers, who attempted to limit royal power through legislation. The nobles also sought to dominate the peasantry by passing a series of statutes in the Sejm in 1496, 1518–20, and 1543 that made the peasants into powerless serfs under the jurisdiction of the nobles. The Sejm of Mielnik in 1501 made the king the head of the senate, and in 1505 the Nihil Novi act gave the Sejm sole legislative authority. The peasants no longer had any rights. They lived like slaves under a medieval feudal system. In 1538 another Sejm of Piotrkow enacted a new constitution that decreed that Jews must never be appointed revenue collectors and must not trade without a special license from the king or city council.

The Catholic king Zygmunt Stary faced the onslaught of the Protestant Reformation, which came to Poland between 1523 and 1526 from Germany, Italy, France, and Bohemia. The Jews were accused of abetting the Protestant "heresy," and King Ferdinand of Bohemia expelled them. In 1539 the Poles panicked after an old woman of Kraków, widow of a city councillor, was accused of heresy and witchcraft and burnt at the stake. Many Poles were falsely rumored to have converted to Judaism and fled to Lithuania or Ottoman Turkey. King Zygmunt Stary had the elders of the

Jews in Kraków and Poznań arrested and interrogated, but they were proved innocent. In 1540 King Zygmunt Stary issued an edict exonerating the Jews.

In 1531 the Polish prince Jerzy Radziwiłł (1480–1541) became hetman (headman or governor) of Lithuania. Zygmunt August (Sigismund II Augustus, 1520–72) became king of Poland and Lithuania in 1548. His mistress was Jerzy Radziwiłł's daughter Barbara (1520–51), whom he secretly married. Barbara died childless at age thirty-one, allegedly poisoned by Zygmunt's mother, Bona Sforza. The grieving Zygmunt married Barbara's sister, but that marriage, like his first and second, was also childless. King Zygmunt August had Jewish physicians and financiers, and protected the Jews who lived on his land from the arbitrary rule of local Polish landlords. In 1549 he stopped the *wojewody* (provincial governors) from intervention in disputes between Jews and local lords.

In 1551 King Zygmunt August issued a royal decree to the Jews of Great Poland allowing them "to choose their Chief Rabbi and religious judge at any time required, whenever . . . the office of Rabbi or Judge shall become vacant" (Halperin 1954, 2:238). The Church persecuted the Jews. In 1555 the fanatical Pope Paul IV (1476–1559), who had herded the Jews of Rome into a ghetto under curfew, dispatched the Jew-hating Bishop Lipomano to Poland to trap the "Jewish devils." The bishop of Chełm proposed a show trial at which the bleeding Eucharist was displayed and Jews were accused of piercing it. A Jew named Baniasz and a Catholic maid named Łazinka were arrested and burnt at the stake in Suchaczów before King Zygmunt August could stay their execution. Others were executed at Płock (Plotzk).

King Zygmunt August had no heirs, and the Polish nobles feared the loss of Lithuania upon his death. Livonia (roughly modern Estonia and Latvia) was ruled by the German Order of the Brothers of the Sword, a branch of the medieval Teutonic Knights. The Livonian War (1558–83) between Russia, Poland, Lithuania, and Sweden for control of Livonia, begun by Czar Ivan the Terrible (1530–84), brought a serious Muscovite threat to Lithuania, which sought to ally itself with Poland against Russia. In 1562 the Lithuanian gentry pushed for formal union with Poland, but the dominant Lithuanian lords feared the merger. The Polish-Lithuanian negotiations at the Sejm of Lublin in early 1569 broke down, and King Zygmunt August formally annexed the Lithuanian provinces of Podlasia and Volhynia, including the "Ukrainian" regions of Kiev and Bratslav. This led to further negotiations. In late 1569 the Union of Lublin formally united Poland and Lithuania, giving Lithuania equal status with Poland in a joint Royal Republic.

THE COSSACK TRAGEDY

The nomadic Eastern Orthodox farmers who escaped oppression in Poland and Russia and settled in the borderlands between them were known as Cossacks. The word Cossack derives from the Russian *kozak*, which comes from the Turkish *kuzak*

(adventurer or freebooter). During the early fifteenth century the term mainly referred to roaming Tatars (Turks and Mongols); by the end of the fifteenth century it included runaway serfs from Poland, Lithuania, and Muscovy (Russia). Potok (1978:336) described the fierce Cossacks as "hosts of swift-moving cavalry squads formed by peasants for self-protection as well as for booty and sheer love of war." The seemingly fearless Cossacks were relentless warriors who thought of death in war as glory. They unconsciously denied both their fear and their mortality.

By the sixteenth century there were six major groups of Cossacks, named after the rivers or regions on which they lived: the Don Cossacks on the River Don, the Greben Cossacks in Caucasia, the Yaik Cossacks on the Yaik (Ural) River, the Volga Cossacks on the Volga River, the Dnyepr Cossacks on the Dnyepr River, and the Zaporozhian Cossacks who lived mainly west of the Dnyepr River, in Zaporozhe, a semiarid region in the southeastern Ukrainian steppe, on the northern shore of the Sea of Azov. The Zaporozhian Cossacks were a peasant-military community, developed from runaway serfs, bandits, and traders who had settled on the Dnyepr River. They were virtually free warriors who were nominally subjects of the king of Poland. Their stronghold was the Sich (Zych) fortress on the Lower Dnyepr. The Polish nobles gave the Cossacks the right to elect their own ataman or hetman, who received his insignia from the Polish king.

When King Zygmunt August died childless in 1572, in the middle of the Livonian War with Russia, there followed three years of political chaos. In 1575 the Polish nobility elected Zygmunt's brother-in-law, the Magyar prince Báthory István of Transylvania (Stephen Bathory, 1533–86), as King Stefan Batory of Poland. This ambitious, stubborn, and forceful ruler was crowned in Kraków in 1576. The decade of his reign spelled relief for the Jews. King Batory decreed that false accusers of Jews were to be put to death. He fought the city councils of Poznan (Great Poland) and Kraków (Little Poland) by legislating equality for the Jews in commerce. In 1577 Batory subdued Gdansk and decreed that the Poznan city council was responsible for safeguarding law and order. When a rabid Poznan mob rioted against the Jews, Batory heavily fined the City Council. He secured peace with Ottoman Turkey, enrolled the Cossacks in his army, and successfully fought Ivan the Terrible of Muscovy (1530–84), who in 1579 yielded Polotsk (Byelarus) and in 1582 gave up Livonia to Poland-Lithuania in the Peace of Yam Zapolsky.

THE "UNION" OF BREST

When King Stefan Batory of Poland died in 1586, he was succeeded by King Zygmunt Wasa of Sweden and Poland (Sigismund III, 1566–1632), who imposed Roman Catholic rule on the Eastern Orthodox Cossacks at the Union of Brest-on-the-Bug (also known as Brzesc-nad-Bugiem, Brest-Litovsk, or Brisk). Brest-on-the-Bug, now in Byelarus, began as Berestyie in the eleventh century and was taken by Lithuania in 1319. When King Zygmunt August (Sigismund II) of Poland annexed the Lithuanian

provinces of Podlasia and Volhynia in 1569, Brest became Polish. When the Union of Lublin was signed later that year, Brzesc became the capital of Poland-Lithuania, which was now a Royal Republic.

In 1596 the Union of Brest-on-the-Bug brought the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Orthodox churches of Lithuania under Roman Catholic control. Under the pressure of King Zygmunt Wasa, and against the will of their Orthodox flock, six of the Eastern Orthodox bishops—Metropolitan Michael Ragoza of Kiev, Bishop Zbiruiski of Chelm, Bishop Terlecki of Luck (Lutsk), Bishop Pelczycki of Pinsk, Bishop Gregory of Polock (Polotsk), and Bishop Pociiej of Wladimir—accepted the authority of Rome. But the Ukrainian Orthodox bishops of Lwów and Przemyśl and the Orthodox Zaporozhian Cossacks rejected Roman Catholic rule, and tensions between Orthodox Ukrainians and Catholic Poles persisted.

In the sixteenth century Sweden emerged as a military power. In 1561 the Estonian Reval district voluntarily placed itself under Swedish protection. The Livonian War of 1557–82 brought all of Estonia into Sweden. From 1599 to 1635 Sweden fought Poland. In 1618 the Thirty Years' War broke out when King Ferdinand of Bohemia sought to impose his Catholic rule on the Protestant nobles of Bohemia and Austria. It was fought primarily by mercenaries, who plundered and ravaged the towns, villages, and farms of Germany. King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden joined the anti-Catholic forces, fighting both Poland and Bohemia. The Swedish-Polish war of 1621–29 gave Sweden all of Livonia. King Christian IV of Denmark (1577–1648), unable to mourn the loss of his Baltic provinces to Sweden, joined the war in 1625, seeking territory in Germany, only to be defeated again in 1629. When the war was over in 1648, Spain had lost the Netherlands, which became independent, and had lost its dominant position in Europe to France. Sweden ruled the Baltic. The "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" was no longer a unified political or military power.

The long-simmering tensions between the Polish nobles and the Zaporozhian Cossacks exploded into bloody rebellion and massacres in the seventeenth century. When King Zygmunt Wasa of Poland died in 1632, he was succeeded by his son Wladyslaw Wasa (Wladyslaw IV, 1595–1648), who had the support of the Cossacks. But the Polish Sejm, in which the nobles held sway, sought to suppress the Cossacks. In 1635 and 1636 the Cossacks rose up in arms against their Polish overlords, who quelled the revolt mercilessly. In 1638 the Polish Sejm abolished the ancient privilege of the Cossacks to elect their own hetman and subjected them to absolute rule by a commission of Polish nobles. The Polish kings attempted to organize the Cossacks into military colonies to protect Poland's borders, but the Cossacks jealously guarded their political autonomy. Wladyslaw Wasa was a good military leader, but the Polish nobles were tired of war, preferring to conduct trade in Europe. The Sejm of 1647 foiled Wladyslaw's attempt to lead the Cossacks to war against the Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman Turks. In 1648 Wladyslaw Wasa died, and the Thirty Years' War, which had drained the resources of Europe, was over. It was then that the Cossacks staged their most serious revolt.

THE JEWS AS OPPRESSORS

The Jews were caught between the Polish lords and the restive Cossacks. The Catholic Poles displayed a particular ambivalence toward the Jews. Some of the Polish cities were granted the privilege "not to tolerate the Jews." Others, the "private cities" of the great Polish nobles, raised Jews to high office. Polish Jews traveled the highways of Poland, traded at the annual fairs of Lublin and Jaroslaw, and cut deals with Germans and Ottomans. They did so well in business that in 1521 the leaders of Lwów (Lemberg) wrote the leaders of Poznan (Posen) that "the infidel Jews have robbed us and our merchant citizens of almost all our sources of livelihood" (Ben-Sasson 1976:640). Sebastian Miczynski published a virulent anti-Jewish diatribe (1618) denouncing the business acumen of the Jews.

Polish domination of the Ukraine began with the Union of Lublin in 1569, which brought "Red Russia" from Lithuania into Poland. The Union of Brest-on-the-Bug of 1596 established Catholic hegemony over the Eastern Orthodox churches, dividing the Ukrainians into Orthodox and Catholics. The Polish nobles sought to gain economic advantage from their Ukrainian lands. They used the Jews to finance their projects. From the Union of Lublin in 1569 to the Cossack massacres of 1648–49, the number of Ukrainian Jewish settlements rose from 24 to 115, and the number of Jews from 4,000 to 51,325. Under the *arenda* estate-leasing system (Ben-Sasson 1976:642), wealthy Jews leased from the Polish lords entire complexes of towns, villages, and estates, which they administered for the noblemen, exploiting the Ukrainian peasants. It did not help matters that the Polish lords were Catholic and that the peasants were Orthodox. The oppressed Ukrainian Orthodox serfs hated their Polish Jewish exploiters even more than their Polish Catholic overlords.

In 1581 the Sejm of Warsaw set the collective poll-tax amount for both Polish and Lithuanian Jewry. After 1590 the two were separated. In 1623, during the upheavals of the Thirty Years' War, the Lithuanian Jewish community council quit this council, which was henceforth called the Council of the Four Lands and was the supreme governing body of Polish Jewry.

The word *arenda* may have been imported by the exiled Spanish Jews into Poland. Under the *arenda* system the Jews leased the vast estates of the Polish nobles, generating income for them by taxing and exploiting the Ukrainian peasants. This made the Jews, along with the Poles, a prime target of Cossack hatred. During the sixteenth century the Polish kings organized the Zaporozhian Cossacks into military colonies defending Poland's southeastern borders in the Ukraine. From 1647 to 1657 the Zaporozhian Cossacks were led by Bohdan Zinoviy Mikhaïlovich Khmel'nitsky (Bogdan Chmielnicki, 1595–1657), a Polish-educated Ukrainian Cossack noble who had served with the Polish forces against the Ottoman Turks. Khmel'nitsky was stationed at Czyhryn (Chigirin), east of Kremenchug, where in 1647 he was elected hetman of the Zaporozhian Cossacks. The proud Cossack hetman quarreled with the Polish governor of Czyhryn, who confiscated Khmel'nitsky's property and forced him to flee to the Sich fortress.

Seething with narcissistic rage, in April–May 1648 Khmelnitsky led a violent rebellion of his Zaporozhian Cossacks against the hated Poles and Jews, which soon grew into a national Ukrainian revolt against Poland. By Polish-Ottoman agreement, the Poles ruled the Cossacks, the Ottomans controlled the Tatars, and the two countries jointly ruled Wallachia (now in Romania) and Moldavia. In May the Cossacks routed the Polish forces at Zholtiy Vody and Korsun (now Shevchenkovsky), south-east of Kiev. The Cossacks allied themselves with the Crimean Tatars. Khmelnitsky drove the Poles out of the Ukraine and seized the city of Lwów. During their 1648–49 revolt Khmelnitsky's Cossacks massacred tens of thousands of hated Polish and Ukrainian Jews. Many others were sold into captivity or left destitute. Entire Jewish communities were destroyed. It was one of the worst catastrophes of Jewish history (Hannover 1965:31–32; Ben-Sasson 1976:656; Margolis and Marx 1985:552–54).

King Wladyslaw Wasa of Poland (1595–1648) died during the great Cossack revolt and massacre of the Jews. He had lost his only son the year before. On 18 August 1649 Khmelnitsky concluded the Peace Treaty of Zborow with Jan Kazimierz Wasa (John Casimir Vasa or John II Casimir, 1609–72), the new king of Poland, which allowed him to establish a Cossack principality in the Ukraine. The massacres of the Jews abated, but the Polish *szlachta* as well as the oppressed Cossacks themselves opposed the treaty. In 1651 Khmelnitsky renewed the war against Poland, and the killing of the Jews, whom the Cossacks identified with the hated Poles, resumed after Khmelnitsky's defeat by the Poles at the Battle of Beresteczko in June–July 1651. The Poles imposed a new treaty on Khmelnitsky, which was even worse for the Cossacks. Khmelnitsky's Tatar allies deserted him. Khmelnitsky appealed to Russian Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich (Alexis, 1629–76) to "adopt" the Ukraine as an autonomous duchy under Russian protection.

The czar took his time, hoping to be able to annex the Ukraine outright. In late 1653 Khmelnitsky's Cossacks suffered another disastrous defeat at the hand of the Poles. Khmelnitsky again sought military aid from Russia; the price was submission to Russian rule. In early 1654 Khmelnitsky convened the Cossack Rada (council) at Pereyaslav, which voted to submit to Russian rule. The Ukraine became Russian, remaining so until 1991. The Cossacks swore allegiance to Russia at Pereyaslav, now known as Pereyaslav-Khmelnitsky. But the Poles considered the Ukraine part of Poland. Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich accepted sovereignty over the Cossacks and invaded Poland, precipitating a Russo-Polish war known as the Thirteen Years' War (1654–67). The Ukraine shifted back and forth between Poland and Russia, until the Truce of Andruszow (Andrusovo) in 1667 divided it along the Dnyep River. The eastern Ukraine went to Russia, the western to Poland.

GIMATRIA AS AN ANTIDOTE TO MASSACRE

Ironically, the Jews called their killer Khmelnitsky by a diminutive—Khmel (Chmiel). In 1653 a Jewish chronicler named Nathan Neta Hannover published a history of the

Khmelnitsky massacres entitled *Yeven Metsula* (Deep mire) (Hannover 1965). Hannover took his title from the biblical verse "I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing" (Ps. 69:2). With some self-deception *Yeven Metsula* can also be read as "The Mire of the Greeks." Hannover's subtitle merits translation: "Many tales of the persecutions and wars that occurred in the countries of Russia and Lithuania and Poland . . . when the Greeks rebelled against Royal Authority and joined the Dwellers of Kedar." Kedar was a biblical son of Ishmael (Gen. 25:13), associated in the Jewish mind with the Arabs (Ezek. 27:21). By "Greeks" Hannover meant the Greek Orthodox Cossacks; by "the Dwellers of Kedar" he meant the Tatars (Roskies 1984:48–49), whom he fantastically equated with the Arabs.

The Hebrew word *gimatria* may have been a corruption of the Greek *gaiometria* (geometry). It may also have come from the Greek *gamma-tria*, meaning gamma = three. *Gimatria* is the calculation of the numerical value of Hebrew letters, words, and verses and the search for equivalents. Through *gimatria* the medieval Jewish scholars sought hidden meanings in biblical verses and secret equations between names, events, and dates. The use of *gimatria* allowed the scholars to indulge in fantasies and to escape from reality. Using *gimatria*, Hannover calculated the numerical value of the Hebrew letters in Ps. 62:9, which added up to 730, the same as the Hebrew letters in the words "Khmel and the Tatars joined with the Greeks." To him, this was proof that the author of Psalms had prophesied the Khmelnitsky massacres. Hannover escaped into an ancient past fantasy. He interpreted the terrible massacre as perpetrated against biblical Jews by biblical Greeks and Arabs. This was a typical Jewish response to catastrophe: denying its present reality.

The massacres of the Jews went on during the Thirteen Years' War, until 1658, with some one hundred thousand Jewish lives lost. The Jews reacted by living in the past. They could not mourn their terrible losses, nor view them in any other terms than those of past disasters. They depicted the Cossack pogroms as a repetition of the Crusader massacres of 1096. Rabbi Sabbatai Katz of Lithuania fixed the date of mourning for the Khmelnitsky massacres of 1648–49 as the twentieth day of the Hebrew month of Sivan, the date on which the Jews of Nemirov, Podolia (now in the Ukraine), had been slaughtered (Yerushalmi 1982:50). It was the Hebrew date of the Blois executions in 1171. Rabbi Yomtob Lipmann Heller of Kraków (1579–1654) ordained that the *selihoth* (atonement prayers) composed after the Blois massacre of 1171 be recited on that same day of the month. In 1650 the Council of Four Lands, the supreme governing body of Polish Jewry, met in Lublin and fixed the twentieth of Sivan as the official day of mourning for the Khmelnitsky massacres (Yerushalmi 1982:49–51).

It may be no accident that in the spring of 1664 the psychotic Jewish Messiah Sabbatai Sevi of Izmir (Shabbetai Tsvi, 1626–76), married an equally psychotic survivor of the Khmelnitsky massacres in Poland. Her name was Sarah, and she was born around 1642. Since some of the biographical information about her came from her own psychotic fantasy, it is impossible to know her life story with any certainty. Sarah lost her father and mother during the riots of 1648, may have been raped by the

Cossacks, and was forcibly converted to Christianity and raised in a Polish convent. The combined trauma made her mad. She was sexually promiscuous, did "strange things," and believed she was born to marry the Messiah. Most Jews called Sarah a witch and a whore, and it was precisely for that reason that Sabbatai married her (Scholem 1973:196).

When the thirteen-year-old Sarah came to Amsterdam with her brother in 1655, she met Rabbi Jacob Sasportas, the leader of the Portuguese Jewish community, who later became her husband's bitterest antagonist. Sarah drifted to Germany and Italy, where she served wealthy Jews in Mantua and Livorno. It was there that Sabbatai Sevi heard about her, sent for her, and married her. Some Jewish historians have romanticized this story, saying that out of the worst disaster of Jewish history came the greatest salvation in the person of Sabbatai Sevi. It is yet another myth whose psychological function is to avoid the need for mourning.

Mystical Messiahs and Fanatical Followers

THE OTTOMAN SULTANS AND THE MUSLIM CALIPHATE

During the seventh and eighth centuries, the Jews of the Middle East, North Africa, and southern Spain became a minority within the Muslim Arab world. Under the notorious Terms of Umar (Omar), the Arabic Jews lived as *dhimmi* (protected people), paying the *jizyah* (head tax) and *kharaj* (land tax) to the Muslim authorities. Still, their overall living conditions were better than those of Jews in the Christian lands. They were not persecuted for the "murder" of Jesus Christ, and were allowed freedom of worship and community organization. Over the centuries many Jews fled Europe for Muslim lands, especially during the great persecutions in Christian Europe.

The great migrations of Central Asian tribes westward, southward, and northward that began in the sixth century, and peaked in the tenth, changed the face of Asia and Europe. The Mongols and Turks were the two largest Central Asian tribal groupings. The Mongols and Turks, whom the Russians called Tatars, fell into many tribes, clans, and offshoots. The Seljuq and Ottoman Turks were the most famous of many Turkic tribes, including the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirgiz, Turkmen, Tadzhik, Azer, and Oguz, that migrated westward, northward, and southward, creating a vast empire from Mongolia to the Black Sea, and were later Islamized. Their descendants now live in Turkey, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, and other Central Asian republics. The Seljuq Turks were named after a tenth-century chief named Seljuq. The Kay Turks were either a branch of the Oguz or a tribe that joined the latter in their invasion of Anatolia. The Osmanli Turks were named after a Kay leader named Osman Gazi (1258–1324). The Arabic form of his name, Uthman, gave rise to the English word "Ottoman."

The Turkic tribes from Central Asia invaded Asia Minor and Europe. In the tenth century the Seljuq Turks, an Oguz Turkmen clan, settled in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya (Jaxartes River) and embraced Islam. They wrote their Turkish language in Arabic characters. In the eleventh century the Seljuq chiefs Torgul Beg (Toghril Beg), Arp-Arslan, and Malik Shah expanded Seljuq power and territory. The Seljuqs created a vast Central Asian empire under Malik Shah (1055–92). The Seljuq Turks

conquered Anatolia, but were defeated by the invading Mongols in the thirteenth century. The invading Turks corrupted the Greek names of the Anatolian cities. Angora became Ankara, Antioch became Antakya, and Konstantinopolis became Istanbul. Anatolia, which the Turks called Anadolu (full of mother), had been inhabited and ruled by the Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, Urartu (Araratians or Armenians), Persians, Greeks, Romans, Parthians, and Byzantines.

Ottoman history began with the Turkish victory over the Byzantines at the Battle of Manzikert (1071). Osman Gazi's ancestors, the Kay Turks, who had joined the Oguz, set up a powerful Muslim empire in Anatolia. In 1243 the Mongols defeated the Seljuqs at the Battle of Köse Dagħ (Mount Köse, east of Sivas in north-central Turkey). The Seljuq empire crumbled, paving the way for the Kay leader Osman Gazi to found a new one. Osman Gazi was the chief of the Muslim *gaziyan* (soldiers) who fought the Byzantines and the Mongols. He ruled a Turkmen principality in northwestern Anatolia, based at Söğüt. The Ottoman Turkish title of *gazi* was later given to victorious generals. The Oguz were ruled by the Seljuq Turks, the Kay by the Osmanli Turks. The Seljuqs had their capital at Isfahan, Iran, while the Ottomans penetrated Turkey. The Ottomans eventually gained the ascendancy over the Seljuqs, establishing a great empire that lasted until the twentieth century.

Between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries the Ottoman empire grew fast. In 1300 Osman Gazi held only the tiny territory of Bithynia adjoining the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosphorus. During the fourteenth century he and his successors—Orhan Gazi (1288–1360), Murat (1326–89), and Bayezid Yıldırım (1360–1403)—conquered the Turkmen lands in Anatolia and the Byzantine lands in the Balkans. As mentioned, the medieval Arabs, whom the Europeans called Saracens, called all the Europeans *franji* (Franks) and the Byzantines *rumi* (Romans). The Turks, adopting Arabic words, called the Europeans *Franci* (Franks), the Byzantine empire *Rum* (Rome), and the Balkan lands *Rumeli* (lands of the Romans). After the Ottomans had taken the Balkan lands, the capital of Ottoman Rumeli was Edirne (Adrianople) in European Turkey. After its capture from the Byzantines in the 1320s, Bursa (Prusa) became the Ottoman capital. From 1413 to 1458 Edirne was again the Ottoman capital, followed by Istanbul.

Like other Central Asian peoples, the Mongols and Turks had no family names. The Mongol rulers were called *khan*, the Turkish chiefs *sultan*, an Arabic word meaning "ruler." In 1402 the Mongol leader Timur Leng (Tamerlane, 1336–1405) defeated Ottoman sultan Bayezid Yıldırım near Ankara and sacked Bursa. Following the Roman maxim *dividere et impere*, Timur Leng restored the former Turkmen lands in Anatolia to their tribal chiefs and divided what was left of Bayezid's lands among Bayezid's sons Mehmet (d. 1421), Isa, and Süleyman. These three brothers fought it out with each other for years until Mehmet won in 1413, becoming Çelebi (Lord) Sultan Mehmet in Anatolia and Rumeli. His capital was moved to Edirne in Rumeli.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Ottoman sultans Mehmet Fatih (Mehmet II, the Conqueror, 1432–81), Bayezid Adlî (Bayezid II, the Just, 1447–1512), Selim Yavuz (Selim I, the Grim, 1470–1520), and Süleyman the Magnificent (1494–

1566) vastly expanded their empire. They conquered Anatolia, the Balkans, Romania, Hungary, the Middle East, and North Africa, except for Morocco. In 1453 Mehmet Fatih defeated the Byzantine armies and took Constantinople. It became known in Turkish as Istanbul, and in 1458 became the Ottoman capital. Selim Yavuz, son of Bayezid Adlî, ruled the Ottoman lands from 1512 to 1520. Selim earned his byname of Yavuz (the Grim) by having all his brothers, their sons, and all but one of his own sons murdered to assure his own rule and the succession of the surviving son, Süleyman. Between 1515 and 1517 Selim doubled the territory of his empire by conquering Syria (including Palestine), Egypt, and the Hejaz (now Saudi Arabia) from the Mamluks. The Ottoman empire now included all the lands of the old Muslim caliphate except Iran and Iraq.

SULTANS AND CALIPHS

It is not clear when the Ottoman sultans began to claim the title of caliph. Some scholars think that "the [Ottoman] Sultans began to claim the caliphate because they met two of its traditional qualifications: they ruled justly, in principle according to the *Shariah* [Muslim law], and they defended and extended the frontiers [of the house of Islam] as in their conquest of Mamluk Egypt, Syria, and the holy cities [of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] in 1516–1517" (Goetz 1990, 22:125). Other scholars believe that the Ottoman sultans did not officially claim the caliphate until the nineteenth century, harking back to a sixteenth-century precedent involving Ottoman sultan Selim Yavuz and the Arab sharif of Mecca.

The center of Islam is the Holy City of Mecca in the Hejaz. Mecca was ruled by the Muslim Arab sharif, a descendant of Muhammad's Hashimite clan. In 1517, after Ottoman Sultan Selim Yavuz had seized Egypt, Sharif Barakat II of Mecca came to Cairo and presented Selim with the keys to Mecca. Sultan Selim in return recognized the sharif as the Prince of Mecca. Centuries later, when their political and military fortunes soured, the Ottomans claimed that the sharif of Mecca had recognized their sultan Selim as the caliph of Islam, the successor of the Prophet Muhammad, and that the Ottoman sultans assumed that title. Jackh (1944:72–73) echoed this view. Historically, this matter is ambiguous. The medieval Muslim caliphate had formally ended when the marauding Mongols under Genghis Khan's grandson, Hülegü Khan, seized and destroyed Baghdad in 1258, killing the last Abbasid Caliph, al-Mustasim (1212–58) and his three hundred officials. Two years later the Mamluk leader Baybars (1223–77) assassinated his own sultan, took his place, and began pushing back the Mongols and the Crusaders. In 1261, to legitimize his rule, Sultan Baybars invited a fugitive descendant of the Abbasids to set up a puppet caliphate in Cairo. This caliphate had no real power in the Mamluk state.

The caliphate was *not* claimed by Ottoman sultan Selim Yavuz in 1517. Neither Selim nor his successors called themselves caliphs. It was not until the eighteenth century that the issue of the caliphate became important to the Ottomans. At that time

the Ottomans vied with the Russians for control of the Balkans, the Crimea, and the Caucasus. From 1676 to 1878 there were many "Russo-Turkish" wars. In 1768 the Ottomans under Sultan Mustafa III (1717–74) began a disastrous six-year war with the Russians under Catherine the Great (1729–96), a German-Russian princess born Sophie Friederike Auguste von Anhalt-Zerbst. Catherine was frustrated in her efforts to reform Russian society, and the war with Turkey gave her (and her subjects) a way to externalize the conflict.

In 1770 the Russian forces decimated the Ottoman army and destroyed the superior Ottoman navy at the Battle of Çesme, on the Aegean coast of Anatolia. The Russian fleet was commanded by Admiral Aleksei Grigoryevich Orlov (1737–1808), the lover of Catherine the Great who in 1762 had helped her depose and kill her husband, Czar Pyotr III, and seize the Russian throne. Orlov's role in the naval victory was minor, and he refrained from forcing his way through the Dardanelles into the Black Sea, yet he was given a hero's welcome and great honors back home in Saint Petersburg. The Russian fleet sailed into the Adriatic and Mediterranean seas, urging the Greeks, Armenians, and other Christians to rebel against their Ottoman overlords.

In 1774, at Küçük Kaynarca (Little Fountain, now in Bulgaria), the Russians imposed the humiliating Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca on the Ottomans. It gave the Russians all the Christian lands west of the Black Sea between the Dnyepyr and Bug rivers. The Russians gave the name Tatars (Tartars) indiscriminately to all the Mongol and Turkic tribes, including the Crimean, Siberian, Kazan, and Kasimov "Tatars." In 1783 the Russians occupied the Crimea. Sultan Abdülhamit I (r. 1774–89) was forced to recognize Russian rule in return for a vague Russian recognition of his position as Muslim caliph among the Crimean Tatars. This is the first known official record of the Ottoman sultans claiming the title of Muslim caliph. Not until the late nineteenth century, when Sultan Abdülhamit II was losing his empire, did the Ottoman sultans insist on the title of caliph.

Morocco, which was not conquered by the Ottomans, was ruled by sharifian dynasties from 1553. Many Jews fled Spain via the Strait of Gibraltar to Morocco, where a great Jewish community flourished. Some moved on to the Ottoman empire, to what are now Algeria and Tunisia. In the twentieth century the Jews of Morocco became the largest Jewish community in Israel, after the great immigration of the late 1940s and early 1950s that followed the creation of the state of Israel.

JEWES AND OTTOMANS

At the end of the fifteenth century and during the sixteenth there was a wave of Jewish migration from persecution in Spain and Portugal to the Ottoman lands. In yet another psychogeographical fantasy, the Jews called the Ottoman Turkish empire by the Biblical Hebrew name of Togarmah, a great-grandson of Noah, a grandson of Japheth, and a brother of Ashkenaz (Gen. 10:3). Later the Hebrew name for Turkey became "the Land of the Togar." Elijah Capsali, a contemporary Ottoman Jewish

historian, reported in flowery Biblical Hebrew that "thousands and myriads [tens of thousands] of expelled Jews came to Togarmah . . . and the land was filled with them" (cf. Ben-Sasson 1976:632).

Sharing a grandiose Jewish group self, Capsali wrote that "thanks to the Jews the Turks conquered great and mighty monarchs" (Ben-Sasson 1976:633). Sultan Selim's father, Bayezid Adlî, ordered all his officers and officials to welcome the Jews to his realm. Sultan Bayezid Adlî was a strict, pious, and devout Muslim who restored to the Islamic authorities properties taken over by his father Mehmet II and removed European art from his palace. The Venetian ambassador to Constantinople called Bayezid "very sad, superstitious and stubborn." He fought the Venetians and the Tatars, expanding his Ottoman empire in the Balkans, in the Crimea, and in Greece.

Capsali, and most other Jews, kept referring to Palestine, a backwater of the Ottoman empire, as Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel) even though there were very few Jews there. Modern Israeli Jewish historians describe a significant Spanish Jewish migration to Eretz Yisrael during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Ben-Sasson 1976:633). There were really very few settlers. Palestine was noted primarily for a handful of Jewish mystics at Jerusalem and Safed. The best known of these Kabbalists was the Ashkenazi rabbi Isaac Luria, sanctified by his Hebrew acronym as the Holy Lion (ARI). Like Socrates, Luria never wrote anything. His teachings were recorded by his chief disciple, Hayim Vital.

The Ottoman Jews helped the new arrivals financially and morally. The exiled Spanish Jews settled all over the Ottoman empire, especially in the urban centers of Istanbul, Salonica, Edirne, and Izmir. Some of the immigrants were soon serving the sultan and other high officials as physicians, financiers, and skilled artisans. Capsali believed that "the Jews taught the Turks how to use all kinds of destructive weapons . . . through them the Turks grew mightier than all the peoples of the world." There is more than a trace of group narcissism in this report, with its habitual exaggeration of Jewish exploits.

Even though their life in "the land of the Togar" (Turkey) was safer and in many ways better than in Christian Europe, the Jews were not immune to discrimination and persecution. As *dhimmi* they were infantilized, accepting the protection of the Ottoman sultan and Muslim caliph in exchange for their independence and freedom. The self-image of the Jews was not one of proud masters but of second-class citizens.

Sultan Selim's only surviving son and heir, Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), completed his father's conquests by seizing lands as far west as Hungary and as far east as Iraq. Sultan Süleyman may have felt guilty over the deaths of all his brothers that made his accession possible. He was very ambitious, eager, and aggressive. He built the walls of Jerusalem as well as many other great cities of his empire. Most of the Arab world came under Ottoman rule. Only Persia remained under the Safavids. Some ports in Northwest Africa, such as Cap d'Arguin on the Atlantic Ocean (now in Mauritania), remained in Portuguese hands. The Ottomans held Buda, the Magyar capital, and the rest of Hungary from 1541 until 1686, when the Habsburg Austrians drove them out.

MESSIANIC LONGINGS

Lasswell (1930) believed that our personal feelings are unconsciously displaced to the political arena and rationalized in terms of the public good. People who fail, who feel rejected, humiliated, and unwanted, who are unable to separate and individuate, and who suffer deep emotional hurts in their early life, often long to regain the blissful union with the mother of their infancy. When one is a member of a persecuted minority and humiliation becomes a daily reality, such feelings grow powerful. These are the psychological roots of messianic longings and mystical activities.

The Jews as a group lived more in fantasy than in reality, more in the past than in the present. Unable to mourn their painful historical losses, they harbored historical memories of greatness followed by expulsion, persecution, and humiliation. They longed to regain their lost greatness. Time and again, deeply disturbed individuals, psychotic or borderline, pronounced themselves the Messiah. During the seventeenth century an Ottoman Jew named Sabbatai Sevi (Shabbetai Tsevi, 1626–76) became the focus of such powerful messianic fantasies among Jews that reality was totally left by the wayside.

Sabbatai Sevi was born in Izmir (Smyrna), Ottoman Turkey. By the time he was forty years old (1666) he was held to be both Messiah and God by many Jews. He was expected to repair the damage done by the Khmel'nitsky riots in Poland (1648–49) and by all other persecutions of the Jews everywhere. In reality he was a psychotic, manic-depressive person, with delusions, visions, and hallucinations. Most of his popularity was the work of his prophet Nathan of Gaza.

Izmir was a Greek-Jewish Ottoman city on the Aegean coast. As a young Jewish scholar, studying primarily the Bible, Mishna, Talmud, and Kabbalah, Sabbatai Sevi became deeply obsessed with the latter, seeking to attain union with God. In 1648, at the age of twenty-two, he had his first "illumination," a hallucination in which God revealed himself to Sabbatai and told him he was the Messiah ben David, the savior of Israel (Scholem 1973:136).

The young Sabbatai was expelled from Izmir by the infuriated rabbis and made his way to the Kabbalistic center of Salonica. Here he married the Holy Torah, "the Daughter of God." The rabbis of Salonica, incensed, drove him out of town. Sabbatai proceeded to Istanbul, where another mystic, Abraham haYakini, had a document saying that Sabbatai was the True Messiah. The unhappy savior proceeded to Palestine and Egypt, winning more converts to his cause, including Raphael Joseph Çelebi (Lord), the powerful treasurer of the Ottoman governor of Egypt.

The thirty-nine-year-old Sabbatai was discovered in Jerusalem in 1665 by the twenty-year-old Jewish scholar and mystic Abraham Nathan ben Elisha Hayim Ashkenazi (1644–80), known as Nathan of Gaza. Nathan was a self-styled "prophet." He had "visions" and "revelations" that make one suspect he was psychotic himself (Scholem 1973:203–4). Ostow (1980) thought that Nathan was "merely" a hypomanic personality. The ecstatic Nathan made Sabbatai into the official Messiah. He wrote and published treatises recounting his own revelations and why he was convinced Sabbatai Sevi was the True King-Messiah.

As it had in 1240 (the Jewish year 5,000), the Jewish millenarian tradition held the year 1666 (5426 by the Hebrew calendar) to be the year of the redemption of Israel. Sabbatai came at the right time for the messianic fantasies of the Jewish masses. The new Messiah alternated between states of "illumination" (mania) during which his face "shone like fire" and he was ready to perform great deeds, and states of "black bile" or "aversion of the face" when he was "sunken among the *qelippoth*." The term "aversion of the face" is striking: God would not "shine his face" upon his poor Messiah. Sabbatai felt like an infant whose mother would not look at him. During his "illuminations" he was highly agitated, and performed forbidden "strange acts" like homosexual acts, masturbating publicly, uttering the ineffable name Yahweh, eating on fast days, having sexual relations with virgins and betrothed women, marrying the Holy Torah, or breaking the door of a synagogue on the Sabbath.

While Scholem (1973) thought that Sabbatai Sevi's mental illness was hereditary and constitutional, I attempted to explain the psychological origins of both his illness and his appeal for his followers (Falk 1982). The key point of my study was that Sevi's manic-depressive illness, his alternating between great elation and deep melancholy, came from his inability to separate and to individuate from his early mother. He unconsciously wished to fuse with her and was overwhelmed by murderous rage at her at the same time. The former feelings were expressed in his mystical fusion with Binah, the "supernal mother" of the Kabbalah, and in his marriage to the Torah, as well as in his fantasies about the Land of Israel. The latter feelings were expressed in his sexual fantasies about Lilith and Naamah, the queen and mother of the demons, and about the *qelippoth*, the feminine evil principle of Lurianic mysticism, as well as in his outbursts of rage and violence. The "mystical Messiah's" appeal was based partly on the combination of masculine and feminine aspects in his personality. His charisma came from his tremendous inner rage and anxiety. His face was said to shine as brightly as the sun during his manic states of *hearah* (illumination).

In my essay on Sabbatai Sevi (Falk 1982) I have shown how his manic-depressive illness may have sprung from his disturbed early mother-child relationship and from an overwhelming inner conflict between the longing for fusion and the struggle for separation. His mother died during his adolescence, shortly before his mental illness erupted (Scholem 1973:109, 124-25). Sabbatai's messianic imagery and that of Nathan of Gaza were suffused with maternal symbols. His very name came from that of the Jewish "Queen Sabbath." He was deeply, and sexually, preoccupied with Lilith, the mystical queen of the demons, and with Naamah, their mythical mother. He married the Torah, another maternal symbol (Patai 1967). He "beheld the splendor of the *Shekhinah*" (Scholem 1973:136), the feminine presence of God, later his consort (Patai 1967). Sabbatai thought he was climbing the mystical ladder of the *sefirot* until he was united with Binah, the supernal mother (Scholem 1973:146).

It is sad, yet fascinating, to study the wave of elation, excitement, enthusiasm, messianic fervor, redemption fantasies, and downright madness that swept the Jewish world in 1665-66, when Nathan of Gaza proclaimed the psychotic Sabbatai Sevi the

True Messiah. Masses of Jews flocked to the Messiah. Many packed up their belongings, sold their homes, and left for "The Land of Israel." Special prayers and benedictions were composed in honor of

our Lord and King the Holy Rabbi righteous and saved, namely Sabbatai Zevi [Sevi], anointed by the God of Jacob, may his glory be exalted and his kingdom set on high . . . may his horn be raised in honour and the diadem of his God be on his head . . . may his name live forever, may his name be bright before the sun and may people bless themselves thereby. . . . May our eyes behold and our hearts rejoice at the rebuilding of our Temple and our glory. (Ben-Sasson 1976:702)

As before, those Jews who were more mature and emotionally balanced were not overwhelmed by the Sabbatian movement; those who were less mature and more emotionally needy were more likely to be swept off their feet. Sabbatai Sevi converted to Islam in 1666 under the threats of the Ottoman sultan, yet his followers convinced themselves that even this apostasy was intended by God. The need to believe often flies in the face of external reality, rational thinking, and logical evidence. Meissner (1992:323) thought that Sabbatianism illustrated a "paranoid process" that involved "a meshing and interaction between the narcissistic grandiosity of Sabbatai's psychosis and its Messianic delusions . . . and the desperate need for narcissistic enhancement and the severe state of narcissistic depletion suffered in the souls of individual Jews throughout the diaspora."

PORTUGUESE JEWS IN HOLLAND

At the time that Sabbatai Sevi was raving mystically in Izmir, the Portuguese Jews of Holland were taking root in their new land. It is hard to tell how many Sabbatians and anti-Sabbatians there were among seventeenth-century Jewry. Nathan of Gaza claimed "myriads" and even hundreds of thousands of followers, while his detractors, led by Rabbi Jacob Sasportas, a Portuguese Jewish leader, played down the size of the movement. The Jews had been expelled from the Catholic Low Countries during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, returning en masse to the newly Protestant Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth, after their expulsion from Catholic Spain and Portugal. In 1536 "Holy Roman" Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) granted the Marranos the right of residence in the Spanish Low Countries. There were violent revolts in the Netherlands against Spanish Catholic rule. The northern Dutch provinces seceded under the Union of Utrecht (1579), becoming the Free Netherlands. The Dutch accepted the Jews, but did not give them citizenship. The Dutch province of Zeeland refused to admit the Jews.

In 1593 a large group of Portuguese Jewish refugees led by Jacob Tirado settled in Amsterdam. The group included Lopez Homen, his niece Maria Nunhes (Nuñez), her brother Manuel, and the rabbi of Emden, in East Friesland, Moses Uri haLevi. They were later joined by other Jewish refugees from Spain, Portugal, and Germany.

The Jewish community of Amsterdam flourished in the seventeenth century. In 1639 the various Jewish communities of the Netherlands united into a tightly knit rabbinical body that strictly controlled Jewish behavior. The religious head of the Jewish community was called *khacham* (sage). The German Jews wrote this word *Chochem*. The Dutch Jewish scholars Saul Morteira, Manasseh ben Israel, and Isaac Aboab da Fonseca wrote in Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, and Portuguese, rather than in Dutch.

Anxiety breeds rigidity. The Portuguese Jews who migrated to the Low Countries did not have Dutch citizenship. They were fearful of losing their rights of residence in their newly found haven and rigidly adhered to their traditions. Among the many Portuguese *conversos* who migrated to the Netherlands in 1612–15 was the young Uriel da Costa of O Porto (1585–1640), who had been raised as a Catholic and had become a Jesuit priest. His given name was Gabriel da Costa. Disaffected with rigid Catholicism, out of a violent inner struggle to maintain his sense of self, and out of an oedipal struggle with his devoutly Catholic father, Gabriel da Costa persuaded his mother and brother to leave O Porto for Amsterdam with him. They moved to Holland, converted to Judaism, and Gabriel da Costa changed his name to Uriel Acosta.

The troubled, rebellious Acosta soon became embroiled in conflict with the equally rigid rabbinical authorities, whom he angrily called "the Pharisees of Amsterdam." He moved to Hamburg, where his brother had a business, and sent treatises to the Sephardic rabbis of Venice denouncing the basic tenets and practices of traditional Judaism. Enraged, Rabbi Leone Modena of Venice (1571–1648) and the rabbis of Hamburg pronounced a *kherem* (excommunication) on Uriel Acosta. The troubled young "heretic" returned to Amsterdam, where he continued to fight the rabbinical establishment. Acosta's friends, and even his own brother, turned against him. One of his erstwhile friends, Dr. Samuel da Silva, even went so far as to publish an anti-Acosta Portuguese-language pamphlet in 1623. Acosta was excommunicated in Amsterdam as well. Bitter, wounded, and enraged, he published a Portuguese-language book in 1624 attacking the "Pharisaic" tradition of the rabbis.

The Amsterdam Jewish leaders were so upset by this provocative "heretic" that they took their case against Acosta to the Dutch authorities, accusing him of heresy. He was arrested, but was released a week later after paying 300 guilders to the state. His book was burned. In 1630 the desperate Acosta begged to be forgiven and taken back into the fold. The *kherem* was lifted, only to be reimposed three years later, when Acosta had advised some Christians not to convert to Judaism. From 1633 to 1639 Acosta was a total pariah. In 1639 he agreed to be flogged thirty-nine times and to do degrading public penance in the synagogue, where the congregants walked all over him. Acosta then wrote his autobiography, *Exemplar humanae vitae* (An example of human life). The following spring he shot himself to death.

If Acosta's case was that of an emotionally disturbed person locked in a tragic struggle with uncomprehending rigid authority, the case of Baruch Benedictus de Spinoza (1632–77), who was similarly excommunicated, was that of one of history's greatest philosophers up against rigid rabbinical Orthodoxy. Spinoza's father, Miguel de Espinoza, a pillar of the "Sephardic" Jewish community, was a Portuguese Marrano

who had escaped to Holland. Baruch's mother, who also came from Portugal, died when he was six years old. This loss must have affected him profoundly (Scharfstein 1980). He was eight years old when Uriel Acosta killed himself.

Perhaps to fill the void left by the loss of his mother, the young Baruch de Spinoza had a ravenous appetite for learning. He studied Greek and Latin, philosophy, science—everything. He was educated by some of the great men of his time: Manasseh ben Israel, Saul de Morteira, Franciscus van den Enden, and Johan Daniel de Prado. Spinoza's father died in 1654, when Baruch was barely twenty-two. After the mandatory year of mourning, he quit the synagogue, and began his philosophical investigations of religion and politics. In 1656 he was excommunicated and banished from Amsterdam for propounding "heretical" views: he had claimed that the Bible was written by human hands. Like Azariah de' Rossi in the previous century, his innovative works threatened the Jewish self, arousing great anxiety in the Jews. Some hated him so much they wished to kill him. Spinoza spent the rest of his life in Rijnsburg, Voorburg, and The Hague, writing his great works in Latin. But the Jews of Holland were not interested in the great scholar. They longed for the Savior Messiah.

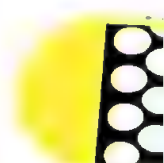
EMBRACING A MAD MESSIAH

Both the "Ashkenazi" (German Jewish) and "Sephardi" (Spanish Jewish) rabbis of Amsterdam raved about Sabbatai Sevi. Sasportas was deeply upset about him. He had been a rabbi at Algiers, and now shuttled between Hamburg and Amsterdam. He sought to open the eyes of the Jewish masses to the dangerous delusion of Sabbatai, only to be rebuffed, cursed, and hated. Sasportas admitted that both the Sabbatians and his own followers "stood in awe and fear" of the "King Messiah." When the Ottomans forced Sabbatai to convert to Islam in 1666 under pain of death, Sasportas wrote a sorrowful dirge in mourning of Israel's lost pride and honor (Ben-Sasson 1976:702).

Sabbatai Sevi's career peaked meteorically in 1665–66, when he was proclaimed the King-Messiah of the Jews by Nathan of Gaza in Jerusalem. Nathan cited the Lurianic mystical doctrine of the Restoration of the Universe as proof of Sabbatai's mission. The rabbis of Jerusalem, alarmed by this blasphemy, threatened Nathan and Sabbatai with *kherem* (excommunication). Sabbatai returned to Izmir. The city that had driven him away now acclaimed Sabbatai as the redeemer of the Jews.

The Sabbatian movement spread like wildfire to the Jews of Venice, Hamburg, Amsterdam, London, and all over the European and North African Jewish world. Nathan the Prophet preached penance, asceticism, fasting, perfection, and purification of the soul. The *maaminim* (believers) came to Izmir, fasted for days, withheld food from their children, immersed themselves in icy water, and prayed constantly. Many believers died of hypothermia, pneumonia, and other exposure-related diseases.

The psychotic Sabbatai, in states of delusional "illumination" (florid mania), promised to wreak vengeance on the Gentiles, to kill Khmel'nitsky (who had died in 1657),



to dethrone Ottoman sultan Mehmet Avci (Mehmed the Hunter or Muhammad IV, 1642–93) and to remove his crown (a parricidal fantasy), to lead the Jews to the “Land of Israel,” and to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. He gave away lands and royal titles to his followers like an emperor. The faithful played out the fantasy. They treated him as a real king, Messiah, redeemer and prophet. They also engaged in sexual orgies at his court.

Sabbatai turned the traditional Jewish world upside down, proclaiming it God’s wish that he engage in all manner of transgressions—sexual perversions, feasting on fast days, eating non-kosher food, pronouncing the name of Yahweh, and other acts that were the privilege of the Messiah, as he saw it. Many Jews were still unable to mourn their historical losses. The Jewish world became agitated. In late 1665 even Amsterdam’s Jews became very excited. Rabbi Jacob Sasportas, a sworn enemy of Sabbatai, was struck with the Sabbatian fervor. The year 1666 was proclaimed as “The First Year of the Renewal of Prophecy and Majesty in Israel.”

Mehmet Avci became sultan in 1648, when he was six years old. In that year Khmelnitsky’s Cossacks massacred the Polish Jews. In 1656 the eighty-year-old Köprülü Mehmet Pasha (1575/78–1661) became grand vizier and conducted Ottoman foreign affairs. His eldest son, Köprülü Fazil Ahmet Pasha (1635–76), succeeded him in 1661. While Sultan Mehmet was hunting, the Köprülüs sought territorial expansion. From 1645 to 1669 the Ottomans fought Venice for its Mediterranean possessions, and in 1663–64 they fought Austria over Transylvania, losing the battle but winning the Treaty of Vasvár.

When Nathan of Gaza proclaimed Sabbatai Sevi the savior of the Jews in 1665, Sultan Mehmet Avci was busy hunting, and Grand Vizier Köprülü Fazil Ahmet Pasha had his hands full of state affairs. Sabbatai’s foes soon told the grand vizier that the rebellious Jewish Messiah had blasphemed and threatened the sultan’s throne. In early 1666, upon Sabbatai’s arrival in Istanbul, he was arrested by the Ottoman government. Sabbatai was imprisoned in Gelibolu (Gallipoli) for several months. Later he was transferred to nearby Abydos Castle, northeast of Çanakkale. His fervent adherents, living in wishful delusion, called it Tower of Strength (in Hebrew, Migdal Oz) and thought the prison guards were the King-Messiah’s honor guard.

In September 1666 Sabbatai Sevi was brought to Edirne (Adrianople), the Ottoman Balkan capital of Rumeli, where the sultan resided. Jewish and Christian sources say he was brought before the sultan, but Ottoman sources say he was only brought before a special council of high Ottoman officials. This council consisted of the Shaikh al-Islam; Mehmet Vani Pasha, the sultan’s preacher or chaplain; and Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha (Black Mustafa, 1634–83), the new *kaimakam* of Edirne, a brother-in-law of the grand vizier. In 1676 Kara Mustafa became grand vizier himself; in 1683, after his defeat at Vienna by the Austrian-Polish armies of Jan Sobieski (John III, 1629–96), Kara Mustafa was beheaded by the sultan. The sultan’s council also included several other high court officials. The non-Ottoman sources mention Mustafa Fevzi Hayatizadeh, a Jewish convert to Islam and the sultan’s personal physician (Scholem 1973:675).

Sabbatai's disciples seriously believed that he would remove the crown from the sultan's head. Instead, under threat of torture and death, Sabbatai converted to Islam. The sultan renamed him Mehmet Efendi, appointed Sabbatai his personal doorkeeper, and endowed him with a generous salary. The apostasy of their Messiah was unbearably painful to Sabbatai's followers. Most of them were terribly disillusioned and lost their faith. But there is no limit to our capacity for self-deception. "A complete symbolical system was developed in order to justify Sabbatai Zevi's conversion to Islam and to maintain belief in him as the Messiah" (Ben-Sasson 1976:706). The most fanatical followers convinced themselves that the Messiah's apostasy was God's will, that it was a trick played by Sabbatai upon the sultan. Some even deified Sabbatai (Scholem 1973:871).

Sabbatai Sevi spent the last years of his life at the tiny town of Ülgün (Dulcingo, or Ulcinj) on the Adriatic coast, at the southwesternmost tip of Montenegro (Crna Gora), just east of the Albanian border. The faithful followers gave Ülgün the Biblical Hebrew name of Alqum from the verse meaning "a king going forth at the head of his army" (Prov. 30:31). The psychotic Sarah, the Messiah's third wife, died in Ülgün in 1674, and the psychotic Sabbatai married the daughter of Rabbi Joseph Filossoff (Philosoph), the "Sephardic" rabbi of Salonica. He called Filossoff "King Saul" and his daughter "Princess Michal."

Some Sabbatians deceived themselves into believing that their Messiah's conversion was the fulfillment of messianic prophecy. They converted to Islam as well, but remained Crypto-Jews. Much like the Marranos of Spain, they secretly practiced the Jewish religion, spoke and wrote Hebrew, kept their Hebrew names, did not marry Muslims, and performed their birth, circumcision, marriage, and funeral rites secretly. They became known in Turkish as Dönme (converts). This secret double life could not have been psychologically healthy.

NEW MESSIAHS

After Sabbatai died in 1676, one of his disciples, a Portuguese Marrano named Abraham Miguel Cardozo (d. 1706), proclaimed himself the Mashiah ben Yoseph (Messiah son of Joseph) and deified Sabbatai Sevi. Sabbatai's widow told the faithful that her brother Jacob Querido was really her son by a posthumous union with her dead husband. Her father, Joseph Filossoff, and her fifteen-year-old brother, Jacob Querido Filossoff, led the Sabbatians at Salonica. This family was beset by overwhelming incestuous feelings. They believed that the world could only be saved by filling it with incest and prostitution. The Orthodox rabbis of Salonica, incensed, handed Jacob Querido over to the Ottoman authorities. Like Sabbatai himself, under pain of death, Querido and several hundred followers embraced Islam, and Querido became a leader of the Dönme. He may have committed incest with his sister. Jacob Querido's son Baruch Kunio (Cunho), known as Rabbi Berachiah (1695–1740), became the Sabbatian leader of Salonica.

The Ukrainian province of Podolia was Poland's southeasternmost province, bordering on Wallachia (now in Romania), which was under Ottoman rule. Podolia had a large Jewish population and had suffered the worst blows of the Khmelniisky massacres in 1648–49. From 1672 to 1699 the Ottomans seized and held Podolia. The Podolian, Galician, and other Polish Jewish communities came under the influence of Sabbatianism, as did the Jews of all Europe. Many seventeenth-century Jews adopted Hebrew surnames designating their occupation: Maggid (sayer), Mochiakh (preacher), Khayat (tailor), Shochet (butcher), Dayan (judge). Around 1680 a Jewish mystic from the free city of Eisenstadt (now in Austria) named Mordechai Mochiakh announced that Sabbatai Sevi had been the Messiah ben Joseph, and hinted that he himself was the Messiah ben David. He found faithful believers in Italy, but soon ran into rabbinical opposition and wound up dying in Hungary.

At the end of the seventeenth century an obscure Polish Jewish mystic named Hayim Mehalech (Traveler) traveled to and fro between Poland and Salonica, the Ottoman center of Jewish mysticism. Mehalech became an active Sabbatian and changed his name to Mallach (angel). Hayim Mallach prophesied that in 1706, forty years after Sabbatai Sevi's apostasy, the Messiah would come back and redeem Israel. Mallach teamed up with another bizarre Polish Jewish mystic, Yehuda Hassid (the Pious) of Szydlowiec (Schidlowitz). Yehuda Hassid had studied practical Kabbalah in Italy as a young man. Upon his return to Poland he founded a sect of ecstatic mystics named Hassidim. That appellation harked back to the ancient zealous Jewish Hassidim of the second century, who fought the tidal wave of hellenization sweeping the Jewish world, as well as to the medieval "Ashkenazi" Hassidim of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The name Yehuda Hassid was almost identical with that of the medieval German Jewish mystic Judah the Hassid of Regensburg (d. 1217). Yehuda Hassid sought to bring about the coming of the Messiah by devotional prayer, repentance, and mystical ecstasy. His sect soon merged with that of Hayim Mallach, and the Orthodox Polish Jewish rabbis were threatened.

Rabbi Saul of Kraków appealed to the Khacham Tsebi (Sage Sevi, or Rabbi Sevi Ashkenazi, 1658–1718) of Altona, a Danish-German city near Hamburg. The Khacham Tsebi was a native of Buda, Hungary, which the Ottomans lost to the Austrians in 1686. His wife and daughter had been killed in the battle. From 1690 to 1709 he was rabbi of Altona, and from 1709 to 1718 "Ashkenazi" rabbi of Amsterdam. The Khacham Tsebi hated mysticism and voiced a strong opinion against Yehuda Hassid and Hayim Mallach.

The Orthodox rabbis of Poland persecuted the members of Yehuda Hassid and Hayim Mallach's sect. Scholem (1961:331) thought that most of them were Sabbatians. In 1700 the disillusioned Yehuda Hassid, Hayim Mallach, and their followers left Poland via Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Italy for Jerusalem. They picked up Jewish enthusiasts on their way, and their number swelled to fifteen hundred souls. In Vienna a wealthy *Hof-Jude* (court Jew) named Samuel Oppenheim gave them money for their lofty aim. Hayim Mallach's group proceeded to Istanbul, where the Jewish Committee of Notables and Officials of the Land of Israel supported Jewish settle-

ment in Palestine. Yehuda Hassid's story was pathetic. His group went to Jerusalem via Venice, but many died or left on the way, and only several hundred "pious" Jews reached the Holy City. Yehuda Hassid died shortly thereafter. His disciples were reduced to begging. The year 1706 came and went with no Messiah or redemption in sight. Some of them converted to Islam and joined the Ottoman Dönme, some returned to Europe, and others converted to Christianity. Their settlement in Jerusalem was reduced to ruins in 1720. Nonetheless, a prominent Israeli Jewish historian saw this sad incident as evidence of "the continuity of Jewish Settlement in Palestine" (Ben-Sasson 1976:915).

During the first half of the eighteenth century there were many wide-eyed Jewish mystics and self-proclaimed Messiahs. One mystic, Nehemiah Hiya Hayun, came from Sarajevo in Bosnia. He spent some time studying Kabbalah at Hebron, south of Jerusalem, and at Salonica. The charismatic Hayun became a rabbi at Usküp (Skopje). In 1708 he came to Izmir, Sabbatai's birthplace, and won over some wealthy Jews with his mystical messianism. The anti-Sabbatian Rabbi Benjamin Levi of Izmir wrote the rabbis of Jerusalem, warning them against the "impostor," and Rabbi Abraham Yitzhaki of Jerusalem banned Hayun. In 1710 Hayun came to Venice, where he was warmly received by the ghetto Jews. In 1711 he published his Aramaic-language book *Raza de Yihuda* (The secret of unity) in Venice, which purported to be written by a secret mystic.

Hayun went on to fame and fortune in Prague, where Rabbi David Oppenheim (1664–1736) embraced him. In 1712 he went to Vienna, where David's uncle, the *Hof-Jude* Samuel Oppenheim, was influential, and Berlin, where a wealthy court Jew named Jost Liebmann became his protector. In 1713 Hayun published an expanded version of his book titled *Oz Elohim* (The might of God). In its running commentary Hayun expounded the doctrine of a holy trinity consisting of Atiq Kadisha (the Holy Ancient One), Malka Kadisha (the Holy King), and Matronita (Mother). The oedipal imagery of this fantasy is obvious.

Hayun was hard to pin down: he never specified the identity of the Messiah. But in 1714 the Khacham Tsebi and Rabbi Moses Hagiz of Amsterdam vehemently protested Hayun's activities and pronounced a *kherem* on him. The Portuguese rabbi of Amsterdam, Khacham Solomon Ayllon (1664–1728), who had Sabbatian sympathies, publicly acquitted Hayun of wrongdoing. The Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam backed Hayun. The Khacham Tsebi was ordered to appear before the Beth Din (rabbinical court) of the Amsterdam Jewish community, which he refused to do. The rift between the anti-Hayun and pro-Hayun forces was so deep that the Khacham Tsebi left for London, and later went to Breslau (Silesia) and Poland, while Moses Hagiz left for Altona. But the rabbis of Germany, Italy, Poland, and North Africa wrote to Amsterdam denouncing Hayun. In 1724 Hayun was absolved by the rabbinical college of Constantinople, but in 1726 he was excommunicated again. The aging "heretic" died an exile in North Africa.

Pietists and Saints

THE NEED FOR ENEMIES

When two related and neighboring groups hate each other, each unconsciously externalizes and projects upon the other its own very painful traits and feelings (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1987). The Jewish Sabbatians did what their foes unconsciously wished to do but were terrified of even knowing. The heated controversy between Sabbatians and anti-Sabbatians persisted into the eighteenth century. The alleged Sabbatian was Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz of Prague (1690–1764), a respected Jewish scholar who became rabbi of Metz and later of the German-Jewish communities of Hamburg, Altona, and Wandsbeck. Eybeschütz espoused practical Kabbalah, magic, faith-healing, and messianism, and gladly wrote amulets for his flock.

The Sabbatian-hunter was Rabbi Jacob Emden of Altona (1697–1776), son of the Khacham Sevi, and like his father a sworn enemy of mysticism and Sabbatianism. In 1751 Emden became incensed at an amulet purportedly given a woman by Eybeschütz that carried a Sabbatian text. Emden pronounced a *kherem* (excommunication) on all Sabbatians. The German-Jewish community of Altona became so angry that Emden's house had to be guarded around the clock. Emden fled to Amsterdam, where he went on to publish leaflets and pamphlets against Eybeschütz between 1751 and 1753. Emden filed suit against Eybeschütz and his other enemies in the Danish courts of Altona. He won the support of some rabbis as well as the protection of King Frederik of Denmark (Frederick V of Denmark and Norway, 1723–66).

In 1755 Eybeschütz published a book in his own defense. Emden retaliated with fresh pamphlets. The battle was joined by the rabbis of all the major Jewish communities of Europe. The Polish Jewish Council of Four Lands met only seven times in the entire period from 1700 to 1761. It was disbanded in 1764. The Orthodox rabbis were violently opposed to the Sabbatians. Nonetheless, they held a special meeting and voted to support Eybeschütz against Emden. The dispute reached the Hamburg senate and King Frederik of Denmark and Norway. The king referred the dispute to arbitration by a Christian priest who decided in 1756 that Eybeschütz was really a Christian sympathizer deserving the protection of the Danish state. Eybeschütz continued as rabbi of Hamburg, Altona, and Wandsbeck until his death in 1764.

Yet another Jewish messianic mystic came from Padova (Padua) in the Venetian Republic of Italy. He was Rabbi Moses Hayim Luzzatto (1707–47), known by his Hebrew acronym of RMHL. He was a brilliant Hebrew scholar and poet, who early on became absorbed with Jewish mysticism and had prophetic and messianic visions. Luzzatto became embroiled with the Sabbatian-hunting Rabbi Moses Hagiz of Altona, who wrote the rabbis of Venice to chastise the “heretic” Luzzatto. Under pressure from his beloved teacher, Rabbi Isaia Bassano, Luzzatto undertook to abandon the Kabbalah. But he could not help his fiery fascination. His mystical works finally drove the Venetian rabbis to pronounce a *kherem* on Luzzatto in 1734, which was announced to all major European Jewish communities. Luzzatto found some respite and support in Amsterdam, but could not resist the powerful urge to go to the “Holy Land” (Palestine), where he died of the plague.

A NEW JEWISH MYSTICAL SECT

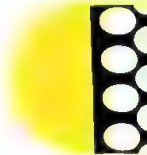
In the 1750s a new Jewish messianic sect developed in Poland. It was founded by a power-hungry Jewish mystic named Jakob ben Yehuda Leib (Jankiew Leibowicz, 1726–91), who was born in Polish Podolia. We have no record of his birth, and, like many heroes and charismatic leaders, his birthplace is shrouded in mystery. Some scholars think he was born in Berezanka, eastern Galicia (now in the Ukraine), others think he was born in Korolowka, Podolia (now Korolovo in the Ukraine), a small town in the Carpathian mountains near Ottoman-ruled Wallachia (now Romania).

When Jakob was a child, his father Yehuda Leib, a minor religious functionary, rebelled against the Orthodox Jewish authorities by becoming a Sabbatian. The rabbis persecuted Sabbatians, and the family was forced to leave Poland for Wallachia under rabbinical pressure. Wallachia was then an Ottoman vassal state ruled by an Ottoman Greek Phanariote (a member of the influential Greek families of the Phanar quarter of Istanbul) called the *hospodar* (governor).

The boy Jakob ben Yehuda Leib had mystical visions and fantasies. His father was an angry, domineering man. Jakob was first a salesclerk in his father's store, but when he did not get along with his father he moved through the Balkans as a traveling salesman in Wallachia and Turkey, where the locals called him “Frank” (the Turkish name for Europeans). Discarding his father's name, he adopted the name Jakob Frank. Around 1751 this delusional visionary proclaimed himself the Jewish Messiah.

Between 1752 and 1755 Jakob “Frank” spent some time in the Sabbatian centers of Izmir and Salonica. In 1755 he returned to Lwów (Lemberg), the Polish Galician capital (now in the Ukraine). Jakob Frank teamed up with Leib Karys, a wine merchant, whose first name was that of Jakob's father. They both claimed that the late Rabbi Berachiah, the Sabbatian leader of Salonica, had appointed Frank the apostle of Sabbatianism in Poland.

Jakob Frank founded a new Jewish sect whose chief tenet was that elect persons were exempt from rabbinical law and could indulge in any kind of sexual activities,



including prostitution, homosexuality, incest, and orgies. He proclaimed the Aramaic *Zohar* superior to rabbinical Orthodoxy and to Judaism itself; the Frankists called themselves "Zoharists." Familial and sexual imagery pervaded Frankism, as it did all Jewish mysticism. Those who flocked to Jakob Frank's banner were severely disturbed individuals. Frank's mystical sect gave them protection and the license to act out forbidden desires, to rebel against authority. Jakob Frank himself was called *santo señor* (holy lord), an obvious indication of his role as father figure. Incest was the main theme of Frankist ritual. They believed in Hayun's holy trinity of God, the Messiah, and the Supernal Mother. The latter was played in their mystical rituals by a Frankist woman, and the faithful made love to her publicly. The Orthodox rabbis of Lwów were very upset and drove Jakob Frank and his sect out of town.

In January 1756 the borderline Frankists performed their orgiastic rituals in a small Podolian town inn. A crowd of Peeping Toms were outraged by the nudity of a dancing woman, the *matronita*, and informed the rabbis and the Polish authorities. Some Frankists fled; Jakob Frank and some of his followers were arrested. Frank, an Ottoman subject, was exiled from Poland. His followers were brought before a rabbinical court at Satanov, a small Podolian town southwest of Khmel'nitsky, seat of the chief rabbi of Podolia. The Orthodox rabbis were aghast at the Frankist confessions of sexual license. Those who repented were sentenced to flogging. In June 1756 the Council of Four Lands met at Brody, headed by Rabbi Hayim Rappoport of Lwów. They banned the Frankists as heretics and excommunicated them, pronouncing their women prostitutes and their sons bastards.

The Frankists were severely persecuted throughout Jewish Poland. They appealed to the Catholic bishop Dembowski of Kameniec-Podolsk, an infamous Jew-hater, telling him that their faith, with its holy trinity, was close to Christianity. Bishop Dembowski used them to fight the hated Talmud, which maligns Jesus Christ. On 20 June 1757 Bishop Dembowski held a public disputation at Kameniec-Podolsk, which became a battle of *Zohar* versus Talmud. The rabbis were forced by the mayors of their cities and lords of their towns to attend the disputation. A jury of Roman Catholic theologians judged the Talmud to be heresy. Bishop Dembowski sentenced the floggers of the Frankists to be flogged themselves, fined the Jewish community 5,000 zloty in favor of the Frankists, and ordered all copies of the Talmud in Podolia seized and burned publicly. In November 1757 Bishop Dembowski died. The Orthodox Jews saw this as a sure sign of God's wrath. The Frankists appealed to the Polish king August Fryderyk (August Frederick III, 1696–1763) for protection. In July 1758 King August Fryderyk extended his royal protection to the Jews who had "left the blasphemous Talmud and embraced the Holy Trinity." Jakob Frank returned to Poland.

Eventually the Frankists converted to Christianity, but the road to baptism and conversion was thorny, and the Frankist conversion to Christianity was ambivalent. In early 1759 the Frankist leaders wrote Archbishop Lubinski of Lwów that they would embrace Christianity on certain conditions: if they received land in two Galician towns for their fifteen thousand followers, if they could go on wearing Jewish clothing, if they did not have to shave their beards or have to eat pork, could keep their

Jewish names, marry amongst themselves, rest on Saturday as well as on Sunday, and keep the *Zohar* and other holy books alongside the Old and New Testament. The angry archbishop turned them down. Lubinski became cardinal and primate of Poland, and a Jew-hating bishop named Mikolski, who favored the Sabbatians, became archbishop of Lwów.

The Frankist schism in Judaism became entangled with the ritual-murder libel and with the Jesuit issue in Roman Catholic politics. In the mid-1750s the Polish bishops charged the Jews with the ritual murder of Christian children. In early 1758 a Polish Jewish lobbyist named Jakob Zelig was dispatched by the Council of Four Lands to ask Pope Benedict XIV (1675–1758) to intercede and protect the Polish Jews from the ritual-murder libel. The Inquisition began investigating the ritual-murder charges. Pope Benedict XIV died that year, and Pope Clement XIII (1693–1769) took his place. The Society of Jesus, the elite Catholic order allied with the pope, was being persecuted by anticlerical and antipapal forces such as the Bourbon absolutists, the Jansenists, the Freemasons, and the kings of France, Spain, and Portugal. In 1759 the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal. Pope Clement XIII elevated the Jesuit-educated Archbishop Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio Ganganelli (1705–74), the future Pope Clement XIV, to cardinal, hoping he would support the Jesuits against their foes. Pope Clement XIII appointed Cardinal Ganganelli to investigate the ritual-murder charges against the Jews. Jakob Zelig sought to help Ganganelli expose the falsehood of the blood libels, which the cardinal eventually did.

In July–September 1759 Archbishop Mikolski of Lwów held another disputation in the Galician capital of Lwów. The Frankists leveled the ritual-murder libel against the Orthodox Jews. Archbishop Mikolski pronounced the Jews wrong on all matters of faith. At the insistence of the papal nuncio, who had received orders from the Vatican, he referred the ritual-murder issue to the Inquisition in Rome. In 1759–60 the Frankists were baptized en masse as Catholics. Jakob Frank himself was baptized in Warsaw's Saint Jan's Church with King August Fryderyk acting as his godfather.

The Polish Catholic bishops still doubted Jakob Frank's devotion to Christianity. They suspected him of having tricked them into supporting him. In January 1760 they had him arrested and jailed in the fortified Jasna Góra Monastery at Czestochowa, site of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa, where Jakob Frank spent thirteen years as a prisoner (1760–72), sending numerous epistles to his followers and remaining their Lord Messiah. Poland was being wrecked by civil war between Catholics and Orthodox. In 1772 came the first partition of Poland among Russia, Prussia, and Austria. A Russian general seized Czestochowa and freed Jakob Frank from prison. In 1773 the Polish Sejm ratified the partition treaty; Poland lost half its population and a third of its territory.

Meanwhile Pope Clement XIII was losing his Jesuit battle. In 1764 the Jesuits were expelled from France, in 1767 from Spain, and in 1768 from Naples, Sicily, and Parma. Clement XIII gave them refuge in his papal states. In 1769 the anti-Jesuit forces demanded the abolition of the Society of Jesus. Pope Clement XIII refused, suffered a stroke, and died. Cardinal Ganganelli became Pope Clement XIV. In 1773,

under great pressure from the anti-Jesuit kings, Pope Clement XIV dissolved the Society of Jesus with his papal brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* (Lord and Savior). This suppression lasted forty-one years (1773–1814).

Jakob Frank and his followers went to Brünn in Austrian Moravia (now Brno in the Czech Republic), where they joined the Sabbatians. Jakob Frank and his family were expelled from Austria by the dowager Empress Maria Theresa (1717–80). It was rumored that Frank's beautiful daughter Eva had caught the fancy of Maria Theresa's son, Joseph II, who had a running feud with his mother, and that the empress spitefully expelled daughter and father. Six years after Maria Theresa's death, in 1786, Jakob Frank reached Offenbach (Hessen), Germany, where he bought Prince von Eisenburg's palace and christened himself Joseph, baron von Offenbach. He died in 1791, and his daughter Eva took over the movement until she died penniless in 1816.

The chronicle of Jewish messianic movements in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is characterized by the same psychological phenomena as the medieval ones: the wish to escape from the harsh reality of Jewish life in non-Jewish lands; the longing for redemption, salvation and rebirth, for the Father Messiah and for the Holy Mother Land; the idealization of severely disturbed, paranoid, and megalomaniacal individuals as redeemers and saviors and of Ottoman Palestine as the "holy land" of Israel; the displacement of overwhelming feelings from the personal and familial to the public and political; and the externalization upon antagonists of very painful aspects of the self. It is a sad chronicle of fantasy life and delusion repeatedly taking hold on a mass scale and leading to disillusionment, loss, and destruction.

JEWS IN RUSSIA

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Russia became a great empire. Ivan the Great and Vasily Shuysky (Vasily III, 1552–1612) of Moscow, grand princes of Vladimir, annexed and united the "Great Russian" principalities, won back parts of the Ukraine from Poland-Lithuania and shook off the yoke of the Mongol Tatars. In a striking psychohistorical irony, Ivan the Terrible (1530–84), who lost most of his wars against Sweden and Livonia, assumed the title of czar in early 1547, at the age of sixteen. The princes of Moscow were henceforth called the czars of Russia. The czars did not like the Jews and did not let them into their empire. The Ukrainian Jews entered Russia in the mid-seventeenth century, when it had seized eastern Ukraine from Poland.

Under Peter the Great (1672–1725) Russia became a "Great Power," acquiring the Baltic lands. The wars were accompanied by untold sufferings to the common people, especially the Jews. Millions died from the wars, the plague, slave-capturing raids, and massacres. Poland's population came down from nine million to four million people.

Peter the Great brought great reforms to Russia and built the splendid city of Saint Petersburg. But Peter the Great gave no liberties to the Jews, whom he regarded as incompatible with the Russians. After his death his second wife and widow, a

Baltic peasant orphan girl, born Marta Skowronska in Lithuania, and raised in Latvia, reigned briefly (1725–27) as Yekaterina (Catherine I). In 1726 Catherine created the Supreme Privy Council. During the brief reign of her teenage stepson, Peter II (1715–30), she in effect ruled Russia.

The Supreme Privy Council of Russia undermined the authority of the Most Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church and of the Russian senate. Power can be vital, especially to those who unconsciously feel powerless. The Russian church and senate waited for an opportunity to overthrow the hated council. In 1730, on the day set for his wedding to Princess Yekaterina Alekseyevna Dolgorukaya, the fifteen-year-old Peter died, reportedly of smallpox. Duchess Anna Ivanovna of Courland (1693–1740) acceded to the Russian throne. She tore up the Conditions of the Supreme Privy Council, which she had signed, and abolished the council.

Empress Anna Ivanovna let her German lover Ernst Johann Biron and his cronies, Andrei Ostermann and Burkhard Münnich, run Russia. The dirt-poor peasants of Russia and Poland were exploited and oppressed beyond belief. Some of them, seething with rage, teamed up with gangs of Cossacks, raiding highways and cities. These armed thugs were called *haidemaky*. Their movement began in the 1720s. They especially hated Polish *pany* (noblemen) and their agents, the *zhydy* (Jews), whom the *haidemaky* perceived as their exploiters. During the 1730s and 1740s, egged on by the Russians, the *haidemaky* repeatedly fell upon the *pany* and the *zhydy*, murdering, raping, robbing, and looting. In 1768 they massacred the Jews and Poles of Uman, between Kiev and Odessa. In the Jewish mind the *haidemaky* were direct successors to the murderous Cossacks of 1648–49.

In 1733, when the German-born Polish king August Fryderyk Mocny (August Frederick the Strong, or August II Frederick) died, the War of the Polish Succession (1733–38) broke out. Austria and Russia supported August Fryderyk's son, the elector prince of the "Holy Roman Empire," Friedrich August of Saxony (Frederick August II, 1696–1763); the Poles wanted their former king, Stanislaw Leszczynski (r. 1704–9) back. France and Spain supported Leszczynski, and the Polish Sejm elected him king again. But Russian Empress Anna Ivanovna's German lover, Ernst Johann Biron, dispatched a Russian army of thirty thousand troops to Poland. Leszczynski fled to Gdansk (Danzig), and another Polish Sejm elected Friedrich August as king. France, Sardinia-Savoy, and Spain now declared war on Austria. Finally Austria and Russia prevailed, and Friedrich August became King August Fryderyk (August Frederick III) of Poland.

The War of the Polish Succession led to anti-Jewish riots throughout Poland, especially in the Ukrainian borderlands of Volhynia and Podolia. The *haidemaky* lumped the Jews together with their Polish overlords. Their gangs were led by one Virlan, chief of the former Cossack serfs of Prince Lubomirski. In 1734 the *haidemaky* struck the Jews of Bratslav, a region straddling Volhynia and Podolia. Virlan spread the rumor that Empress Anna Ivanovna had called upon all the Russians in Poland to fight the Poles and the Jews and to annex the entire Ukraine to Russia. Many Jews were massacred in Bratslav.

It was not till 1736, when Elector Friedrich August of Saxony was recognized as King August Fryderyk (August Frederick III) of Poland, that the riots subsided. From 1740 to 1743 the *haidemaky* rioted in Byelarus, led by a self-styled "grandson" of Khmel'nitsky. They massacred Polish nobles and Jewish common folk alike. In 1750 the *haidemaky* rioted again in the Ukraine, killing Jews, especially in Bratslav and Kiev, but also in the smaller towns, some of which they captured. Like other victims of violence, the surviving Jews were deeply traumatized.

While Poland was home for many Jews since the Middle Ages, Russia acquired its Jews only in the second half of the eighteenth century, after it annexed the eastern Polish and Lithuanian provinces with heavy Jewish populations. Like the Greeks and Byzantines, from whom their religion and culture derived, the Russians called the Jews *yevrei* (Hebrews). The Russian word *zhidy* became a derogatory term for Jews. While in Poland there were anti-Jewish riots and massacres by Cossacks, *haidemaky*, and other gangs, as well as religious persecution by the Roman Catholic bishops, in Russia a succession of empresses—Catherine, Anna Ivanovna, and Yelizaveta—issued a series of anti-Jewish decrees between 1725 and 1761.

These empresses were followed by the German-born Catherine the Great (Yekaterina II, 1729–96), a woman of many lovers. In 1762 Catherine had her disturbed German-born husband Czar Pyotr (Peter III) deposed and murdered to gain the throne. The plotter and executioner was Catherine's young lover, Admiral Aleksey Grigoryevich Orlov (1737–1808). Catherine wished to reform her adoptive motherland but failed, perhaps because she lacked empathy for her subjects' misery. In 1773–74 the long-suffering Russian peasants, led by the young Cossack Yemelyan Ivanovich Pugachov (1742–75), rose up against Catherine. The revolt was brutally quelled and Pugachov was executed.

In 1774, after the death of the Ottoman sultan Mustafa III, Russia imposed the humiliating Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca on Ottoman Turkey, which secured the northern shores of the Black Sea for Russia. The new Russian territories in the south were called Novoya Rossiya (New Russia). As mentioned, Admiral Orlov commanded the Russian fleet that defeated the Ottomans at Küçük Kaynarca. Orlov was given great honors in Saint Petersburg, but Catherine took a new lover, Prince Grigory Aleksandrovich Potyomkin (Potemkin, 1739–91), who had distinguished himself in the war against the Turks.

For two years, from 1774 to 1776, the grandiose Potyomkin was Catherine's lover. Catherine made Potyomkin commander in chief and governor general of the "New Russia" in the southern Ukraine. Despite Catherine's later lovers, Potyomkin remained the chief architect of her imperial policy. In 1776 "Holy Roman" Emperor Joseph II of Austria (1741–90) made Potyomkin a prince of the "Holy Roman Empire." In 1783 Catherine the Great made him prince of Taurida (Tauris), and in 1784 field marshal. In 1787 Potyomkin organized a grand tour of the "New Russia" for Catherine, concealing all the weaknesses of his administration. An apocryphal tale had him erect showy artificial villages for the empress to see on her way, hence the term "Potemkin village." Potyomkin died during the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–92.

In 1775 and again in 1785 Catherine the Great introduced administrative reforms, which, however, did not make her subjects freer. The eastern Ukraine had become Russian in 1667. Rather than liberate the Russian serfs, they imposed serfdom on the newly conquered "Ukrainians." Catherine divided Russia into provinces of roughly equal population, regardless of history and economics. Each province had a governor who could communicate directly with the empress. The new provinces in the south, Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Taurida, and Bessarabia, were called "New Russia." Catherine's subjects were divided into classes, such as nobles, merchants, and burghers. Catherine let the Jews vote for guild and city councils, get elected to them, and settle in the new provinces in southern Russia. But the Jewish merchants did well in the Russian villages and their Russian rivals were upset.

In 1782, under the Russian traders' pressure, Catherine the Great decreed that merchants and burghers must reside in the cities, not in the villages, which drove the Jews away from the rural areas. In 1791 Catherine decreed that Jews must not leave the newly acquired provinces, thus in effect creating the notorious "Pale of Settlement" in western and southern Russia. In 1793, after the Second Partition of Poland, most of the western Ukraine, except for Galicia, also became Russian. In 1804 Czar Aleksandr (Alexander I) officially created that Pale. Catherine was promiscuous and narcissistic. The Russian poet Gavril Romanovich Derzhavin (1743–1816) wrote a flattering ode to Catherine, which gave her great narcissistic pleasure, so she made him successively her private secretary, a provincial governor, a senator, and a minister of justice.

After Catherine's death in 1796, her successor, the neurotic and despotic Czar Pavel (Paul I, 1754–1801), impressed with the French Revolution, appointed Senator Derzhavin to investigate the Jewish situation in Russia. Like most Russians, Derzhavin disliked the "greedy" Jews. He gathered information on their situation from Germany and solicited proposals for their reform from "enlightened Jews." Derzhavin then submitted a thick tome to the Russian senate proposing "to eliminate famine in Byelarus by restricting the professions in which the greedy Jews could engage and reforming their character." This could be achieved by supervising Jewish activities, by taking a census of the Jews, by giving them last names, by dividing them into classes, by forcing them to use Russian, Polish, or German and by forcing them to attend general schools. But Czar Pavel antagonized many influential people in Russia and was assassinated in a palace revolution sanctioned by his son Aleksandr in Saint Petersburg before Derzhavin's memo could be implemented.

Pavel's son Aleksandr (Alexander I, 1777–1825) succeeded him in 1801. He had great ambitions for liberal reform in Russia. In 1802 Alexander created the Special Commission for Reforming the Jews in Saint Petersburg. In 1803 Derzhavin resigned as minister of justice and lost his seat on the "Jewish Commission." Some members of the commission wished to grant the Jews equal rights; others wished to reform them first. In 1804 the Jewish Commission and the Ruling Senate passed a statute aiming at improving the lot of the Russian Jews so as to make them less harmful to other Russian subjects. The Jews were expelled from all villages and forbidden to keep inns and public houses. Half the Jews of Russia lost their livelihood. The Jews

were restricted to residence in the Pale of Settlement in Lithuania, Byelarus, the Ukraine, Astrakhan, and the Caucasus. They were encouraged to become farmers, but only on uninhabited lands in the Pale of Settlement.

A NEW HASSIDISM

In the eighteenth century the Hebrew term *hassiduth* (piety) took on yet another meaning. Jewish rabbinical Orthodoxy had become stifling. It was an obsessive-compulsive system of prayers, rituals, commandments, strictures and prohibitions whose psychological function was to ward off the anxiety of ambivalence and ambiguity. In many ways the Jews were still living in the past. Traditional Jewish scholarship consisted of obsessional learning and interpretation of ancient Hebrew and Aramaic texts whose relevance to modern life was tenuous at best. Secular, "gentile" scholarship was considered profane and dangerous. Schoolboys were caned and whipped by enraged *melamdim* (teachers). There was little joy in the daily Jewish rituals and in the obsessional study of ancient texts.

Jewish mysticism, and ecstatic Kabbalah in particular, exerted a powerful attraction. It promised salvation, redemption, union with God, joy, and spiritual rebirth. But the esoteric Kabbalah itself had been invested with rigid asceticism by the "Ashkenazi" rabbi Isaac ben Solomon Luria, known by his Hebrew acronym of ARI as haAri haKadosh (The Holy Lion), and his disciple Hayim Vital, in sixteenth-century Palestine. The new Hassidic movement opposed both Jewish rationalism and secular scholarship, and sought to divest Jewish religious mysticism of this ascetic severity and to make it a joyful popular religion.

The Jewish healers of eighteenth-century Poland were known as *baalay shem* (having a name, or a reputation). The mystic who began this new movement was Israel ben Eliezer Baal Shem Tov (Good Healer, literally "Of Good Name," 1700–1760). Like other charismatic and mystical leaders, the place and time of his birth are embellished with myth. Since authentic documents for the biography of eighteenth-century Polish Jews are either nonexistent or hard to come by, mythmaking and embellishment are that much easier. Most Podolian Jews lived in small towns (*städtl* or *shtetl*) and villages. The Baal Shem Tov was probably born in the small Podolian town of Tluszcz (now Tluste in the Ukraine), but most of his followers like to believe he was born in the obscure village of Okop (Grayzel 1969:524), which the Hebrew spelling corrupted to Akuf (Akup).

Israel Baal Shem Tov lost his father as a child. This painful and probably unmourned loss well may have affected his entire emotional development. As Freud discovered, young boys unconsciously wish the death of their beloved father. Did Israel feel guilty for his father's death? As an adult, his faith was centered on *devekuth*, the cleaving unto God (unconsciously, Father). Israel was educated in poor boys' school. He often ran away to the woods, where he meditated upon life and God. At the age of twelve he became an assistant teacher in the *kheder* and later a guard at the

religious school. He studied at night, alone, and slept during the day. He was powerfully attracted to practical Kabbalah, becoming active in magic and healing (Trachtenberg 1984).

In 1720 Israel Baal Shem Tov moved to Brody, a major Galician Jewish community between Lwów and Dubnow (Dubno). He married the daughter of the wealthy scholar Ephraim of Kutu (Kutow), the sister of Orthodox rabbi Abraham Gershon Kutower. The rabbi, perhaps jealous of his brother-in-law because of his sister's love for him, sought to induce Israel to engage in traditional talmudic scholarship rather than "dangerous" mysticism, but failed. Rabbi Kutower counseled the young scholar to leave Brody for a small town.

In 1729 Israel moved to an unnamed Podolian village between Kutu and Kossow, in the Carpathian Mountains, where he toiled as a lime digger. His young wife is said to have wheeled the lime on a barrow into town and sold it. Rabbi Israel earned a reputation as a *baal shem*, the Hebrew term for a native healer who worked "miracles" with talismans, amulets, benedictions, incantations, and charms. He was also a *tsaddik*, the Hebrew term for a just and righteous man. The Biblical Hebrew *tsaddik* meant innocent, honest, just, straight, and true (Gen. 18:23; Ps. 119:137). Now the *tsaddik* was the leader of the Hassidim, a saintly person whose every word was divinely inspired.

The movements of the Baal Shem Tov are shrouded in mystery. Following Hassidic myth, some scholars say he went (or returned) to Tluste in 1736, where his reputation as *tsaddik* and healer grew rapidly, and in 1740 settled in Miedzyborz (Medzhibozh), a small river town east of the modern Khmelnytsky in the Ukrainian Republic. Other scholars think he moved to Miedzyborz as early as 1736. Since the number seven is sacred in Judaism (and other ancient religions), the faithful believed it took him exactly seven years (1729–36) to crystallize his vision. He may also have been affected by fresh catastrophes in Jewish life.

In 1747 the infamous ritual-murder libel was revived in Poland. The Polish Christians believed that Jews killed Christian children and used their blood in baking their Passover *matsah*. Four Jews of Zaslaw, Volhynia, were horribly executed. On the Hebrew New Year's Day 5507 (1747) the Baal Shem Tov had a divine revelation that he related in a letter to his brother-in-law in Palestine. In that vision he saw not only God but also the devil, who told him it was the Jews' own fault, for not mending their ways, that they were being massacred. If God was his symbolic good father, was the devil his bad father, and did he still feel guilty for his father's death?

While Poland was disintegrating, the ritual-murder libel spread like poison through Polish Volhynia and Podolia. In 1753 the mutilated body of the three-year-old son of a Polish nobleman named Count Stodzinski was found near Zhitomir, east of Kiev. Witnesses testified that the child's body bled profusely when it was carried past a Jewish inn. Thirteen Jews were burned at the stake, beheaded, and quartered. In 1756 the scene of the ritual-murder libel shifted to Yampol (Jampol), near Kremenetz in Volhynia. The body of the town drunkard was found drowned in the river. The bishop of Luck (Lutsk) and his monks accused the Jews. Prince Radziwill of Volhynia ordered an inquest, which found no foul play. But the bishop of Luck forced a new inquest by

a joint state-church commission. It found fifteen Yampol Jews guilty and had them tortured.

In early 1758 the Polish Jewish Council of Four Lands dispatched Rabbi Jakob Zelig to Pope Benedict XIV (1675–1758) in Rome. Pope Benedict died on 3 May of that year and his successor, Pope Clement XIII (1693–1769), appointed Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio Cardinal Ganganelli (the future Pope Clement XIV, 1705–74) to investigate the matter. Ganganelli ordered the papal nuncio in Poland, the Milanese archbishop Visconti, to report on the Yampol trial, and conducted a thorough investigation. Monsignor Visconti was descended from a noble fourteenth-century family from which, incidentally, the modern Italian director Luchino Visconti (1906–76) was also descended. Cardinal Ganganelli's report to Pope Clement XIII cleared the Jews of the ritual-murder charge, adding that the deaths of the "holy" Tyrolean children Saint Andreas of Brixen (Bressanone) in 1462 and Saint Simon of Trent in 1475 were murders committed by individuals, if they were murders at all.

In February 1760 Cardinal Corsini, descended from the princely Florentine family that had produced Pope Clement XII (1652–1748), handed Jakob Zelig a letter to Papal Nuncio Visconti in Warsaw asking him to do his utmost to prevent further harm to the Polish Jews. Yet it was not till 1763 that Pope Clement XIII instructed Visconti in Warsaw to inform Count Brühl, a minister in the court of King August III of Poland, that "the Holy See, having latterly examined all the foundations upon which the opinion rests that the Jews use human blood in the preparation of their unleavened bread and for that reason are guilty of the slaughter of Christian children, has concluded that there is no evidence whatsoever to substantiate this prejudice" (Margolis and Marx 1985:581).

The violent Ukrainian *haidemaky* and Cossacks, led by Maxim Zhelezniak and Ivan Gonta, hated both Poles and Jews with a passion. They were joined by Russian monks, led by one Brother Melchizedek. In 1768 they rioted in the Ukraine, killing Polish nobles and Jews alike. Some twenty thousand Poles and Jews perished at Uman alone. The Russian armies of Empress Catherine and the Polish armies of Count Branicki of Bialystok went after the *haidemaky* and Cossack gangs, which were defeated and destroyed.

The Jews needed spiritual healing. The Baal Shem Tov's healing skills came from his psychic charisma, which in turn derived from infantile needs and feelings within his patients (Schiffer 1973). He ministered not only to Jews but also to Polish noblemen and farmers. The Baal Shem Tov became known throughout Podolia and Volhynia. He preached that the essence of religion was *devekuth* (cleaving unto God) through true prayer, rather than scholarship, that Jews should know God through joyful ecstasy rather than through ascetic self-inflicted suffering, and that the entire world was created for the *tsaddik*. Idel (1988b) thought that *devekuth* was nothing other than the mystical union with the Deity so deeply craved by all mystics. We have seen that this mystical union often harks back to the state of blissful merger with the early mother. In the case of the Baal Shem Tov, could he also have been yearning for his long-lost father?

The Baal Shem Tov preached that God was everywhere and that there was a direct relationship between man and God. If we think of his lifelong longing for his father, this becomes intelligible. To him, cleaving to God was the most important religious activity, and studying Jewish myth and mysticism was more important than studying dry rules and talmudic scholasticism. Naturally the Orthodox, rigid, and obsessional rabbinical Judaism was threatened by this new faith. The new authority of the *tsaddik* further threatened that of the Orthodox rabbi. It also threatened the crumbling authority of the Council of Four Lands, the supreme governing body of Polish Jews.

As mentioned, the Council of Four Lands had existed since the sixteenth century. Its primary function had been to collect taxes from the Jews for their Polish rulers, but it also governed the Jewish communities, legislated for them, and represented them with the authorities. Now the heavy burden of taxation was impoverishing the Polish Jewish communities, who borrowed heavily from Polish noblemen to pay off their debts. The Council of Four Lands gradually lost authority while the individual communities became more powerful. During the seventeenth century the council met regularly every year. From 1700 to 1761 the council met only seven times. In 1764 it was dissolved by the Polish authorities. That year Russia, against the will of many Poles, made the nobleman Stanislaw Poniatowski (1732–98) King Stanislaw August of Poland (Stanislaw II). Counts Czartoryski, Potocki, Branicki, and Radziwill squabbled Poland into partition in 1772.

The Baal Shem Tov was still alive when the Frankists converted to Christianity in 1759–1760. Hassidic myth has him take part in the great disputations between Frankists and rabbinical Jews of 1759 and claims that the holy Shechinah herself, the supernal mother, mourned the Frankist conversion. Most scholars believe that the Baal Shem Tov was not allied with rabbinical Orthodoxy, and that this story is pure fantasy. Whenever Jews suffered emotional blows, the craving for the Great Good Mother became powerful. The Baal Shem Tov was not a *Macher* (doer or organizer). He did not found an organized Hassidic community either. This was done by the Great Maggid (Preacher) Dov-Baer of Miedzyrzecz (1710–72).

Orthodox rabbis preached to their flock twice a year, on the Sabbath preceding the Passover and on Yom Kippur. The Jews obviously needed more preaching than that. The itinerant Jews who roamed the Polish countryside preaching to the common folk were called *maggidim*. From 1760 to 1772 the Baal Shem Tov was succeeded by the Great Maggid Dov-Baer of Miedzyrzecz, Volhynia (near Sumy in the Ukraine). Dov-Baer codified the master's Hassidism and founded the Hassidic community, placing great stock in the role of the *tsaddik*, who was supposed to communicate directly with God and to intercede with him on behalf of individual Hassidim. Another early Hassidic leader was Jakob Joseph haCohen, a preacher who in 1780 published *The History of Jakob Joseph*, the first book-length treatise on Hassidism and a virulent polemic against Jewish rabbinical Orthodoxy.

Hassidism became a mass movement of ecstatic devotion. It was common for Hassidim to shout, dance, sing, move wildly, grimace, gesticulate, drink, and scream

while they were praying. Their *tsaddikim* settled in various Ukrainian towns and set up their own Hassidic courts. Hassidism spread throughout the Ukrainian borderlands of Poland and Russia, such as Podolia and Volhynia, as well as in Lithuania and Byelarus. As often happens in revolutionary movements, Galician Hassidism eventually became distinct from the Lithuanian variety, and the leaders of the two camps became bitter antagonists.

The best-known *tsaddikim* of the late eighteenth century in the Ukrainian provinces of Volhynia and Podolia were Elimelech of Lyzhansk (Lysanka or Lizensk), Levi Yitzhak of Berdychev, Nachum of Chernobyl, and Baruch of Tulchyn (1780–1810), a grandson of the Baal Shem Tov. The latter had a court jester named Herschele Ostropoler who became the source of a vast treasure of Jewish jokes. These Ukrainian Hassidic leaders kept the popular, superstitious, and mystical nature of Hassidism. Elimelech of Lysanka claimed that the charisma of the *tsaddik* was transmitted from father to son. This claim supports the dynastic practices of Hassidic courts.

The early Lithuanian and Byelorussian Hassidic leaders, Rabbis Aaron of Karlin (a suburb of Pinsk in Byelorussia), Menachem Mendel of Vitebsk (Witebsk), and Szeenor Zalman of Liozno (Zalman Szeenorson of Liady, 1745–1813), sought to fuse mystical Hassidism with Orthodox rabbinical Judaism, making it more rational and systematic. They studied with the Great Maggid Dov Baer of Miedzyrzec but returned to Lithuania and Byelarus determined to “clean up” Hassidism.

This was not enough for the Orthodox Lithuanian rabbis. These rigid scholars were led by Rabbi Elijah ben Solomon of Vilnius (1720–97), known as the “Gaon of Vilna.” As previously mentioned, the Hebrew title of *gaon*, which in the medieval “Babylonian” Jewish academies meant “academy head,” now came to mean “genius.” The Gaon of Vilnius was an authority not only on biblical and talmudic scripture but also on Kabbalah. He led the angry Mithnagdim (opponents), who were determined to stamp out Hassidism altogether. As Poland was disintegrating, the strife between Hassidim and Mithnagdim worsened. It was no accident that the dispute peaked in 1772, the year of the First Partition of Poland. The enraged Gaon of Vilnius excommunicated all Hassidim, charging them with defiling the Holy Torah with foreign, pagan practices and with the excessive personality cult of their *tsaddikim*. Little did he know that his own Judaism was full of pagan rites (Reik 1964).

In 1781, after Jakob Joseph haCohen published his polemical *History of Jakob Joseph*, the Orthodox Lithuanian rabbis gathered at the Grodno State Fair and issued an even stricter excommunication against the Hassidim. In 1784 the Byelorussian rabbis followed suit. The Gaon of Vilnius refused to see Rabbi Zalman Szeenor of Liozno. When Poland was partitioned twice more, in 1793 and 1795, its eastern provinces, including Lithuania, Byelarus, Volhynia, and Podolia, became part of Russia. The rift between Hassidim and Mithnagdim was so bitter the Russian authorities were forced to intervene.

Their excommunication by the Orthodox rabbis did not deter the Hassidim. Their movement flourished in Poland and in the western Russian provinces. The Hassidim called their *tsaddik* Rabbi Jakob Isaak (d. 1815) “the Seer of Lublin” and thought him

a prophetic clairvoyant. The mystical *tsaddik* Rabbi Nachman of Bratslav (1772–1811) was considered a veritable saint. Nachman of Bratslav hated philosophy, logic, reason, and intellect as much as he loved emotions and mystical notions. His disciple Nathan Sternharz (1780–1845) published Rabbi Nachman's sayings. Bratslav, incidentally, is a Ukrainian town near Uman, south of Kiev, yet Nachman's modern Israeli and American ultra-orthodox Jewish adherents mistakenly call him Rabbi Nachman of Bratslav, which is actually a Byelorussian town.

Jewish Hassidic movements were active during the Napoleonic Wars of the early nineteenth century. The faithful gathered around their *tsaddikim*, forming Hassidic "courts." But after the mid-nineteenth century the revolutionary Hassidic movement ossified. Its leaders and adherents became as rigid as its opponents. The Hassidim of our own time, most of whom live in Israel and in New York, are ultra-Orthodox, ultra-rigid Jews. They fall into tiny sects that are constantly warring with each other. In Israel the ultra-Orthodox Jews are known as *kharedim*, a Hebrew word meaning both "anxious" and "concerned."

The First Partition of Poland between Prussia, Austria, and Russia (1772) brought Byelorussia and its one hundred thousand Jews into "Great Russia." The Ukrainian region of eastern Galicia, with its heavily Jewish population, as well as the territory between the San and Vistula rivers, became Austrian; western Galicia remained Polish. In 1783 the imperial Russian government granted its Jews the right of voting and being elected to the local governments and courts. Ten years later the Russian-controlled Polish Sejm meeting at Grodno passed the Second Partition of Poland (1793), which gave Russia most of the Ukrainian lands, including Volhynia and Podolia, with their heavy Jewish populations. Prussia annexed most of western and northern Poland, including Gdansk (Danzig), Torun (Thorn), Great Poland, and parts of Mazovia.

The Second Partition of Poland led to a bloody Polish nationalist and revolutionary uprising against Russia and Prussia (1794) under Tadeusz Kosciuszko (1746–1817). The young Polish nobleman was fired with the ideals of the French and American revolutions, and had fought with the colonial rebels in the American Revolutionary War. His old flame, Ludwika Sosnowska, was married to the current Prince Lubomirsky. Kosciuszko's early feelings for his mother had been split. His love, which had been displaced to Ludwika, was now transferred to Poland, the good mother, while his hate was turned to Russia, the bad mother. More than 150,000 thousand Poles joined the armed revolt. The Polish peasants were partially freed, and at first the rebellion was successful; in April 1794 Kosciuszko defeated the Russians at Racławice; but the Russian general Aleksandr Vasilyevich Suvorov (1729–1800) brutally quelled the revolt. He stormed Praga, near Warsaw, massacring its entire population. The Polish peasants, armed with pikes and scythes, were crushed by the Russian armies.

Suvorov roundly defeated the Poles at the Battle of Maciejowice (October 1794), and Warsaw capitulated. The grateful empress Catherine the Great gave General Suvorov seven thousand serfs and the rank of field marshal. Jewish historians like to point out that Kosciuszko's revolt was joined by a five-hundred-man Polish Jewish regiment under Dow Baer (Berek) Joselewicz. But the handful of Jews fighting for

Poland were massacred as Poles by the Russian troops. Kosciuszko was imprisoned in Russia for two years (1794–96).

The Third Partition of Poland (1795) brought the Polish lands on both sides of the Vistula into Austria. Poland disappeared as a political entity. In 1796 Kosciuszko was freed by the new Russian czar, Pavel (Paul I), after Catherine the Great died. Kosciuszko spent the rest of his life in exile in the United States, Switzerland, and France. The fiery Polish leader demanded total freedom and large territories for Poland, refusing to make compromises with either France or Russia.

Berek Joselewicz was killed by the Russians at the Battle of Kotsk (Kock, 1809). The Jews of Lithuania, Byelarus, Volhynia, and Podolia were now Russian; those of Great Poland, including Warsaw and Mazovia, were Prussian; and those of Galicia, Kraków, and Lublin were Austrian. The hundreds of thousands of Jews who became Russian with the Polish lands they inhabited scared the Russian merchants. Fearful of Jewish competition, they urged their empress to restrict Jewish residential and occupational rights. Jewish life soon came under discriminatory restrictions. In 1783, 1791, and 1794 Catherine the Great issued three decrees restricting the commercial rights of the Jews to the Cherta Osedisti (Pale of Settlement), which included the lands already inhabited by Jews in Volhynia, Podolia, the Russian Ukraine, and Byelarus. Later the Jews' residential rights were also restricted to that Pale.

In 1795 came the Third Partition of Poland. King Stanislaw II of Poland abdicated, and Russia acquired Lithuania and Byelarus. Catherine the Great died in 1796, but her successors, Czar Pavel (Paul I, r. 1796–1801) and Czar Aleksandr (Alexander I, r. 1801–25), continued her policies. In 1802 a special commission was appointed to study the Jewish question. Some members of the commission wished to reform the Jews, while others wished to grant them civil rights. In 1804 a special statute was enacted declaring the Jews to be a disturbance to Russians and ordering the Jews to leave their villages within four years. The Pale of Settlement now comprised five provinces in Lithuania and Byelarus, five in the Ukraine (Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, Chernigov, and Poltava) and three in the "New Russia" in the southern Ukraine and on the Black Sea. Jewish farmers were also allowed to live in Astrakhan and the Caucasus. The Russian residential and occupational discrimination against the Jews continued throughout the nineteenth century.

41

Napoléon and the Jews

The bloody French Revolution (1787–99) swiftly and violently converted France from an absolute monarchy into a democratic republic. The revolution changed all of France's institutions. The social classes radically changed their relationships; the calendar, the laws, and the currency were reformed; and the very titles of officeholders were republicanized. The revolution ambivalently gave the French Jews some limited civil rights for the first time. The French revolutionaries wished to liberate all the peoples of Europe from royal tyranny, making all the European monarchies enemies of France. The revolution began with noble intentions and high hopes, only to degenerate into coups d'état and counter coups, the horrific Terror (1793–94), the corrupt Directoire (1795–99), the bloody wars all over Europe, and the ruthless tyranny (1799–1814) of First Consul and Emperor Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821).

Under the ancien régime French society fell into three estates (classes): the nobility, clergy, and common people, who were represented in the Estates General legislature. The king was an absolute monarch. His power was not checked by the Estates General, which had not met since 1614. The French *parlements* were the sovereign courts of justice, issuing from the royal court, whose judiciary role progressively became political. The first two years of the Revolution (1787–89) were an aristocratic economic revolt against King Louis XVI (1754–93), who had ascended the throne in 1774. The nobles rebelled over the king's taxation reform. As in every monarchy, the royal treasury paid all public expenses. Its coffers were filled by taxation. The nobles and clergy had been immune from taxation, and the common people did not have much to collect from, which created a huge royal budget deficit. In 1777 the Swiss-born Jacques Necker (1732–1804) was made France's *contrôleur général* (minister of finance). Necker created new provincial assemblies, giving power to the Third Estate and making enemies in the French royal court and *parlements*.

When Great Britain's American colonies rebelled against their mad king (1775–83), France supported the American revolutionaries against its traditional enemy, Great Britain. Necker tried to finance the expensive French participation in the American Revolutionary War by borrowing money without raising taxes. In 1781, to raise money for the war, Necker delivered his falsified *Compte rendu au Roi* (Report to the king) claiming a 10 million-livre surplus when the royal treasury actually had a deficit of 46 million livres. Ministre d'Etat Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas

(1701–81), and Queen Marie-Antoinette (1755–93) urged the king to fire Necker, who was forced to resign. He was succeeded by Charles-Alexandre de Calonne (1734–1802), who was in turn replaced with Etienne-Charles de Loménie de Brienne (1727–94). The Third Estate comprised the majority of Frenchmen. The clergy and nobility were the privileged estates, exempt from taxes and duties, while the Third Estate was unprivileged, which bred deep feelings of envy and injury in the majority. The narcissistically injured Necker revealed the extent of the public debt and the spending of the privileged classes, becoming a Third Estate hero.

In the late eighteenth century the Jews of France numbered some fifty thousand souls. Most of these lived in the formerly German northeastern provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. The minority were Iberian Jews who had settled in southwestern France after the expulsions from Spain and Portugal in 1492 and 1497. The Jews had lived in rural Alsace and Lorraine for centuries, but had been officially barred from Strasbourg since 1388. In 1648, after the Thirty Years' War, Alsace and Lorraine had been taken over by France as protectorates; by 1678 King Louis XIV had established full French control.

In 1767 Cerf-Herz Berr (1730–93), a wealthy Alsatian Jewish purveyor to King Louis XVI's armies, had been allowed to live in Strasbourg, becoming a major French Jewish leader. To further the civil rights of the French Jews, Berr sought the personal intervention of Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), the most respected Jewish philosopher in Germany. Mendelssohn got his friend Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, an enlightened Prussian state counselor, to write a pro-Jewish pamphlet entitled *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (On the civil betterment of the Jews, 1781). Dohm's ambivalent pamphlet called for the emancipation of the Jews yet upheld the synagogue's right to excommunicate its members (Dohm 1957). When King Louis XVI issued an edict "tolerating" the French Protestants (1787), Cerf Berr sought to expand this edict to the Jews by using Dohm's pamphlet. Two years later the French National Assembly gave civil rights to the Jews. Among Berr's relations and descendants were the French Jewish leader Berr-Isaac Berr of Nancy (Lorraine) and the French Jewish historian Henri Berr of Lunéville (1863–1954), author of a hundred-volume history of humanity (Berr 1920–).

To solve the public debt problem, finance minister Calonne called an assembly of French notables (church prelates, great noblemen, and bourgeois), which, he hoped, would approve his taxation reform. Unhappily for Calonne, the rebellious assembly rejected his plan and instead resolved to call the Estates General representing the three social classes. This the king was reluctant to do, knowing that it would curtail his powers.

In 1788 Louis XVI, sensing the growing power of the Third Estate, reluctantly reappointed Jacques Necker his comptroller-general and promised to call elections to the Estates General the following year. This was a fatal step. In 1789 Louis XVI fought for his political life. Between January and April elections were held to the Estates General. On 5 May 1789 the Estates General met at Versailles, the royal residence. A struggle at once erupted over whether to vote by head or estate. The Third

Estate had more deputies than the other two. Voting by estate would give the privileged nobility and clergy the majority; voting by head would favor the Third Estate. In the Estates General, some noble and clerical deputies voted against their own class. The liberal noble deputy Count Stanislas-Marie-Adélaïde de Clermont-Tonnerre (1757–92) voted to abolish the special privileges of the nobility; the double-dealing clerical deputy Bishop Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754–1838), voted to abolish the clergy's privileges.

Talleyrand, the future prince de Bénévent and treacherous foreign minister under Napoléon, played a key role in the revolution. Talleyrand had a clubfoot, a narcissistic injury that caused him much psychic pain. Although he liked to tell that at the age of four he had fallen off a chest of drawers, injuring his foot, his clubfoot may have been congenital. Talleyrand had a split self. He was a very talented individual who often helped France, but was also a greedy, corrupt intriguer, deceiver, liar, and traitor. Bergler (1935:37) called Talleyrand "a profiteer in the grand style, a corruptionist out of conviction, a ladies' man out of pleasure, a gambler out of passion, a cynic out of the destiny of unconscious instinct." Unable to pursue a military career, Talleyrand became a clergyman, rising to bishop of Autun, and a clerical deputy to the Estates General. Under the biblical customs that were adopted by the Catholic Church, laypeople contributed one tenth of their income, the tithe, to the clergy. At the Estates General the opportunistic Talleyrand astonished his fellow bishops by proposing the repeal of the tithe, the nationalization of French church property to pay off the public debt, the abolition of separate legislative chambers for the clergy and nobility, and the creation of a unicameral national assembly.

Fueled by feelings of envy and rage against the privileged classes, the French revolution spread like wildfire. On 17 June 1789 the Third Estate forced the Estates General to proclaim itself the National Assembly. On June 19 the poor parish priests broke with their bishops and supported the Third Estate against the *privilegiés*. On 20 June the Third Estate, defying the king, met at the Tennis Court in Paris and swore to stay there until France had a new constitution. King Louis XVI grudgingly invited the nobility and clergy to join the Third Estate in a new legislative assembly. On 9 July 1789 the National Assembly proclaimed its intention to forge a new constitution for France. The king plotted to dissolve the new assembly by force of arms.

The shortage of food in France and the rumors of a conspiracy by the king, Church, and nobles to overthrow the newly empowered Third Estate brought about the *grande peur* (great fear) of 20 July to 6 August 1789, which shook all France but affected mainly the poor French peasants. Panic comes from feelings of helplessness, which in turn breed violence. The king, living in Versailles, outside Paris, gathered his troops around Paris and again dismissed Necker, provoking a great popular insurrection. The taking of the Bastille by a Parisian mob on 14 July 1789 marked the peak of the Revolution. In late July the Alsatian peasants, fearful of losing their lives and seeking to destroy evidence of their debts, rioted against the nobles and attacked the Jews, who to the Alsatian peasants were their moneylenders and bookkeepers. Many Jews fled for their lives.

The Jews had a few friends in the French national assembly. Abbé Henri Grégoire (1750–1831) was a liberal clerical deputy from Blois who had written a passionate defense of the Jews before the revolution. On 3 August 1789 Abbé Grégoire rose in the National Assembly demanding the assurance of the safety of the lives and property of the Jews. But the other deputies treated the French Jewish question as part of a larger one: the abolition of the privileges of the nobility and the granting of civil rights to the peasants. On the night of 4–5 August the National Assembly abolished the feudal system and the tithe. The most important legal act of the National Assembly was the celebrated seventeen-article Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, adopted between 20 August and 26 August 1789. Article 10 of the declaration, adopted on 23 August, said that no man must be harmed because of his religious beliefs. This declaration was to form the preamble of the new constitution in 1791.

In the fall of 1789 King Louis XVI, unable to mourn his loss of power, tragically refused to sanction the revolutionary acts of the National Assembly. On 5 October the Parisian rabble marched on Versailles. On 6 October the royal family was brought to Paris, and the National Assembly followed suit. The Parisian Jews wrote the assembly asking to be recognized as a group, as did the Jews of Alsace and Lorraine. Whether that group was religious or national was not clear. On 2 November the National Assembly voted to nationalize all French church property. On 21 December the liberal nobleman Stanislas-Marie-Adélaïde de Clermont-Tonnerre rose in the National Assembly demanding civil rights for individual Jews (Ben-Sasson 1976:744):

We must not permit the Jews to constitute a separate body or class in the state. It is necessary that each of them individually be a citizen. But, it will be claimed, they do not want this. Very well, if they do not want it, let them tell us so, and then it will be necessary to expel them. We cannot allow there to be in the state a group of non-citizens, a nation within a nation. But, in fact, it is clear that this not their wish at all.

A conservative clerical deputy answered that the Jews were a separate nation, dealt only with moneylending, exploited and enslaved the Christians, held 12 million livres worth of Alsatian real estate in mortgages, and would soon own all of France. The French people hated the Jews, said the well-meaning priest, and they could not be French citizens. The young liberal deputy Maximilien de Robespierre (1758–94), a Third Estate deputy from Arras in the northern county of Artois, argued that the Jews' faults came from their maltreatment by the Christians and that the Jews deserved all human rights. The rigid, frugal, obsessional, and fanatical Robespierre had made his maiden speech in the assembly on 18 May 1789 and was to speak there about five hundred times. The "incorruptible" Robespierre later became the ruthless leader of the Montagnards, named after their high benches in the assembly, and the fanatical leftist Jacobins, who directed the Terror. After executing tens of thousands of "counter-revolutionaries" he was himself ousted and executed by the conservative Thermidorians (1794).

On 24 December 1789 the French National Assembly resolved that non-Catholics had the same political rights as Catholics, but that the status of the Jews was not

being changed until further notice. The "Sephardi" Jews of southern France, especially Bordeaux, having lived in France for centuries, felt superior to the "Ashkenazi" Jews of the north who had arrived more recently. They wrote the National Assembly, claiming ancient privilege and "patents" granted them by the French kings and demanding "active citizenship." In January 1790 the National Assembly resolved to grant all "Portuguese, Spanish and Avignonese" Jews the civil rights they had been granted by royal patent, and all active civil rights, provided they conform with the conditions set forth by the assembly.

On 14 July 1790 Talleyrand celebrated mass at the first anniversary of the *prise de la Bastille*, becoming the "Bishop of the Revolution." On 14 September 1790, King Louis XVI signed the new constitution, which gave equal rights to all French citizens, including the Jews. The French provinces were abolished and France was reorganized into administrative départements, which still exist, each ruled by a *préfet*. Talleyrand was the first French bishop to take the oath of loyalty to the new constitution, and consecrated the new bishops elected thereunder. The pope excommunicated Talleyrand, who was not greatly impressed. In January 1791 Talleyrand was made *préfet* of the *département de Paris*, resigning his post as bishop of Autun.

In constant turmoil, the French revolutionary legislatures kept changing their own names. On 1 October 1791 the National Assembly became the Legislative Assembly. Most of the revolutionary leaders were young men in their thirties, and many of them were executed during the Terror (1793–94). The two major political parties were the enlightened-bourgeois Gironde, founded by Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville (1754–93), and the leftist-populist Montagne, led by Georges-Jacques Danton (1759–94), Jean-Paul Marat (1743–93), and Robespierre (1758–94). The Girondins and Montagnards constantly struggled for power. The Montagnards were joined by the desperately poor sansculottes. The revolutionary Jacobin Society, led by Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve (1756–94) and later by Robespierre, and the Club des Cordeliers, led by Danton, Marat, Camille Desmoulins (1760–94), Jacques Hébert (1757–94), and Pierre-Gaspard Chaumette (1763–94), had great political influence.

In March 1792 the Girondin leaders Etienne Clavière and Jean-Marie Roland joined King Louis XVI's government as ministers. Many French revolutionaries hated their king, whom they blamed for all the evils of their society. In June the Paris mob stormed the Tuileries Palace, humiliating the king, who took refuge in the assembly. In the fall the revolution became extremely violent. On 20–22 September 1792 the Legislative Assembly was replaced by the National Convention, seating 749 deputies. On 21 September it abolished the monarchy; and on 22 September it created the Republic. At first the Girondins dominated the National Convention. Later the leftist Montagnards defeated the bourgeois Girondins and ruled the National Convention. In December the convention tried the Capetian king Louis XVI, whom it called Citizen Capet. The self-righteous Robespierre made a fiery speech against the king. The National Convention condemned him to death.

On 21 January 1793, in an act of unconscious parricide, King Louis XVI of France was executed by the National Convention. The other European monarchs were

greatly alarmed. On 31 May–2 June a popular Montagnard insurrection and coup d'état swept the Girondins from power. The Girondin leaders fled to the provinces. From June 1793 to July 1794 the leftist Montagnards ruled. Soon they let the fanatical Jacobins institute dictatorship and terror. The Terror lasted ten months (September 1793 to July 1794). The Orwellian-named Comité de Salut Public (Committee of Public Welfare), led by Robespierre, arrested some three hundred thousand people and executed seventeen thousand, including Danton. Many others were tortured and died in jail. The commissioner of the army, Augustin de Robespierre, Maximilien's brother, wrote his brother praising the "transcendent merit" of the young Napoléon Bonaparte, who became Robespierre's protégé. In December 1793 the National Convention decreed the replacement of the Catholic religion with "the Religion of Reason." The National Convention also created the Institut National de France, restoring in new form the eighteenth-century academies, including the Académie Française. The awed Jews of France compared the decrees of the National Convention to God's commandments at Mount Sinai.

The Terror ended with the coup d'état of 9 Thermidor of the Year II (27 July 1794). The merciless Robespierre was executed, and the "Thermidorian Reaction" set in. In 1795 the National Convention voted itself out of existence by approving the Constitution of the Year III. It set up a five-man executive Directoire, with a bicameral legislature consisting of a lower-house Council of Five Hundred and an upper-house Council of Elders. On 4 Brumaire of the Year IV of the Revolution (26 October 1795) the National Convention was no more. Vicomte Paul-François-Jean-Nicolas de Barras (1755–1829), a powerful former member of the National Convention and of the Comité de Salut Public who had crushed the revolt of the Parisian populace against the Terror, was named general of the Army of the Interior and given near-dictatorial powers. Barras made himself a member of the Directoire. Barras appointed Bonaparte his second in command. The French royalists soon revolted in Paris. On 5 October 1795 Napoléon Bonaparte's troops shot down the royalist rebels marching on the National Convention, saving the Republic from a royalist takeover. Napoléon replaced Barras as commander of the Army of the Interior.

The Directoire, which ruled France from 1795 to 1799, was probably the most corrupt regime in French history. In March 1796 it appointed the twenty-six-year-old Napoléon Bonaparte commander of the French Army of Italy. Napoléon saved his native motherland Corsica for his adopted France. In April 1797 the French royalists won the elections to the Council of Five Hundred and Council of Elders. Director Barras became involved with a group of antiroyalist "liberals" that included Talleyrand, Joseph Fouché, Benjamin Constant, and Madame de Staël. These "liberals" paradoxically supported the corrupt rule of the Directoire. In July 1797 Talleyrand, the opportunistic bishop of the revolution, read a paper to the Institut National de France, of which he was a member, arguing that France could not reconquer its American colonies and should seek to establish African ones. Barras made Talleyrand foreign minister. On 4 September 1797 Barras and two of his republican fellow directors, Louis-Marie de La Révellière-Lépeaux (1753–1824) and Jean-François Rewbell

(Reubell, 1747–1807), staged the coup d'état of 18 Fructidor of the Year V, a murderous purge of royalists in the legislature. Barras became the most powerful man in France. Two years later (1799) he was ousted in turn by Napoléon Bonaparte.

Napoléon fought many wars for his adopted Mother France, spilling the blood of millions all over Europe. In October 1797, following Napoléon's victories against Austria, Foreign Minister Talleyrand confirmed the Treaty of Campo Formio that Napoléon had signed on his own, negotiating the treaty's annexes, which brought him over a million francs in bribes. Talleyrand and Napoléon talked the Directoire into sending Napoléon on a military expedition to Egypt. In 1798–99 Bonaparte fought the British and the Ottomans in the Near East. He invaded Egypt, but lost the Battle of the Nile at Alexandria to British admiral Horatio Nelson (1758–1805).

The greedy Talleyrand caused a serious breach in French-U.S. relations by demanding extortionate bribes from the American envoys to Paris, who withdrew angrily. Talleyrand resigned. The defeated Napoléon proceeded to Ottoman Palestine, seized Gaza and Jaffa, and issued a proclamation to the Jews of the East, asking the Jews to help the French armies and promising to rebuild their holy city. Some Jews proclaimed Napoléon their Messiah. Napoléon was defeated by the Ottomans at Acre and was forced to retreat to Egypt. He fled Egypt as he had Corsica. Power is a well-known antidote for feelings of helplessness. The narcissistically injured Napoléon returned to France, where he plotted to seize power.

On 9–10 November 1799, the Directoire strongman Barras was toppled from power by his former protégé Bonaparte in the coup d'état of 18–19 Brumaire of the Year VIII. After the deaths of Father Carlo, Governor Marbeuf, and King Louis XVI, and the victory over Paoli, this was another symbolic parricide for Napoléon. The power-hungry Napoléon removed the Directoire, dispersed the legislative councils, and set up a three-man Consulat modeled on ancient Rome, with himself as first consul. The other two consuls were former members of the Directoire: the Third Estate leader Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès (1748–1836) and the Montagnard deputy Pierre Roger-Ducos (1747–1816). They were soon replaced with two more pliant consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun. First Consul Napoléon proclaimed the end of the French Revolution. On 22 November 1799, Talleyrand was made foreign minister again. After 1800 Napoléon was virtually the sole ruler of France. He seized many European territories, including the Low Countries, Switzerland, and parts of Germany and Italy, and annexed them to France. Napoléon, whose father's name was Charles-Marie, identified himself with the great Charlemagne.

In 1803–5 Napoléon's France made war on Great Britain, which got Austria, Russia, Sweden, and Naples to ally themselves with her against France. During the war, in 1804, First Consul Napoléon Bonaparte decided to rule alone. On May 28 the Senate proclaimed France an empire and Napoléon its emperor. On 1 December 1804 Napoléon remarried Josephine de Beauharnais and on 2 December, like Charlemagne 1,004 years earlier, had himself crowned emperor of France in Notre Dame Cathedral of Paris by the pope. That year the Code Napoléon made all French citizens equal, abolished primogeniture, hereditary nobility, and class privilege, emancipated state

institutions from church control, and granted the freedoms of person, contract, and property to all citizens.

In late 1805 Napoléon's armies won a spectacular victory against the combined Austrian and Russian armies at Austerlitz in Austrian Moravia (now Slavkov in the Czech Republic). Napoléon became the virtual emperor of Europe. Since 1789 many freedom-seeking German Jews had immigrated to France, some settling in Paris, others in Alsace and Lorraine, the German-speaking French provinces. Many Jews became French due to Napoléon's conquests. On his way back from Austerlitz to Paris, in Strasbourg, Napoléon heard complaints about the Jews from Jew-hating Alsatian Christians who told him the Jews had "taken over" Alsace. The Cathedral of Strasbourg has a sculpture showing the Church triumphant over the Synagogue. The Alsations themselves were more German than French.

THE *JUIFS* BECOME *ISRAÉLITES*

In early 1806 Emperor Napoléon charged his State Council with settling the status of the French Jews. He told the council that the Jews were not French citizens but "a nation within a nation," a situation that he wished to eradicate (Schwarzfuchs 1989:159). Seeking to "reform" the Jews, Napoléon's State Council created the Assembly of Jewish Notables, a rubber stamp for Napoléon's decrees. The leading members of the assembly were the merchant Abraham Furtado of Bordeaux (1756–1816), president; Berr-Isaac Berr of Nancy (Lorraine); and Rabbi David Sintzheim of Strasbourg (1745–1812). Napoléon's young aide Louis-Mathieu Molé (1781–1855) and the other two *maîtres des requêtes* of the State Council, Etienne-Denis Pasquier (1767–1862) and Joseph-Marie Portalis (1778–1858), son of the minister of religion who had drafted the Code Napoléon, were made imperial *commissaires* for Jewish affairs. They openly presented the assembly with the emperor's twelve questions and secretly dictated the answers the emperor wished to receive.

Under the threat of being deprived of their civil rights and expelled from France, the Assembly of Jewish Notables did everything Napoléon wanted it to. It decreed that rabbis could not perform marriages or grant divorces unless a French civil officer had first sanctioned such acts. Calling themselves *israélites de France* rather than *juifs français* (Schwarzfuchs 1989:208), the Jewish notables said that the French Jews were not a separate nation but loyal Frenchmen of the "Israelite" faith, ready to die for France, and not affiliated with the British or any other Jews. They declared that Jewish religious law had no political force. They sanctioned Jewish-Christian intermarriage. They voted thanks to the holy see of Rome for its protection of the Jews. Margolis and Marx (1985:614) wrote that the Jews "rose fully to the occasion" and that their final act, the vote of gratitude to the Roman Catholic Church, could not "be pronounced one of servility." In actual fact the Jews were forced to humiliate themselves before a superior power.

In 1807 Napoléon created the Great Sanhedrin of the French Jews to represent

the "organization of the Mosaic religion" in France. The Great Sanhedrin of the Jews had been out of existence since the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans in 70 C.E. The successor Sanhedrin of Jabneh (Jamnia) had ended in 425 C.E. But Napoléon's mind operated on a grandiose scale, merging history with fantasy. On 23 August 1806, he wrote his interior minister, Duc Jean-Baptiste Nompère de Champagny (1756–1834), that the Assembly of Jewish Notables must transform itself into a Great Sanhedrin (Schwarzfuchs 1989:187). Like the emperor's other wishes, this one was carried out within a short space of time. Like its ancient namesake, the new Great Sanhedrin had seventy-one members, of which forty-six were rabbis. Rabbi Sintzheim was its president. It gave doctrinal force to the answers of the Assembly of Jewish Notables.

In 1808 Napoléon's France, champion of "liberty, equality and fraternity," issued two decrees concerning the Jews. One set up Jewish consistories in every department of France that had two thousand Jews or more, and the Central Consistory of the Jews of France in Paris with authority over all French Jews. In this way the Jews could be conscripted into Napoléon's Grande Armée. The other, *le Décret infâme* (the infamous decree), "imposed control over Jewish loans, required Jews to obtain special permits in order to engage in trade, excluded Jews from other areas [of France] to settle in north-east France and prohibited the provision of replacements for military service" (Ben-Sasson 1976:762). Napoléon's decrees required the Jews to take family names. "These hardships ruined the economic life of thousands of Jews; but the injury to Jewish feeling was immeasurably greater" (Margolis and Marx 1985:615).

In 1806–7 Prussia suffered defeat at the hands of Napoléon's Grande Armée. The Treaty of Tilsit (now in the Kaliningrad region of western Russia) sheared it of its Polish lands. The lands west of the Elbe River went to the short-lived kingdom of Westphalia (1807–12), where Napoléon installed his brother Jérôme Bonaparte as king. The "weak" king Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia (Frederick William III, 1770–1840) was "neglected by his father . . . [and] never mastered his resultant inferiority complex" (Goetz 1990:4:960). Friedrich Wilhelm submitted to Napoléon and to Emperor Aleksandr of Russia and acceded to the reforms of his statesmen Carl vom Stein and Carl von Hardenberg, which gave the Jews some civil rights and made the *Schutz-Juden* (protected Jews) legal residents of Prussia.

In 1807, after the Poles helped him defeat Prussia, Napoléon created a puppet "Polish" government named the "Grand Duchy of Warsaw," which comprised central Poland and the regions around Poznan and Warsaw but was formally ruled by the German king of Saxony. In 1809, when Napoléon defeated Austria as well, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw annexed Lublin, Kraków, and Western Galicia. The exiled Polish leader Tadeusz Kosciuszko did not help Napoléon, who would not give Poland the freedom and territory Kosciuszko demanded. When Napoléon liberated Poland from Prussia and Austria, the two Polish Hassidic leaders, Rabbi Jakob Izak, the Seer of Lublin, and Rabbi Israel of Kozienice, proclaimed his victory *havlay mashiah* (the pangs of the coming of the Messiah) or "the war of Gog and Magog" (Armageddon), which they believed they could accelerate by magic. But in 1812 Napoléon made war on Russia, calling it his "second Polish war." Hoping for more territory and freedom

after Russia's defeat, the Grand Duke of Warsaw raised an army of ninety-eight thousand men for Napoléon. He bestowed "equal rights and equal duties" upon his Jews and conscripted all young Christians and Jewish men into his army.

The *tsaddikim* became alarmed. Rabbi Jakob Izak of Lublin and Rabbi Israel of Kozenice told their Hassidim to pray with great devotion to have the Equal Rights Decree revoked. The Polish Jews sent a delegation to Marshal Prince Józef Antoni Poniatowski (1763–1813), the minister of war of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, entreating him to restore the old order. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw had become the focus of Polish nationalism, but it ended when Russia defeated Napoléon and occupied Warsaw in 1813 and the Congress of Vienna divided the Grand Duchy once more between Prussia, Austria, and Russia in 1815. The Jews of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw were "saved" from equality when the Grand Duchy was dissolved.

Napoléon's attack on Russia (1812) was his most tragic and self-destructive error. When Napoléon invaded Russia, the Russian Jews helped their "motherland" fight and defeat him. Napoléon returned to France in ignominious defeat. Despite Talleyrand's betrayal of him in 1808 by making a pact with the Russian czar behind Napoléon's back, Napoléon asked Talleyrand back to the foreign ministry. Talleyrand, who was secretly preparing to restore the Bourbons to the monarchy, refused. Czar Aleksandr favored the Jews, and was ready to introduce legislation improving their condition in Russia, when Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia defeated France (1814). On 31 March 1814 the victorious allies entered Paris. Czar Aleksandr took up residence at Talleyrand's mansion. Talleyrand convinced the czar that only the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy could bring peace to Europe, and talked the French senate into creating a new five-member government, including himself, and to depose Napoléon. Louis XVIII was recalled, became king, and appointed Talleyrand his foreign minister. Napoléon abdicated and was exiled to the Isle of Elba. Napoléon escaped from Elba and made a hundred-day comeback as emperor in 1815, but was again defeated by the allies and exiled to Sainte-Hélène, where he died in 1821. Napoléon was undone by his own narcissistic grandiosity (Clark 1929; Falk forthcoming).

42

Revolution and Liberalization

THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE

European historians designate a “great age of monarchy” from the end of the Thirty Years’ War (1648) to the French Revolution (1789). This was a time of profound psychological, social, political, cultural and economic change in Europe. The French call it *le siècle des lumières* (the century of lights), the Germans *die Aufklärung* (the Enlightenment). It included the artistic periods of the high baroque, rococo, and neo-classical. It was the age of Voltaire, Swift, Blake, Bach, Mozart, Watteau, Turner, Constable, and Gainsborough. The European Jews did not go untouched by these upheavals. They had their own Enlightenment, called the *Haskalah* (learning, understanding, or education), slowly moving out of the traditional Hebrew learning into the arts and sciences of the modern world, and their own revolution, which was called emancipation and reform.

The human species is more *homo loquens* than *homo sapiens*. Language is the chief medium of human culture. Our “mother tongue” is a highly “cathected” object. The word “infant” comes from the Latin *infans* (one who cannot speak). Before we learn how to speak we communicate with the world through our body, especially our mouth. Just as the early mother is vital to the infant, who sucks on her nipple with its lips, the mother tongue becomes crucial to the speaking human being. Jewish historians often equate the German *Aufklärung* with the Hebrew *Haskalah*. But the German Jewish enlightenment fell into two different movements: the German-language *Aufklärung* and the Hebrew-language *Haskalah*. The German and Hebrew languages were important to the new Jewish scholars, who were by no means of one mind as to which of the two was more vital. The enlightened German Jews who preferred Hebrew called themselves *maskilim* (enlightened or educated).

The question of language was crucial to the rise of the Jewish Enlightenment. The Jewish masses of eastern Europe spoke Yiddish, a medieval *Mittelhochdeutsch* (Middle High German) dialect heavily laced with Hebrew and Slavic words, and written in Hebrew characters. The problem of language cropped up in Jewish life with great intensity (Johnson 1987:335):

One reason why Jews who wished to participate fully in the modern world without losing their Judaism failed to achieve a workable formula was that they could not agree on a language in which to express it. There were, at this stage, three possible alternatives. One was the ancient hieratic language of Judaism, Hebrew. A second was the language of their own country, whatever it might be. The third was the demotic language which most Jews actually spoke, Yiddish. Or possibly there might be a combination of all three. The men of the Jewish enlightenment wanted to resurrect Hebrew. Indeed, the very word *Haskalah*, with which they chose to identify themselves, was the Hebrew word for understanding or reason.

To some of the enlightened German Jews of the eighteenth century, the Yiddish language seemed base, coarse, bastard, and undignified, as it did to some twentieth-century Jewish historians: "In Mendelssohn's house, as in the homes of many other [German] Jews of the upper classes, the children spoke the German language instead of the corrupt dialect with its mixture of German and Hebrew used by the ordinary denizen of the ghetto" (Margolis and Marx 1985:595). But Yiddish was not just a language or a dialect; it was an entire culture (Johnson 1987:338):

[Yiddish] was much more than a corrupt form of German. To pious Jews it was a "temporary" language in that it was non-divine, non-historical (in Jewish terms). Once history got going again, as the Messianic Age approached, Jews could presumably revert to Hebrew, the language of the Torah, in which in any case important matters such as ritual, scholarship and often communal administration were conducted. But for a temporary language, Yiddish was old, almost as old as some European tongues.

Moses Mendelssohn (1729–86) made German the language of the German Jews. It was a psychological revolution in Jewish life. The Jews became Germans. Gay (1992:109) thought that "When . . . German became, not the second language of Germany's Jews, but their first, this shift of priorities engendered a psychological transformation, a transvaluation of identities, that was unprecedented in its scope." We have already observed the close unconscious emotional connection between our language, our tongue, and our early mother. Hassidism, the popular ecstatic Jewish mystical movement of the eighteenth century, had gripped the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe, especially those of the southeastern Polish provinces such as Galicia, Podolia, and Volhynia. Orthodox rabbinical Judaism, the obsessional, rigid adherence to talmudic and halachic strictures, was bitterly opposed to Hassidism, but was no less oblivious to the great wave of enlightenment, learning, and science that had been sweeping Europe, especially France.

The Orthodox Jews of eastern Europe were still partly enclosed in their protective ahistorical bubble. The newly enlightened Jews sought to open up Judaism to the secular knowledge of the new scientific Europe. The average Jew heard Yiddish from his mother as soon as he was born, and from both his parents throughout his infancy and childhood. This language was written in Hebrew characters, which made it both special and secret. Non-Jews could neither read nor speak it. The Jewish boy learned the Hebrew alphabet from an early age in the *kheder* (classroom), the traditional

school. He was taught by a *melamed* (teacher), who often, especially when he felt powerless, had outbursts of violent rage and wielded a cane. Caning was widespread, as it was in non-Jewish schools.

The little Jewish boy learned how to read the Hebrew Bible or the Old Testament, especially the *khumash* (Pentateuch). His Hebrew was adequate for prayers, but not a living language. Yiddish was the beloved *mamme-loshen* (mother tongue), and thus had a deep emotional value for the growing Jewish child. For most Jews, Yiddish was unconsciously the mother, because of its close association with their mothers from their early infancy. To Mendelssohn, however, as we shall see, languages assumed the emotional role of the split-off parts of his early mother. German became his good mother, and Yiddish took on the role of the bad mother.

Moses Mendelssohn was born Mosheh ben Menachem Mendel in 1729 in Dessau, capital of the German Duchy of Anhalt in what is now the *Land* of Halle, Germany. His father, Menachem Mendel, was a humble Hebrew scribe of Torah scrolls and *mezuzoth* (doorpost amulets), and he probably spoke Yiddish. During his early childhood Moses became hunchbacked. This deformity was a narcissistic injury to the young Moses and may well have brought about his lifelong ambition to become a scholar and a leader, in compensation for the loss of his beauty and power. Menachem Mendel taught his hunchback son to read and write the *khumash*. Rabbi David Fränkel of Dessau (1704–62), a prominent scholar, taught him the Talmud. The gifted boy became quite attached to his rabbi, who knew so much more than his own father. As the German language was to become his idealized mother, Rabbi Fränkel became his idealized father.

The precocious boy wished to read the medieval Jewish philosophers as well. He began to read Maimonides. Moses Mendelssohn was a budding scholar by his bar mitzvah (thirteenth birthday) in the fall of 1742. That year Rabbi Fränkel was appointed rabbi of Berlin and returned to his native city. This was a great loss to the talented young Jewish scholar. He soon followed his mentor to Berlin, where he had to pay a special toll to enter the city gates. Being poor, he lived in an attic and went hungry, but kept studying. He soon learned *Hochdeutsch* (High German), fell in love with that language, and began to devour German books.

Orthodox Jews of that time held this seemingly praiseworthy activity of learning German to be a mortal sin, since German books were Christian. They were liable to lead one astray. Their wisdom was considered evil, and at odds with Judaism. One Jewish boy who had brought Mendelssohn a German book was expelled from Berlin by the leaders of the Jewish community. Others were excommunicated. The young boy from Dessau faced a similar fate.

Mendelssohn found a protector and a new father in the person of Israel Zamosc (d. 1772), a Polish Jewish mathematician-philosopher who had been persecuted by his fellow Jews in Poland and forced to move to Berlin. Zamosc taught the young Mendelssohn geometry and philosophy. Dr. Kisch, a Jewish physician from Prague, then part of the Austrian empire, taught the boy Latin. The teenage scholar was soon reading John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* in German translation.

Dr. Aaron Solomon Gompertz, another Jewish physician, taught the adolescent boy the rationalistic philosophy of Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716) and of his popularizer, Christian von Wolff (1679–1754). In 1750, at the age of twenty-one, Moses Mendelssohn became tutor to the children of Isaac Bernhard, a wealthy Jewish silk manufacturer. Four years later Bernhard made the young scholar his book-keeper, then his business manager. The capable silk merchant nevertheless relentlessly pursued his studies.

Mendelssohn's reforms were partly an unconscious attempt to change aspects of his own self that he found hard to accept. His adoption of the name "Mendelssohn" sometime during his youth is an offhand indication of this. Name changes often betray an identity crisis, a violent struggle within the self. Mendelssohn was unconsciously torn between his Jewishness and his Germanness, between the early father and the early mother within himself. Yet the father introject within was good enough that he retained his father's name in the new, adopted family name.

MENDELSSOHN AND THE GERMAN INTELLECTUALS

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–81), the German philosopher, dramatist, and critic, met Mendelssohn in 1754, when both were twenty-five. They became close friends. If he was not a freethinker, Lessing believed in freedom of thought and belief. Unlike many ordinary Germans, he liked the Jews. He had already published his pro-Jewish play *Die Juden* and in 1779 he was to publish his famous *Nathan der Weise*, another play depicting the Jews favorably, for which Mendelssohn was probably the inspiration.

Johann Heinrich Michaelis, a Christian theologian at the universities of Halle and Göttingen who had earlier defended the Jews against charges of blasphemy, complained that Lessing's depiction of the Jews was idealized. This led the young Mendelssohn to write a bitter letter to his mentor Gompertz. The letter was forwarded to Lessing, who published it and sent the publication to Michaelis, describing its author as the new Spinoza. Lessing introduced his friend to German philosophy and philosophers. In 1755 he published Mendelssohn's *Philosophische Gespräche* (Philosophical talks) without the author's prior knowledge or permission.

In 1754 the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau published his famous *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité des hommes*. In 1757 Mendelssohn wrote a long foreword to the German edition. He was quickly absorbing the wisdom of the French *encyclopédistes*. He contributed prolifically to several scientific and literary journals published by his friends Lessing and Christoph Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811). By the time he visited Hamburg in 1761, the thirty-two-year-old German Jewish scholar had become famous. He found many admirers and flatterers, including the famous Jonathan Eybeschütz, who in 1750 had become chief rabbi of the three neighboring communities of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck. Mendelssohn also found himself a wife in Hamburg.

A TRAUMATIZED JEWISH PHILOSOPHER

Mendelssohn was at the height of his creative powers. He published his *Philosophische Schriften* (Philosophical writings, 1761) and went on writing and publishing his scholarly works for eight years (1761–69). In 1762 the Swiss naturalist philosopher Charles Bonnet (1720–93) published his *Considérations sur les corps organisés*, arguing that each organism harbors an infinite series of preformed individuals, leading to an immortality and immutability of species. In 1764 Mendelssohn won the Berlin Academy prize for the best essay on metaphysics. In 1769 Bonnet, who was losing his eyesight, published *La Palingénésie philosophique* (The philosophical revival), arguing that Mother Earth periodically suffered universal catastrophes that destroyed most life on the planet, and that the survivors moved up a notch on the evolutionary scale. Bonnet may have projected his own development through personal crises and catastrophes upon Mother Earth (cf. Scharfstein 1980).

The Swiss “physiognomist” Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801), an antirational Protestant theologian, sent Mendelssohn his German translation of Bonnet’s work, challenging Mendelssohn to convert to Christianity if he could not refute Bonnet’s pro-Christian arguments. This challenge struck a deep chord within Mendelssohn’s psyche, where the conflict between his father’s Judaism and Christian European “high culture” was violent. He could have ignored Lavater’s provocation, yet he chose to reply, which brought him great grief. Lavater responded publicly, and the battle raged for many months. Potok (1978:370) described the tragedy:

The Jew was shaken by the question. He had thought of himself as a philosopher in an enlightened world, beyond the need to defend himself against a challenge from a darker age of man. He wrote in polite and restrained fashion of his loyalty to Judaism, which was based on prolonged study and contemplation. Beyond that, he would not engage in polemics—because the Torah had been given only to the Jews and no other people was required to observe its laws; because Judaism was disinclined to missionize; and because he was a member of a minority people whose freedom was tenuous, and he would prefer not to engage the majority religion in a debate. But the polemic between Mendelssohn and Lavater dragged on through the winter of 1769–1770, and when it was finally over—stopped at the insistence of Lavater’s Protestant colleagues—Mendelssohn took ill with some kind of nervous disease and was unable to do serious philosophical work for more than seven years.

This “nervous disease” was a severe depression. Mendelssohn’s “nervous breakdown” occurred in 1771, two years after the beginning of his dispute with Lavater. Lavater’s challenge hit Mendelssohn just when he turned forty. Given the brief life expectancy at his time, he may have sensed the greater proximity of death. Lavater’s attack touched off Mendelssohn’s deep inner conflict of self. From 1770 to 1778 he fought for the civil rights of the German Jews, with whose suffering he now identified. He loved German and Hebrew, but hated Yiddish. Did his mother speak Yiddish to him when he was a child? Did he blame her for the disease that made him deformed?

Mendelssohn was admired by the leading German Christian writers and scholars of his time, such as Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), Lessing, and Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813). After the Lavater-Mendelssohn controversy (1770), the question of religious differences was denied by these men, as if nothing separated Christians from Jews. In 1778 Mendelssohn published his first edition of the Bible in German. In 1781, at Mendelssohn's request, the enlightened Prussian statesman Christian Wilhelm von Dohm published his *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (On the civil improvement of the Jews), pleading for Jewish emancipation (Dohm 1957). Dohm described how Jewish families were broken up by discriminatory laws. The hapless Jews lacked the rights of residence in most of the German lands and were forced to send their sons away. They had to pay enormous taxes just to stay where they were, to marry, or to engage in any trade or profession. Whenever Jews moved from one German land to another they had to pay the *Leibzoll* (head tax) or *Geleitzoll* (escort tax). Even *Schutz-Juden* (protected Jews) were only exempt in the one German land that protected them. Dohm proposed granting the Jewish corporation the same rights enjoyed by other religious communities in Prussia but also that the synagogue keep the right to excommunicate its members. Dohm's pro-Jewish pamphlet aroused the ire of many Jew-hating Christians, who published attacks on Dohm and on the Jews. It was used by the French Jewish leader Cerf Berr (1787) to seek toleration for the Jews in France.

In 1782 Mendelssohn got his friend Marcus Herz (1747–1803), a Berlin Jewish philosopher-physician, to translate into German the Latin treatise *Vindiciae Judaeorum* (1656) by the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish sage Manasseh ben Israel (1604–57). Mendelssohn wrote a fiery foreword to the German edition, arguing that Christian Jew-hatred was irrational. The Jews, he said, were being barred by the Christians from the arts and sciences, and from each and every useful occupation; they were forced to become peasants or moneylenders, and then blamed by the Christians for being uncivilized and enslaved for that very reason.

In 1783 Mendelssohn published his *Jerusalem, oder über religiöse Macht und Judenthum* (Jerusalem; or, On religious power and Judaism). He believed that the state could impose its laws upon its subjects, but not its opinions and its beliefs. He wrote that Christianity was built upon Jewish foundations, and these were sturdier than their superstructure. For the Jews, most of whom could only read Yiddish, which was written in Hebrew characters, Mendelssohn translated the Pentateuch and Psalms into German in Hebrew characters, accompanied by his own running commentary. Mendelssohn died on 4 January 1786, at the age of fifty-seven, the most famous and respected German Jew of his time. Most Jewish historians describe Mendelssohn as one of the greatest philosophers of all time. Yet Laqueur (1976:7) believed that Mendelssohn was not the greatest philosopher, essayist, or theologian even of his own time. "His main achievement was to show, by his own example, that despite all adversity a Jew could have a thorough knowledge of modern culture and converse on equal terms with the shining lights of contemporary Europe."

The wave of liberalization, revolution, and reform that swept western and central

Europe at the end of the eighteenth century brought a measure of freedom to the western and central European Jews. The European Christian rulers began to "tolerate" their Jews, who were gradually freed from discriminatory residential and employment laws and granted civil rights. The Austrian Toleranz-Patent (1781–82) and the subsequent French Revolution "emancipated" some of the European Jews and saw their gradual emergence from Orthodox rabbinical learning into modern "Gentile" science. Polish and Russian Jews began to travel to the most important German state, Prussia, the center of European learning and science, to study and to do business. Because Jews were still barred from many jobs, the temptation to convert to Christianity to advance one's career was very great.

The winds of change were brought to eastern Europe from France and Prussia by Jewish merchants and intellectuals who traveled the great European routes. They began to dress in the modern fashion, abandoning the traditional long Jewish coats and beards. The Jews began to identify themselves strongly with the nations in which they lived. When the members of the Great Sanhedrin of the Jews of France answered Napoléon's questions in 1807, they called themselves French Israelites (rather than Jews). In the short-lived Grand Duchy of Warsaw, the Polish Jews appealed to the Polish senate as "Poles of the Old Testament," and the Prussian Jews called themselves "Prussians of the Mosaic faith."

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

The Jewish adoption of the German second or middle name as the Jewish family name was a late development. Only in the late eighteenth century were the Central European Jews required by law to adopt family names. Most of them had not had family names before. Preserving their ancient Hebrew class distinctions, Jews were born either Cohen (priest), Levi (Levite), or Israel (common Jew). The Jews lived in two cultures at the same time: their own, whose language was Hebrew, and that of the Christian host society, whose language was German. Jewish names normally consisted of a Hebrew first name, a German or Yiddish second name, a patronymic, a class designation, and a place name. Typical names were Abraham Arnold ben Moses haCohen of Speyer, or Jacob ben David haLevi of Metz. When the Jews did adopt family names, they were often the German second names of their ancestors. Jewish families bearing the same name are often unrelated. Sigmund Freud's family took its name from a matriarch named Freude (Krüll 1986:233). Other Jews named Freud may not be related to Sigmund Freud's family. Changing one's name, or adopting a family name, is an issue of ego-identity and self that may have had to do with disappointment with one's father, the quest for a better father, the quest for a new identity, or the quest for spiritual rebirth (Falk 1975–76).

A case in point is the famous eighteenth-century Jewish Skeptic philosopher Salomon Maimon (1754–1800). He was born Salomon ben Joshua to a Jewish farmer near Nesviz (Nieswicz) in Polish Lithuania. Salomon was sent to the traditional *kheder*

as a child, and was married off at the age of twelve. Salomon ben Joshua studied Talmud and Kabbalah, then the medieval Jewish philosophers. At the age of sixteen Salomon ben Joshua rebelled against his father. In 1770, under the pseudonym of Salomon Maimon, he published an unorthodox commentary on the *Guide to the Perplexed* by Moses Maimonides, his idealized father figure, whose name he had adopted as his nom de plume.

In 1777 Salomon Maimon left for Königsberg, Prussia (now Kaliningrad, Russia) to study further. Restless, he went on to study in Berlin, Posen (Poznan), Hamburg, and Breslau (Wroclaw). Salomon Maimon studied German literature, Kantian philosophy, and mathematics, and became an atheist. He impressed many scholars, and in 1790 was invited to reside at the court of Count Friedrich Adolph von Kalckreuth at Nieder-Siegersdorf, Silesia (now in Poland). That year Maimon published his well-known *Versuch über die Transcendental-Philosophie* (Essay on transcendental philosophy) which won him great renown among German philosophers. Kant called Maimon his most perceptive critic. The Jewish atheist Salomon Maimon twice sought to convert to Christianity.

FAMILY MYTH AND RECORDED HISTORY

One of the reasons this book was written was my personal quest for my own history, for my roots and identity. People need to know who and what they are, and how they came to be what they are. They are concerned with their ancestry. It is tempting to think that one is descended from some illustrious ancestor whose picture graces the history books. The search for one's roots is part of one's search for the self (Kohut 1978). Since our nation is part of our extended self (Volkan 1988:91), one's study of one's national history may be unconsciously driven by one's quest for one's own personal history. Some people have family trees reaching into the Middle Ages. With Jewish names, it is often hard to trace one's ancestry. To illustrate, let me describe my own family's myths and history.

The psychology of personal names is fascinating (Falk 1975–76). So is their history. Ancient and medieval Jews did not have any last names. Spanish Jews had family names as early as the fifteenth century (Grayzel 1969:603), but many German Jews did not. Christian European "last" names became "family" names during the Renaissance. Family names were derived from place names, trades, or ancestors. Many Jews had Hebrew names only, such as Moses ben Abraham, and adopted family names only in the late eighteenth century. In an expression of the inability to mourn, grandsons were given the names of their recently deceased grandfathers, serving as linking objects to the dead person (Volkan 1981). As with ancient kings, this produced many people up the family tree bearing the exact same names.

Jewish genealogy is very complicated. Hebrew names are not consistent, and are inconsistently spelled in German, Polish, and other European languages. Namesakes

are often confused. Errors abound, and family myths are legion. There are many errors concerning the Jewish Falks, for instance, in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Rabbinical scholars often gave their compositions Hebrew titles that included their first names. When the first name was the same, so often was the title. The German-Jewish Israeli genealogist Paul Jacobi of Jerusalem found that no fewer than three different rabbinical scholars named Joshua Falk composed Hebrew books entitled *Pnay Yeshoshua* (Joshua's face). The three were descended from unrelated ancestors, yet are often confused with each other or erroneously said to be related (Jacobi 1993).

Falk is a common name in central and northern Europe. It is less common among Jews. Reflecting their dual culture, the Jews of central and eastern Europe added equivalent German names to their Hebrew names, such as Dow-Baer (bear) and Zwi-Hirsch (deer). For obscure reasons, sixteenth-century Central European Jews used Falk (falcon) as the German name that went with the Hebrew Yehoshua (Joshua). The names Joshua Falk were not a first name and a last name but a first name and a middle name that went together.

The first Falk to enter Jewish history books was a Polish rabbinical scholar named Joshua Falk ben Alexander haCohen of Lublin (c. 1555–1614), author of *Sefer Meirath Enayim* (Book of light for the eyes, or Book of enlightenment) and of the first *Pnay Yeshoshua*, a commentary on Joseph Caro's *Shulkhan Aruch* (Goldberg and Rayner 1989:222). Falk was Joshua's second name, not his family name; haCohen (the priest) was not his family name either, but his Hebrew upper-class designation. As a young rabbinical scholar Joshua Falk haCohen studied with Rabbi Solomon Luria (1510–73) and with his father-in-law Rabbi Moses Isserles (1525/30–72), who wrote the *Mappah* (Tablecloth) to Joseph Caro's *Shulkhan Aruch* (Set table).

Joshua Falk haCohen began his career as the rabbi of Lublin, later heading the yeshiva at Lwów (Lemberg, now in the Ukraine). He chaired the Council of Four Lands, the supreme governing body of Polish Jewry, and authored the council's regulations of 1607 concerning the lending and borrowing of money at interest. Joshua Falk haCohen may have borrowed the title of Azariah de' Rossi's *Meor Enayim* (1574) in his *Sefer Meirath Enayim*, a scholarly interpretation of a section of Joseph Caro's *Set Table* dealing with Jewish rules concerning money and moneylending.

Contrary to my family myth, Rabbi Joshua Falk haCohen was *not* my ancestor. He was confused with Rabbi Joshua Heschel Falk (1578–1648), author of the second *Pnay Yeshoshua* and of *Meginay Shlomoh* (Solomon's shields). As a very young man Joshua Heschel Falk was married to the still younger Miriam (1583–1605), daughter of Rabbi Samuel of Brisk (Brest), who was *not* a descendant of Joshua Falk haCohen, as my family myth has it. Miriam died at the age of twenty-two, when her husband was only twenty-seven. Joshua Heschel Falk could not mourn her death. The loss was too painful. He isolated his feelings and dealt with it obsessively by writing scholarly works.

Joshua Heschel Falk's family lived in Rzezów and Kraków in southern Poland. In the late seventeenth century, one of Joshua Heschel Falk's granddaughters, Miriam

Hurwitz, married a Zwi-Hirsch ben Samuel Falk, not a descendent of Joshua Falk haCohen. Their son was the scholar Rabbi Jacob Joshua Falk (1680–1756), who may have been my ancestor. During the eighteenth century the German Jewish communities often imported their rabbis from among the outstanding Polish Jewish rabbinical scholars. Jacob Joshua Falk was born in Kraków, Poland. He became rabbi at Frankfurt, Germany, where his name was spelled “Jacob Josua.” Often changing cities and jobs, Jacob Joshua Falk held successive rabbinical posts in Frankfurt, Worms, again in Frankfurt, Berlin, and Metz (Margolis and Marx 1985:593). Jacob Joshua Falk also authored several rabbinical works, including the third *Pnay Yehoshua*. He died in Offenbach.

Jacobi (1993) believed that one of Jacob Joshua Falk’s grandsons was Josua ben Jacob Falk. It is not clear whether Falk was his family name or his first name. He came from Leszno (Lissa) in west central Poland, between Poznan (Posen) and Wroclaw (Breslau). Leszno had been founded in the fifteenth century by the noble Polish family of Leszczynski. With the partitions of Poland in 1772–95 among Prussia, Austria, and Russia, its western parts, including Leszno province, became Prussian, as had Silesia (1748). These border regions had a mixed Polish, German, and Jewish population. Their official language and culture were German. For obscure economic reasons, the count of the small Silesian town of Dyhernfurth (Brzeg Dolny) on the Oder River invited the Jews of Lissa into his town. Josua Falk moved his family from Lissa to Dyhernfurth, where he became *dayan* (rabbinical judge) of the Jewish community.

Josua Falk’s son was Jacob Loebel Falk (c. 1760–1838), my family’s official ancestor (Dobrin 1937). Jacob Loebel Falk was born in Lissa and moved with his father Josua to Dyhernfurth as a child. He was married three times. It is not clear whether his first two wives had died, or what they had died of. His third wife was Sara Naumburg, daughter of Juda Naumburg. My family myth calls Jacob Loebel Falk the *Dyhernfurth Rabbiner* (rabbi of Dyhernfurth); he was actually the head of a rabbinical court and a rabbinate assessor (Dobrin 1937:3). Jacob Loebel Falk wrote no scholarly rabbinical works.

When Jacob Loebel Falk was a young man in Dyhernfurth, the Prussian authorities required all Jews who did not have family names to take such names. Jacob Loebel adopted his father’s second name as his own family name. This official and symbolic act made him my family’s *Stammvater* (ancestor). From now on the family tree can be accurately reconstructed (Dobrin 1937). Jacob Loebel Falk moved from Dyhernfurth to the Silesian capital of Breslau (Wroclaw) to become *dayan*. One of his great-grandsons was my paternal grandfather Kurt Falk (1877–1944), who owned the Schlesische Lederzentrale (Silesian Leather Center) on Breslau’s Wallstraße.

Some Jewish history books also mention an eighteenth-century Polish Jewish cantor named Joseph Falk, who chanted prayers for Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov (c. 1700–1760), the founder of Hassidism (Ben-Amos and Mintz 1972:53–54; Idel 1988a:82). This Joseph Falk was not descended from any of my ancestors. In his case, too, Falk was his German second name, not his family name.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF SILESIAN HISTORY

Like many European regions, Silesia, now in Poland, had a colorful and bloody history. Silesia began as a Polish duchy in the twelfth century. It was Germanized during the thirteenth century and reverted to Bohemian rule in the fourteenth. Bohemia was Catholic and part of the "Holy Roman Empire." In the early fifteenth century, at the outset of the Protestant Reformation, the Bohemian priest Jan Hus (1369–1415) led the Czech revolt against the "Holy Roman Empire" and the Roman Catholic Church. The Hussite Wars continued well after Hus had been burned at the stake. Silesia was the scene of many religious wars, persecutions, and massacres. Both Bohemia and Silesia eventually became Lutheran.

The fanatical Catholic Franciscan Spirituals, suppressed in 1325, were revived in the early fifteenth century as the Observants, a group of fiery anti-Jewish Franciscans led by Bernardino da Siena and Giovanni da Capistrano. Pope Nicholas V (1397–1455) dispatched Capistrano to fight the Hussites in Austria, Germany, and the Slavic countries (1451). The Jews of Silesia were accused by the Catholic Church of Hussite sympathies and were assaulted by Catholic mobs incited by Capistrano (Ben-Sasson 1976: 565). In 1453, the year the Ottoman Turks seized Constantinople and ended the Byzantine empire, the Jews of Breslau (Wrocław) were hit with a ritual-murder libel. Prominent Breslau Jews were seized and tortured. The rabbi hanged himself in prison when he could no longer bear the torture, and forty-one Jews were burned at the stake. Similar horrors occurred in other Silesian cities.

In the sixteenth century Luther's Protestant Reformation swept Silesia. In 1526 it became part of Catholic Habsburg Austria, but in 1618 Silesia joined Protestant Bohemia and Saxony in rebellion against Austria. The Thirty Years' War (1618–48) brought Silesia great misery under Saxon, "Holy Roman," and Swedish rule. In the eighteenth century Silesia's mining and textile industries flourished, making it Austria's richest province. The War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) brought Silesia into Prussia. In 1871 Silesia (and all of Prussia) became part of the Second German Reich. In 1933 Hitler created the Third Reich. My father Meinhard Egon Falk (1913–92) left Germany for Palestine, where he changed his name to Meir Eliezer Falk. During the Second World War the Jews of Silesia, like those of all Europe, were murdered by the German Nazis. After World War II Silesia reverted to Poland.

TOLERATING THE JEWS

The Jews of eighteenth-century Habsburg Austria were heavily discriminated against. Many of them could not live in the cities, and could not exercise many trades. In 1740 Maria Theresa (1717–80), wife of "Holy Roman" Emperor Franz (Francis Stephen of Lorraine, or Francis I, 1708–65), became archduchess of Austria and queen of Hungary and Bohemia. The young empress hated the Jews, whom she suspected of favoring her enemy, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and persecuted them vigorously. The

Jews preferred Prussia precisely because they were persecuted in Austria. In 1772 Poland was partitioned among Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Galicia, with its large Jewish population, became part of Austria. The city of Lemberg (Lwów, now in the Ukraine) was the capital of Austrian Galicia.

Franz and Maria Theresa's eldest son was "Holy Roman" Emperor Joseph II (1741–90). His life was unhappy. In 1760 the young Joseph married Isabella di Parma de Bourbon, whom he loved passionately; she died of smallpox three years later (1763). Joseph was grief-stricken. Two years later his father Franz died (1765). Joseph became emperor, but his domineering mother was coregent and the real ruler, and Joseph felt impotent rage at her. Joseph married Maria Josepha of Bavaria, whose name combined his mother's with his own, but she too died of smallpox (1767). Was Joseph able to mourn his losses? There was great tension between mother and son until Maria Theresa died (1780). The "enlightened despot" Joseph II set about reforming his motherland, unconsciously seeking to repair his internalized bad mother.

Many Jewish historians say that Joseph II's Toleranz-Patent (Edict of Toleration) was a decree tolerating the Jews and granting them liberties. Actually the original document had nothing to do with the Jews. Issued on 19 October 1781, it granted limited freedom of worship to non-Catholic Austrian Christians and removed their civil disabilities; it also gave the Roman Catholic Church its privileged position in the Habsburg empire. The name Toleranz-Patent was extended to another imperial edict of 2 January 1782 that regulated the status of the Austrian Jews. The emperor gave the Jews some limited civil and educational freedoms and abolished his mother's edict forcing the Jews to wear special clothing and forbidding them to wear beards.

Ben-Sasson (1976:756) observed that while Joseph II gave the Jews some new liberties, he took away their right to lease and run *arendas* (estates), forced their children to attend public German schools, forbade those who had not completed school to marry before they were twenty-five, imposed Austrian military service upon the Jews, prohibited the use of Hebrew and Yiddish in Jewish documents, abolished the legal and economic powers of Jewish communities, and intensified police control over them. The edict was augmented by a series of restrictive Austrian regulations from 1782 to 1789, which sought to pressure the Jews into integrating and converting to Christianity. Margolis and Marx (1985:597) thought that "the purpose of the whole legislation was avowedly to break down from above Jewish separatism." One of Emperor Joseph's laws required the Jews to take family names (Krüll 1986:76).

FREDERICK THE GREAT AND THE JEWS

Prussia became a kingdom in 1701, when Friedrich I was crowned at Königsberg (now Kaliningrad). In 1713 he was succeeded by his son Friedrich Wilhelm. King Frederick the Great of Prussia (Friedrich II, 1712–86) was taught as a child by Huguenot refugees from France. The Huguenots had been massacred on the tragic Saint Bartholomew's Day (1572) and persecuted throughout the seventeenth century. Many

Germans today are descended from French Huguenots and have French family names. Frederick hated things German, loved all things French, and liked to call himself Frédéric.

Frederick had a traumatic childhood. He was beaten and humiliated by his ascetic, tyrannical father, Friedrich Wilhelm (1688–1740), who had a mania for military drills. Frederick's mother, Sophie Dorothea of Hannover, a sister of King George II of England, was a haughty woman in constant conflict with her husband, and gave her son no feeling of security. Perhaps out of his own unconscious fear of unmanliness, the father despised his son's "effeminate" taste for French art, literature, and music, and his lack of interest in politics and warfare. Frederick grew up harboring feelings of murderous rage for his father as well as a split self.

In 1730 the eighteen-year-old Prussian prince was made an officer in the Prussian army. Frederick attempted to escape to England with two of his young friends, Lieutenants Hans Hermann von Katte and Peter Carl Christoph von Keith. At the last moment, the ambivalent Keith had a change of heart, betrayed Frederick and Katte to the king, and then fled the country. The king was enraged and declared that his son Frederick was eliminated from the line of succession. Frederick and Katte were arrested as deserters from the Prussian army, imprisoned, and court-martialed. Katte was sentenced to two years' fortress imprisonment, but the court was afraid to try the crown prince, declaring itself incompetent to do so. The furious King Friedrich Wilhelm overrode the court, imposing the death penalty on Katte and declaring that Frederick would receive the same punishment. Frederick was forced by his father to watch from his prison cell the public beheading of his best friend and accomplice, the father's substitute for executing his own son. Terrified and traumatized, Frederick publicly submitted to his father and was given a conditional pardon.

In 1733, still seeming to submit to his father, Frederick married Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Bevern, whom he did not love. He separated from her soon thereafter and later showed no interest in women. Frederick was homosexual or bisexual. He wrote his *Anti-Machiavel*, a sublimated attack on his father, and sought a wiser and better father in the older François-Marie Arouet (1694–1778), better known as Voltaire, the great French author and *encyclopédiste*.

Voltaire did not like the Jews. In his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1756), he called the Jews "a small, unknown and enslaved nation. . . . Their residence in Babylon and Alexandria . . . only trained the people as a whole in the art of usury . . . they are a totally ignorant nation who, for many years, have combined contemptible miserliness and the most revolting superstition with a violent hatred of all those nations which have tolerated them. Nevertheless they should not be burned on the stake" (Ben-Sasson 1976:745). Potok (1978:365–66) called Voltaire one of the most virulent "anti-Semites" of the Enlightenment.

A close friend of Voltaire's, the materialist philosopher Baron Paul-Henri Dietrich Thiry d'Holbach (1723–89), attacked the Church and the divine monarchy as well as the Jews, calling them "the enemies of the human race" (Ben-Sasson 1976:745). Jew-hatred was not confined to French intellectuals. In 1793 the German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) published a *Beitrag zur Berichtigung der Urteile des*

Publicums über die französische Revolution (Contribution to correcting the public judgments on the French Revolution), calling the Jews "a hostile and powerful state, in constant war with other states and in several of them severely oppressing the citizens. . . . Give them civil rights? I see no other way of doing this except to cut off all their heads one night and substitute other heads without a single Jewish thought in them. . . . I see no alternative but to conquer their promised land for them and to dispatch them all there" (Ben-Sasson 1976:745).

When his father finally died (1740), the twenty-eight-year-old Frederick was liberated. He succeeded his father as king of Prussia, and soon began to resemble his dead father, transforming himself from a delicate aesthete to a tough statesman and military leader of the first order (Lewy 1967). He showed his decisive leadership and his duplicity in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) against Empress Maria Theresa of Austria. Frederick unconsciously transferred his anger from his mother to Maria Theresa. He offered to help Maria Theresa if she ceded portions of Silesia to him, while his Prussian troops were invading her land. Frederick captured most of Austrian Silesia during the first two years of the war (1740–42).

The Silesian Jews had been suffering under the yoke of Austrian rule, which heavily discriminated against them. The Jews of Breslau (Wrocław), Glogau (Głogów), Schweidnitz (Świdnica), and Liegnitz (Legnica) welcomed the Prussians as saviors. Rabbi Gomperz of Breslau wrote Hebrew and German odes to welcome the Prussian king. But the Jews soon found out that the Prussian king did not like them any better than did the Austrian empress. In 1744 Empress Maria Theresa expelled the Jews from Bohemia, while Frederick expelled them from Silesia.

The "enlightened" Frederick, lover of French art, music, literature, and philosophy, had a narcissistic personality. He was described by his contemporaries as cold and curt, his wit corrosive and icy. His grandiose self concealed deep-seated feelings of worthlessness. When he was defeated by the Russian and Austrian forces in 1759, and when they occupied Berlin in 1760, the blow to his self-esteem was so deep and his feelings of helplessness so overwhelming that he almost killed himself. Frederick built himself a great palace at Potsdam, which he named Sans Souci (Carefree), an ironical name considering his many wars. There he entertained French intellectuals, including Voltaire, d'Alembert, La Mettrie, and Maupertius. Voltaire, discovering his royal friend's true personality, broke with Frederick in 1753, but later resumed his correspondence with the king from the safe distance of Paris. Frederick despised his own mother tongue of German, writing almost exclusively in French. Could his rejection of his mother tongue have betrayed a deeper rejection of his mother?

PROTECTED AND TOLERATED JEWS

Like his archenemy Maria Theresa of Austria, and like his mentor Voltaire, Frederick the Great did not like the Jews. In 1750 he issued a *règlement* (decree) to settle the rights and obligations of the Prussian Jews, dividing the Jews of his realm into two

classes, *Schutz-Juden* (protected Jews) and *geduldete Juden* (tolerated Jews). Margolis and Marx (1985:591–92) believed that

During the reign of [Friedrich Wilhelm], Prussian Protestantism had a strong pietistic tendency favored by the king; the son [Frederick], "the philosopher on the throne," the friend of Voltaire, was not exactly pious. Both were strict autocrats, and for religious minorities, such as Catholics and Jews, there was no question of equality with members of the Established Church. . . . Jewish affairs were under the control of the home ministry, which was also the department of the treasury, and officials of this body were charged with carrying out the draconic legislation of 1750. The Jews . . . were either of the protected class (*Schutzjuden*) or merely tolerated (*geduldete Juden*). There were three kinds of protected Jews: those who had a general privilege covering all the members of a family and entitling them to unrestricted residence and trade; ordinary protected Jews with limited rights of residence and occupation, inheritable only by one or at the most two children; extraordinary protected Jews, like physicians, artists, and other professionals, whose limited rights of residence did not pass on to their children.

Needless to say, even "tolerated" and "protected" Jews lived in constant fear of expulsion and loss of employment. What prompted the enlightened monarch to legislate against his own Jews? Biale (1986:92–93), while admitting that "the state interfered in the internal life of the Jewish community to a degree never seen in the Middle Ages," thought that the absolutist measures against the Jews

had a common logic: to decrease the corporate powers of the Jews and to place them directly under the authority of the state. Yet, the primary motivation of the state was not hatred of the Jews. . . . Rather, interests of state dictated these policies, many of which were applied equally to other groups. In this sense, absolutist policy towards the Jews differed fundamentally from anti-Jewish enactments in the Middle Ages, which frequently had more specific religious motivations . . . the logic of absolutism pointed equally to toleration of the Jews as well as to increased disabilities . . . the charter granted by Frederick II of Prussia in 1750 also treated the Jews less as a foreign community and more as individual subjects of the state.

Biale's rationalistic explanation ignores the emotional vehemence with which the Jews were persecuted. Mendelssohn himself recorded in his memoirs how people angrily threw stones at him, his wife, and his son in the streets of Berlin, crying "Juden! Juden!" King Frederick unconsciously settled with the Jews the old scores he kept with his dead father, as well as externalized upon them unacceptable aspects of his own self. His thirst for absolute power may have stemmed from his deepest infantile feelings of helplessness. In any event his feelings about the Jews, as about the French, displayed the splitting of his world into all-bad and all-good parts.

In 1763 the Marquis d'Argent, a French admirer of Mendelssohn, told King Frederick the Great that the great Jewish philosopher was suffering from his *règlement*, being merely a tolerated Jew in Prussia. The king made Mendelssohn an extraordinary *Schutz-Jude*. In 1767 Mendelssohn published his *Phaedon*. Johnson (1987:300) thought that

At a time when cultured Germans still usually wrote in Latin or French, and Jews in Hebrew or Yiddish, Mendelssohn followed Lessing in striving to make German the language of intellectual discourse and to exploit its magnificent resources. He wrote it with great elegance and decked its text with classical [Greco-Roman], rather than biblical, allusions—the mark of the *maskil*. The book was well received in the gentile world, but in a manner Mendelssohn found distressing. Even his own French translator condescendingly declared (1772) that it was remarkable work considering it was written by one “born and raised in a nation which stagnates with vulgar ignorance.” A clever young Swiss pastor, Johann Caspar Lavater, praised its accomplishments and wrote that the author was obviously ready for conversion—he challenged Mendelssohn to defend his Judaism in public.

The Prussian Academy of Science wished to make Mendelssohn its member, but King Frederick the Great vetoed the nomination, refusing to defile the academy membership list with a Jewish name.

43

The Battle for the Jewish Self

JEWISH *GRANDES DAMES*

In 1780 a thirty-three-year-old Berlin Jewish physician-scholar named Marcus Herz (1747–1803) married a beautiful sixteen-year-old Jewish girl, Henriette de Lamos (1764–1847), daughter of a Spanish Jewish physician. Although it was customary in those days to marry young, Henriette may have unconsciously been looking for a father in her husband, and in marrying him may have acted out an incestuous fantasy. The neurotic marriage was doomed to be unhappy. In the manner of the French *grandes dames*, Henriette Herz kept a literary salon and held soirées frequented by German humanists such as Nicolai, Dohm, and Teller and romantics like Schleiermacher, Schlegel, Chamisso, and the Humboldt brothers. Although Henriette founded the Tugendbund (Virtue Society), she had love affairs with young intellectual admirers like Carl Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) and Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834). After her husband's death the guilt-stricken Henriette Herz broke off her lifelong affair with Schleiermacher, and after her mother's death (1817) she embraced Lutheranism.

During the first decade of the nineteenth century there was a wave of conversions to Christianity among the Prussian Jews. Ironically, all but one of Mendelssohn's children embraced Christianity. His eldest daughter, Dorothea Veit (1763–1839), a friend of Henriette Herz, was married to the Berlin banker Simon Veit but left him for Friedrich von Schlegel (1772–1829), nine years her junior. In 1799 Schlegel published his erotic novel *Lucinde*, exposing his affair with Dorothea. She too published a novel about their life together. In 1802 the couple left for Paris, and were married in 1804. Dorothea became a Lutheran, and in 1808 she and Schlegel converted to Catholicism. So did her sister Henriette and her brother Abraham, whose son was the famous composer Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy.

The most prominent Jewish literary hostess in early-nineteenth-century Berlin was Rahel Levin Varnhagen (1771–1833). Her soirées were attended by the cream of Prussian literary society, including Heinrich Heine. In 1814 Rahel married a man fourteen years her junior, the Prussian diplomat Carl August Varnhagen von Ense

(1785–1858), and embraced Christianity. Like many, if not most, German Jews, she identified much more strongly with Germany than with the Jews.

ENLIGHTENMENT VERSUS ORTHODOXY

The attempts of the German Jewish *maskilim* (enlightened ones) to open up Judaism to modern Christian European science deeply threatened Jewish Orthodoxy, which depended upon its obsessional rituals and its strict adherence to halachic rules to protect it from the anxiety of ambiguity. Naturally a severe conflict arose between the *maskilim* and rabbinical Orthodoxy. Biale (1986:101) saw the struggle in terms of power politics:

Once again, mutual denunciations to governmental authorities, writs of excommunication, forceable [*sic*] breakups of marriages, and even physical violence characterized this struggle. Despite the ideological arguments for which the *Haskalah* is primarily known, it was first and foremost a political bid by a group of intellectuals in Germany, Austria, and Russia to become the leadership of the Jewish community.

Biale's rationalistic explanation once more overlooked the deep and powerful emotions underlying this struggle. As much as the *maskilim* wished to unshackle themselves from the bonds of Jewish Orthodoxy and to open themselves up to the modern arts and sciences, so the Orthodox Jews were afraid of letting go of their obsessive-compulsive religious rituals, which protected them against very painful unconscious conflict.

The newly enlightened Jews established new periodicals in the Hebrew language. In 1783 Mendelssohn's followers created the Hebrew Language Society and in 1784 began publishing a Hebrew-language monthly entitled *haMeasseph* (The collector or gatherer). It was published from 1784 to 1811, first as a monthly, then as a quarterly, and finally as an annual. One of its founders was the scholar Hartwig Wessely (Naphtali Zwi Herz Weisel, 1726–1805). He affords a dramatic case of a split self concealed behind the seemingly happy fusion of Germanness and Jewishness. Wessely's ancestors had fled the Polish Ukraine in 1648, after the great massacres of the Jews by Khmelnitsky's Zaporozhian Cossacks. Wessely's ancestors had settled among the Sephardic Jewish communities of Amsterdam and Hamburg, descendants of the Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal in 1492 and 1497. Hartwig Wessely himself was born in Copenhagen but later moved to Amsterdam and later still to Berlin.

Wessely was a bright young man who loved Hebrew linguistics. At the age of forty he published a study of synonyms and style in Hebrew. In 1774 he moved to Berlin to work with Moses Mendelssohn. He was the best of the Hebrew poets and stylists among the enthusiastic new Hebraists. Yet the old Hebrew language was dead; its speakers were few and far between, with the masses of Jews in Eastern Europe speaking Yiddish.

In 1780 Wessely published a Hebrew translation of the pseudepigraphic book *The Wisdom of Solomon* with an excellent running commentary. It is significant that

Wessely's great poem *Shiray Tifereth* (Poems of glory), published in Berlin from 1789 to 1802, dealt with Moses and the Exodus, not with current Jewish life in Germany. Wessely's Hebrew style was an imitation of the German style of his contemporary Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803).

In 1782, after the publication of Kaiser Joseph II's Toleranz-Patent in Austria, Wessely published a Hebrew essay entitled "Words of Peace and Truth" in which he called for a radical overhaul of German Jewish education. Its main thrust was to increase Jewish secular and scientific education at the expense of traditional sacred studies. It also recommended the study of world history, which helped one "understand the words of the Torah . . . [and] love and fear of the Lord" (Yerushalmi 1982:82). But this radical proposal aroused furious opposition from traditional rabbinical Jews, whose obsessional ritual defenses were deeply threatened by Wessely's proposal.

The rift between the Jewish *maskilim* and the Orthodox rabbinical Jews deepened after Mendelssohn's death in 1786. The *maskilim* felt hemmed in and repressed by traditional rabbinical Judaism and attacked the ossified tradition in their German writings, while maintaining a moderate stance in their Hebrew ones (Ben-Sasson 1976:784). They deeply resented the rigid, ritualistic ways of the Orthodox rabbis. They sought an integration of the Jews into Christian European society through learning.

A BRIEF TASTE OF FREEDOM

Most of the *aufgeklärte* Jews in the German states were Moses Mendelssohn's disciples. They sought to reform German Jewish education and to revive Hebrew literature. Prussia was the most important of the German states. In 1778 the young Enlightened Jewish leader David Friedländer (1750–1834) founded the German-language Freie Schule für Juden (Free School for Jews) in the Prussian capital of Berlin. It was the first German school teaching Jewish boys the modern sciences, the Hebrew Bible, and the Hebrew language. Yiddish was verboten in the Free School for Jews. Similar schools were established by David Fränkel in Dessau (1799), by Israel Jacobson in Seesen, Braunschweig (1801), by Isaac Herz Samson in Wolfenbüttel (1807), and later in Breslau and other German cities.

The three partitions of Poland (1772–95) brought important Polish provinces into Prussia: Danzig (Gdansk), Posen (Poznan), Thorn (Torun), Kalisch (Kalisz), Warsaw (Warschau), Plock (Plotzk), and Bialystok. King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia (Frederick William II, 1744–97) enacted liberal reforms in taxation and religion. In 1788 his Religions-Edict recognized the principle of religious toleration but restricted religious instruction and imposed Protestantism on the clergy. In 1794 the General Prussian Land Law introduced liberal statutes. In 1797 Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770–1840) succeeded to the throne of Prussia, and the General-Règlement for the Jews of New Southern and Eastern Prussia expelled all Jews who were not permanent residents in the new provinces, imposed new taxes and red tape upon the Jews, and abolished their rabbinical courts.

In 1799 David Friedländer published an anonymous open letter to the Rev. Teller, a well-known liberal Prussian Protestant leader and the chief counsel to the Prussian Consistory. Friedländer said he and "several heads of families of the Jewish faith" wanted to join the Protestant Christian Church, yet could not accept Jesus as the Son of God. They asked the pastor what they should do to be accepted as full-fledged members of Prussian society. Teller urged the Jews to embrace Christianity. The German theologian Friedrich Ernst Daniel Schleiermacher (1768–1834), Henriette Herz's lover, derided the Jews' quest in his *Rede über die Religion* (Talks about religion) as a coarse search for civil and financial gain.

In 1806–7 Prussia fought Napoléon's *Grande Armée*, and its king, Friedrich Wilhelm III, allowed his "tolerated" Jews to join his army. "The people without a land of their own" did so with fervent Prussian nationalism: "Oh what a heavenly feeling to possess a fatherland! Oh what a rapturous idea to call a spot, a place, a nook one's own upon this lovely earth" (Laqueur 1976:3). Prussia was defeated by Napoléon. The Treaty of Tilsit (1807) sheared it of its Polish lands and annexed them to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw under the king of Saxony. The lands west of the Elbe River went to the new kingdom of Westphalia, where Napoléon installed his brother Jérôme as king.

In other German cities and lands there was some liberalization. In 1804 a free Jewish high school named Philanthropien was founded in the free city of Frankfurt. In 1806 Frankfurt became the seat of the newly created Confederation of the Rhine under Prince Primate Archbishop Carl Theodor von Dalberg (1744–1817). The enlightened Jews hoped for freedom, but the conservative nobles and burghers who ran Frankfurt issued their *règlement* of 1807, which put an end to Jewish aspirations. It restricted the Jewish population to five hundred families and required them to pay 22,000 guilders a year in *Schutz-Geld* (protection money).

In the short-lived kingdom of Westphalia, the Jews flourished. Israel Jacobson (1768–1828) was the president of the Westphalian consistory at Cassel, financial agent to King Jerome Bonaparte, and leader of the Westphalian Jews. Some historians call Jacobson "shallow and vain" (Margolis and Marx 1985:616), yet it was he who founded the Jewish school at Seesen, Braunschweig (Brunswick), and fought for Jewish rights. In early 1808 Jacobson appealed to Dalberg to revoke the anti-Jewish *règlement* of 1807. He was unsuccessful. In 1809 Jacobson held the first Jewish Reform services at the Seesen school. It was a Christianized ritual. The liturgy was in German rather than in Hebrew, men and women sat together, organ and choir music were added, and confirmation replaced the traditional bar mitsvah. All mention of a Messiah who would restore Israel as a nation was deleted. In 1815 Jacobson held Reform services in Berlin, whence they spread all over Central Europe and Denmark.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), who hated the fanatical French Jacobins, thought that the new "constitution" treated the Jews as the true *Kammer-Knechte* (serfs of the royal chamber) they were. Goethe was happy when Israel Jacobson, whom he sarcastically called *der Jacobiner Israelsohn* (the Jacobin son of Israel), was dismissed. In 1810 the Grand Duchy of Frankfurt was created and Dalberg

became grand duke. He assessed the Jews 450,000 guilders to remove their disabilities. In 1811 Napoleon's stepson Eugène de Beauharnais became grand duke. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw was dissolved by the Congress of Vienna (1814–15). After Napoleon's final defeat, the Congress of Vienna divided Europe among the victors. There was a wave of reaction in Europe, and many liberties formerly granted to the Jews were taken away.

Ludwig Börne (1786–1837), a German Jewish writer and member of the liberal *Junges Deutschland* movement, ironically summed up the "protection" of the Jews in Frankfurt:

They enjoyed the loving care of the authorities. They were forbidden to leave their street on Sundays, so that the drunks should not molest them. They were not permitted to marry before the age of 25, so that their offspring should be strong and healthy. On holidays they could leave their homes only at six in the evening, so that the great heat should not cause them any harm. The public gardens and promenades outside the city were closed to them and they had to walk in the fields—to awaken their interest in agriculture. If a Jew crossed the street and a Christian citizen shouted "Pay your respects, *Jud*," the Jew had to remove his hat, no doubt the intention of this wise measure being to strengthen the feelings of love and respect between Christians and Jews. (Laqueur 1976:3–4)

EMANCIPATION AND REFORM

During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many Eastern European Jews migrated to the economic and cultural centers of Europe and the United States (Ben-Sasson 1976:730). Migration is a wrenching experience. Given Central Europe's fluid borders and its lingua franca (German), moving could seem easy, but in extreme cases was a major crisis. Migration involves separation, loss, and mourning. When the migrants cannot mourn, this leads to nostalgia, depression, and an inability to integrate.

The brief life of an obscure Hungarian Jewish scholar named Salomon Löwisohn (1789–1822) is a case in point. This bright young man was placed with the Capuchin monks as a child, a rare occurrence among Jews. On top of his native Hungarian and German, the language of the Austrian empire, by the time he was twenty Löwisohn mastered Hebrew, Latin, Italian, and French and tutored many schoolchildren. In 1809 he moved to Prague, the capital of Austrian Bohemia, where he studied English, Greek, and Aramaic and published scholarly books in Hebrew and German. Yet the separation from his hometown affected Löwisohn, who became depressed in Prague. In 1815 he moved to Vienna, where he fell in love with a daughter of Michael Lazar Biedermann, a pillar of the Jewish community. She rejected his overtures. Löwisohn was devastated. By 1820 he had become ill. After publishing his *Vorlesungen* (lectures) he suffered from writer's block. Finally Löwisohn became psychotic and died of "madness" (Reich 1868).

Jewish historians tend to focus almost exclusively on European Jewish history. The history of the Jews in North Africa, Asia, and other parts of the non-Western world is considered unimportant. "National" history is partly "quanto-history." Of the world's 2.5 million Jews in the early nineteenth century, 90 percent lived in Europe. The nineteenth century ushered in two major developments in European Jewish life. Christian Europe, searching its own soul, began to liberate the Jews from the shackles of its discriminatory legislation, granting them civil rights and allowing them to live in its cities; and the Jews themselves began to liberalize their own religion.

The struggle between the Jewish Enlightenment and Jewish rabbinical Orthodoxy in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century Europe was a battle for the Jewish self. During many centuries of persecution by Jew-hating Christians, the Jews had internalized a "bad group self." The *aufgeklärte* German Jews, struggling with their negative self-image, wanted to be educated, open, modern, and, above all, German. The new Jews fought the Christian view, and their own internalized image, of the Jew as benighted, inferior, and less than human. They wanted to create a "new Jew." This was a symptom of Jewish self-hate. Many Jews did not like themselves and were ashamed of their own faith (Laqueur 1976:9). The bad self-image led to unconscious externalization and projection. The cultured German-speaking Jews of Central Europe looked upon the "uncultured" Yiddish-speaking Jews of Poland and Russia, whom they derisively called *Ost-Juden* (East Jews), as vastly inferior to themselves. The term *Ost-Juden* joined other derogatory terms like *Hof-Juden* (court Jews), *Schutz-Juden* (protected Jews) and *Geld-Juden* (money Jews). Jewish self-hate intrigued the Jew-hating McCalden (1982), who believed that it was the root of all evil in this world. Lacking self-awareness, McCalden (1982:3) declared, "I do not have an anti-Semitic bone in my body." As mentioned, unfortunately McCalden projected his own unconscious self-hate onto "Jewish self-hate," denying the reality of the Holocaust under the guise of a "psychohistorical" study and giving psychohistory a bad name.

Some Enlightened Austrian Jews who came to power in Europe sought to reform other Jews by force. In 1787 a rigid, rationalist, and obsessional Bohemian Jewish disciple of Mendelssohn, Naphtali Herz Homberg (1749–1841), was appointed superintendent of Jewish schools in Austrian Galicia (now in the Ukraine). Homberg set about "reforming" the "benighted" Galician Yiddish-speaking *Ost-Juden*. He forced Jewish children to attend German-language schools, imposed taxes on Jewish Sabbath candles, printed catechisms for Jews, censored Hebrew books, and restricted Jewish education. Homberg was convinced he was doing it for the good of the Jews, yet the Jews hated him with a passion.

The eighteenth-century Central European Jewish Enlightenment led to nineteenth-century Jewish social, religious, and literary reform. In 1790 Kaiser Joseph II, author of the Toleranz-Patent, died, and his younger brother Leopold (Leopold II, 1747–92) briefly reigned over the "Holy Roman Empire" (1790–92). Leopold's son and heir, Franz (Francis II, 1768–1835), was the last "Holy Roman" Emperor. In 1806, forced by Napoléon, Kaiser Franz resigned the title of "Holy Roman" Emperor, becoming Kaiser Franz I of Austria, king of Hungary and Bohemia. Kaiser Franz supported

Homberg's Jewish educational "reforms" in Galicia, but Homberg made so many enemies that he was forced out of his job, pursuing his reforms in his native Bohemia.

In 1807–12, during the Napoleonic Wars, the Prussian reforms briefly gave the Jews voting rights and made *Schutz-Juden* legal residents of Prussia. Berlin was Prussia's royal capital. In 1808 David Friedländer, the leader of the Enlightened Prussian Jews who had wished to join the Protestant Church, was elected to the Berlin City Council. The Enlightened Jews sought cultural assimilation by adopting the German language and German culture and discarding the "dead" Hebrew language. Yet there were barely three thousand Jews in Berlin, and in all Prussia there was one Jewish military officer and one Jewish mailman (Laqueur 1976:4). The short-lived emancipation of the Prussian Jews at the beginning of the nineteenth century virtually ended with Napoléon's military defeats in 1812–13 and with the reaction that set in after 1815.

Jewish Liberal reform had two faces. One was turned outward, seeking to make Judaism similar to Christianity. Another was turned inward, seeking to change the basic tenets of Judaism and the feelings of Jews about themselves. The struggle revolved around the *Gottesdienst* (religious service), the Liberal Jews attempting to rid Judaism of archaic practices. In 1810 Israel Jacobson, the former leader of the Westphalian Jews, set up a Reform temple in Seesen, Braunschweig, introducing Protestant practices like the organ, choir, sermon, and German-language prayers, and in 1812 David Friedländer reformed the order of the Jewish *Gottesdienst*.

The Congress of Vienna (1814–15) gave Prussia back all its former territories as well as the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, parts of Saxony, the kingdom of Westphalia, and the Rhenish lands. Israel Jacobson, the former leader of the Westphalian Jews, moved to the Prussian capital of Berlin and opened a new German-language Reform Jewish chapel in his own home. Jacob Herz Beer, a wealthy Berlin Liberal Jewish leader, set up a private *Gottesdienst* in his own home with organ music and choir. Beer's son, Jacob Liebmann Meyer Beer (1791–1864), changed his name to the non-Jewish-sounding Giacomo Meyerbeer and became a famous opera composer. But the Orthodox rabbis denounced the new Liberal Judaism as heretical, and King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia ordered the new chapels closed.

THE TEMPLE CONTROVERSY

The internal struggle for the Jewish self was fierce. Following the French Jews, who in 1806–7 had changed their own appellation from *juifs* to *israélites*, after the Congress of Vienna the German Jews began calling themselves *Israeliten* rather than *Juden*. It was as if by changing your name you could change your identity and your self and get the world to love you (Falk 1975–76). The budding Jewish Reform movement moved to Hamburg. The young Liberal Jewish scholar Eduard Kley (1789–1867) became principal of the Hamburg Jewish Free School. Ironically, Kley was a student of the transcendental idealist philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814)

and of the theologian Friedrich Ernst Daniel Schleiermacher, both of them anti-Semites. Together with Gotthold Salomon (1784–1862), Kley founded the Hamburg Jewish Reform Temple.

In 1816 a Frankfurt Jewish educator named Joelsohn published a Reform Jewish prayer book entitled *Gesangbuch für Israeliten* (Hymnal for Jews). The foes of Jewish Reform denounced the *Gesangbuch*, and Reform Judaism in general, as a bad copy of Christianity. Joelsohn had copied most of the Lutheran prayer book into his *Gesangbuch*, rendering the Lutheran Jesus as *Herr, Einziger* (The Lord, the Only One). He apparently let slip the name of Jesus into one hymn, which forced him to replace that page in all the copies of his hymnal. Whether this is true or not, the temptation was enormous for the German Jews, discriminated against and persecuted for their faith, to be like the Christians and even to convert to Christianity.

In 1818 the new Reform Jewish Temple was formally inaugurated in Hamburg. Two Jewish Hebrew scholars, Meyer Israel Bresselau (d. 1839) and Seckel Isaac Fränkel (1765–1835), published a new Jewish prayer book for this Temple. This led to the notorious *Tempel-Streit* (temple controversy) between Orthodox and Reform German Jews. An Alsatian Jewish reformer named Lazare Liebermann obtained the approval of a few Italian and Austrian rabbis for using the German language in Jewish prayer and for playing the organ in the synagogue. But traditional rigidity protects against feelings of helplessness. In 1819 forty prominent Orthodox rabbis protested these practices, opposing any change in Jewish liturgy. Bresselau retaliated with a sharply worded anti-Orthodox pamphlet. The battle between Orthodox and Reform Jews still rages in modern Israel, where Orthodoxy has a monopoly on religion, in the late twentieth century.

REACTION AND “HOLY ALLIANCE”

The European Reaction set in after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and set back the liberal reforms and the status of the Jews. It especially affected the Orthodox Jews of Austrian Galicia and Hungary. The Austrian foreign minister Clemens Wenzel Nepomuk Lothar von Metternich (1773–1859), the architect of the Congress of Vienna, was the symbol of political conservatism. From 1815 to 1848 the reactionary forces prevailed in Europe and undid the liberal reforms. This eventually led to the great upheavals of 1848.

Some delegates at the Congress of Vienna moved that the *Bundes-Versammlung* (Federal Assembly) of the German states preserve the civil rights given to the Jews in *den Bundes-Staaten* (in the federal states). The delegates from Frankfurt, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen, however, had the wording of this resolution changed to *von den Bundes-Staaten* (by the federal states). This meant that the civil rights given the Jews by the German states of Prussia and Baden did not apply to Jews in any of the other German states. In fact, their rights were abridged even in the states that had previously granted them.

The "Holy Alliance" of victorious Russia, Austria, and Prussia was founded in Paris in 1815 to unite Europe under their rule as "a Christian nation." The Holy Alliance was the vision of Barbara Juliane Freifrau von Krüdener (1764–1824), a German-speaking "Livonian" noblewoman from Riga (Latvia), who had influenced the Russian czar. The baroness had a mixed reputation. As a young woman this emotionally disturbed lady had been promiscuous and pleasure-seeking. In 1782 she married a Russian diplomat, but had many extramarital affairs. In 1802 she lost her husband, became depressed, came under the sway of apocalyptic visionaries, underwent a religious conversion, and became a "nervous" pietistic mystic, yet kept up her penchant for sexual affairs with men of dubious character.

From 1808 to 1818 the Baroness Krüdener held Bible classes and public confessions all over Germany and Switzerland. She was expelled by the German and Swiss authorities, and eventually settled in Paris. In 1815 she met Czar Aleksandr, the most powerful ruler in Europe, who, although he had won the war against Napoléon in 1812, was said to have been depressed ever since. The baroness's teachings helped Aleksandr recover his spirits, and he briefly fell under her influence. She believed she was a prophetess sent by God to minister to the czar. Aleksandr later withdrew from the baroness, revolted by some of her unsavory associates. In 1821 the baroness pronounced the czar a new conqueror of Greece and sought to embroil him in the Greek war of independence against the Ottomans. He banished her from Saint Petersburg. The baroness went to the Crimea, where she died three years later.

Under the Christian "Holy Alliance" the European Jews were again deprived of their civil rights. In Austria, after the reign of Emperor Joseph II, his Toleranz-Patent of 1781–82 was replaced with a series of discriminatory measures. Jews were not allowed to own land, had to pay special "toleration taxes," their residence was restricted in many areas, and their religious marriages were not recognized by law. Hungarian Jews were not permitted to live in the cities. Being barely "tolerated" could only have further damaged the Jewish self.

The conflict between Orthodox and Liberal Jews played out against the backdrop of violent anti-Jewish feeling in Germany. The Napoleonic Wars had left Europe ravaged. The Jews were often blamed. In 1815–19, many pamphlets and books were published against granting the Jews citizenship and civil rights in the German states. One rabid German Jew-hater named Hartwig von Hundt-Radowsky published a virulent racist pamphlet entitled *Der Juden-Spiegel* (The mirror of the Jews), copying the title of Pfefferkorn's racist tract of 1507, which said, among other things, that "no people in the world has so excelled in evil and in the lust for revenge, in cowardice, arrogance and superstition, in usury, cheating and theft, as the Jews. All Jews . . . are members of a united gang of criminals" (Ben-Sasson 1976:804).

German Jew-hatred peaked in the summer of 1819 with violent anti-Jewish riots in Bavaria, Baden, and other states. Hamburg, Frankfurt, Karlsruhe, Heidelberg, Mannheim, and other cities were the scene of violence. The new German intolerance, like the old, derived from the unconscious psychological processes of splitting and externalization. Jews were beaten up and driven out of town. Derisively aping the

shepherd's cry to his sheep, the enraged German Christian rioters cried "Hep! Hep! Jude verreck!" (Hey! Hey! Jew, perish!). This cry was picked up over a century later by Hitler's Nazis, who cried "Deutschland erwache! Juda verrecke!" (Germany awake! Judah perish!).

In Hamburg and Frankfurt on the Main, Jewish shopwindows were smashed in a public degradation ritual, a prelude to the Nazi *Kristallnacht* of 1938 (Loewenberg 1987). Only when the Frankfurt Jewish banker Amschel Mayer Rothschild (1773–1855) threatened to leave town did Frankfurt's city fathers act to restore order. Potok (1978:372) discerned "an intensifying neurotic insecurity" invading the German Jews "as they began a protracted decades-long battle for emancipation." To allay that anxiety, Potok thought, they thirsted for German culture. "What a passion there is in Jews for German culture!" he wrote. "They pour into the German world with the same zeal their ancestors once conquered Canaan."

Soon after the "Hep! Hep!" riots of 1819, a group of young, enlightened German Jewish scholars in the Prussian capital of Berlin, including Leopold Zunz (1794–1886), Moses Moser, and Eduard Gans (1798–1839), created the short-lived Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden (Society for Culture and Science of the Jews). Gans was elected its president. Biale (1979:20) believed that the members of the Verein "wanted to use history to restore Jewish pride." The young German Jewish scholars followed the romantic historical notions of the German Christian poets and philosophers, such as Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) and Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), who believed that God acted in each people's history and that each nation had its unique historical spirit, which they called the *Volksgeist* (people's spirit). The young German Jewish scholars thought that the Jews had a Jewish *Volksgeist* and that it was their task to discover it.

The secularization of the German Jews progressed rapidly. In 1818 Leopold Zunz, whom Israeli Jewish historians call "Rabbi Yomtov Lippmann Zunz," published *Envas über die rabbinische Literatur*, a "modest" proposal for the scientific historical study of Jewish culture. In 1819 Zunz, Moser, and Gans founded not only the Verein but also the *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (Journal for the science of Judaism). Ironically, the Verein lasted only five years (1819–24); most of its distinguished members converted to Christianity to be able to take up German academic posts. The *Zeitschrift* lasted longer.

The young German Jewish scholars were more Jewish Germans than German Jews (Gay 1978:vii). They were ambitious and capable, but, like many scholars of the day, their scholarly works were tendentious. Biale (1979:15) saw their scholarship as "a stepchild of the new German [philological] historiography." Zunz published a biography of the medieval French Jewish sage Salomon Yitzhaki (Rashi, 1040–1105), a work on the religious sermons of the Jews showing that the Jews had preached in many languages, and a study of Jewish names showing that the Jews always bore non-Jewish names. Gans published an ambitious four-volume study, *Das Erbrecht in weltgeschichtlicher Entwicklung* (Inheritance law in world-historical development). In 1825 Gans embraced Christianity to take up a law professorship in Berlin.

In 1821 the Hamburg Orthodox Jewish community made Rabbi Isaac Bernays (1792–1849) its chief rabbi, with the title of *khacham* (sage). Rice (1990:98–99) thought that Bernays's "insistence" on that title betrayed "emotional conflicts in terms of personal identity and self-esteem." But each and every one of us has such conflicts. Rabbi Bernays wisely sought a middle path between Orthodoxy and Reform, ultimately becoming a Conservative. One of his granddaughters, Martha Bernays, became Sigmund Freud's wife. The Orthodox rabbis were furious at the reformers, denounced them as heretics, and threatened to excommunicate them.

The conflict between Orthodox and Reform German Jews became acute. Rabbi Abraham Geiger of Wiesbaden (1810–74) and Rabbi Samuel Holdheim of Schwerin (1806–60) became the great proponents of Reform Judaism, publishing learned books on the need for change in Judaism. Unconsciously evoking the archaic, dreaded "phallic" mother imago, Geiger passionately called for "beheading the Medusa skull of ossified Jewish traditions." In 1835 he began publishing the scholarly *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie* (Scientific journal for Jewish theology), and later the *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* (Jewish journal for science and life). Geiger saw Judaism as purely a religion, and clearly not as one people or nation.

Geiger and Holdheim were opposed by Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch of Oldenburg (1808–88), founder of the New Orthodoxy in German Judaism. Rabbi Zacharias Fränkel of Dresden (1801–75), a remarkable Jewish scholar, also wisely chose the middle path. He was the founder of Positive-Historical Judaism, the precursor of Conservative Judaism. In 1845 Fränkel broke with the Liberal Jewish reformers when they wanted to erase Hebrew from the liturgy. In 1851 he began publishing a new monthly entitled *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (Monthly journal for the history and science of Judaism). In 1854 Fränkel became head of the Israelitische Theologische Hochschule in the Prussian Silesian city of Breslau (now Wrocław, Poland).

Some of the more extreme of the new German *Israeliten*, as they called themselves, like Michael Kreznach, wished to rewrite the archaic Jewish law altogether. In 1842 his son Theodor Kreznach founded the Verein der Freunde des Reforms (Society of the Friends of Reform), which believed in the endless development of Mosaic law, rejected the Talmud and the belief in the Jewish Messiah, repudiated the land of Israel, embraced Germany as their fatherland and motherland, and abolished circumcision as savage. In 1843–44 the issue of circumcision rocked German Jewry. In 1844–46 the Reform rabbis held three great conferences at Braunschweig, Frankfurt, and Breslau. The issues of "motherland" and "mother tongue" were so deeply emotional they split German Jewry.

In Great Britain, which had abbreviated Jewish rights for centuries, some eminent progressive statesmen called for the emancipation of the Jews. At the height of the Great Slavery Debate (1833), the Whig statesman Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859), one of England's greatest historians, made a speech in Parliament excoriating the British themselves for the faults of the Jews:

And if, in the course of many centuries, the oppressed descendants of warriors and sages have degenerated from the qualities of their fathers; if, while excluded from the blessings of law, and bowed down under the yoke of slavery, they have contracted some of the vices of outlaws and slaves, shall we consider this a matter of reproach to them? Shall we not rather consider it as a matter of shame and remorse to ourselves? Let us open to them every career in which ability and energy can be displayed. Till we have done this, let us not presume to say that there is no genius among the countrymen of Isaiah, no heroism among the descendants of the Maccabees. (Laqueur 1976:5)

It took the British several more decades to grant civil rights to their Jews. In 1858 British Jews were allowed to run for Parliament, in 1870 permitted to attend universities, and in 1890 given full civil rights. Like the German Jews, the British Jews were split between Orthodox and Liberal (Reform). Claude Joseph Goldsmid Montefiore (1858–1938), a grand-nephew of Sir Moses Haim Montefiore (1784–1885) and a leader of British Liberal Judaism, fiercely opposed Jewish nationalism, arguing that Judaism was a religion, not a nation. In 1902 Montefiore founded the antinationalist Jewish Religious Union. Ironically, Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), the founder of Political Zionism, sought Montefiore's support for Jewish nationalism. Herzl himself was a victim of "Hep! Hep!" criers (Falk 1993a).

ENLIGHTENMENT AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

In 1822 Immanuel Wolf, a member of the short-lived German Jewish Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden, published "Über den Begriff einer Wissenschaft des Judenthums" (On the concept of a science of Judaism) in the *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, launching a new Jewish historiography that culminated in the work of the great German Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz (1817–91). Biale (1979:17) called Wolf's essay, along with Zunz's essay "Etwas über die rabbinische Literatur," "a covert attack on rabbinic Judaism." Zunz and Wolf wished to open up Judaism to scientific inquiry. It was a direct threat to Jewish Orthodoxy.

Graetz was a scholar with a vision. He was born in Prussia and studied with the Neo-Orthodox scholar Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch. Later, in 1854, he moved to Breslau to work with the "Positive-Historical Judaism" school of Fränkel. Graetz taught at both the Breslau rabbinical seminary and at the University of Breslau. Graetz composed a *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (History of the Jews from the earliest times to the present, 1853–1876), a monumental eleven-volume Jewish history that paved the way to modern Jewish historiography. He believed that the essence of Judaism was preserved through Jewish history. The inner core was *die überweltliche Gottesidee* (the idea of a supraworldly God), though the outer shell kept changing.

Graetz, for all his greatness, had a passionate personal "transference" to his material that marred his understanding. He railed against the German Jewish reformers of his time for cutting their ties to Judaism and for cleaving to other nations. Graetz

chronicled both "Jewish suffering and Jewish thought" but could not see how one led to the other. He blamed the persecution of the Jews on "the narrowness and bigotry which had characterized Christianity during the Middle Ages" (Grayzel 1969:598). His view of Jewish messianism was simple: all Jewish Messiahs were "false Messiahs." Biale (1979:21) felt that "Graetz's dogmatic definition of Judaism was . . . a symptom of the basic problem that plagued his Reform opponents: the need to find a [divine] principle that precedes Jewish history and directs its development."

The young German Jewish scholars were intellectualizers. They excluded Jewish mysticism, which they feared, from the "essence" of Judaism, dogmatically equating Jewish monotheism with rationalism (Biale 1979:18). This rationalist attitude was typified by Moritz Steinschneider (1816–1907), the founder of Jewish bibliography, who said that Jewish scholarship had "only one task left: to give the remains of Judaism a decent burial" (Weil 1907; Biale 1979:1). Steinschneider's grandson Gustav became a Communist and a Zionist; his great-grandson Karl settled in Palestine and translated into German the Hebrew works of Nobel prize winner S. J. Agnon.

The young "Jewish Science" scholars were prolific. In 1832 Leopold Zunz, one of the founders of the Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden, published *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* (The religious sermons of the Jews), his magnum opus. Margolis and Marx (1985:639) called it "the first comprehensive historical study of the vast Jewish homiletical literature and of the early development of the [Jewish] liturgy." But the new learning created a sharp break with Orthodox rabbinical tradition. As president of the Verein, Eduard Gans bewailed the loss of Jewish tradition:

The break with the intimacy of the old existence has indeed occurred, but the deeper return to this intimacy has not taken place. The enthusiasm for religion and the genuineness of the old relationships has vanished, but no new enthusiasm has broken forth, no new set of relationships has been built. (M. A. Meyer 1967:167)

Did the Jewish Enlightenment bring about modern Jewish historiography? Yerushalmi (1982:82–83) thought that for the Enlightened Jews, the study of Jewish history was not of value in itself. It was still subordinate to the traditional Jewish concerns of philosophy, literature, politics, and morality. The Enlightenment did not itself father modern Jewish historiography, he thought, but "unwittingly helped prepare the ground for it by hastening the secularization of significant segments of the Jewish people." Like most modern Jewish historians, Yerushalmi takes the reality of "the Jewish people" for granted. To my mind it is a psychological rather than a political reality.

Heinrich Marx, the Jewish father of Karl Marx (1818–83), was baptized in the Evangelical Church in 1817. The wave of conversions to Christianity in 1818–25 claimed many prominent German Jews, including Eduard Gans (1798–1839), president of the Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden; Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), one of Germany's most important poets; and Ludwig Börne (1786–1837). Friedrich Julius Stahl (1802–61), the leader of the Prussian clerical-conservative party,

converted in 1820, when he entered the university. Heine and Börne were both members of the literary-political *Junges Deutschland* (Young Germany) movement. *Junges Deutschland* was influenced by French revolutionary ideas and opposed to German romanticism and nationalism. In 1830 Börne went into self-imposed exile in Paris. *Junges Deutschland* so threatened the rigid German political establishment that in 1835 the German Bundestag (federal diet) resolved to ban its writings in all the German states. After the unsuccessful revolution of 1848, many young German radical intellectuals left for Paris as political exiles, and Börne became one of their leaders.

The German Jewish scholars of the Enlightenment were joined by Austrian and Italian fellow-Jews such as Isaac Samuel Reggio (1784–1855) of Gorizia (Görz), in the South Tyrol, who wished to wed traditional Jewish learning to secular modern philosophy. Reggio translated and edited the Hebrew works of the Jewish sages into Italian and helped found the *Istituto Rabbinico di Padova* (Rabbinical Institute of Padua). Here the Italian Jewish scholar Samuel David Luzzatto (1800–1865), known by his Hebrew acronym of SDL (Shadal), a great-grandnephew of the mystic Rabbi Moses Hayim Luzzatto (1707–47), known by his Hebrew acronym of RMHL (Ramhal), began modern Jewish biblical scholarship. SDL was a curious blend of innovation and conservatism. He was a good historian of Hebrew literature, but his view was clouded by his countertransferential Jewish-national, antiphilosophical idea of Judaism. He fiercely opposed the scholarly innovations of the German Jews.

Some angry young German Jews (or Jewish Germans) railed against reaction and discrimination. One such Jew was Gabriel Riesser of Altona (1806–63), who felt thoroughly German, adored the German language, loved Germany as his motherland and fatherland, and denied the existence of a Jewish nation (Margolis and Marx 1985:654–55). Riesser called Judaism “the Mosaic faith” and thought that any Jew who believed in the existence of the nation of Israel was mad. He put his feelings into rhyme:

*Einen Vater in der Höhen,
eine Mutter haben wir,
Gott ihn, aller Wesen Vater,
Deutschland uns're Mutter hier.*

[One Father high above,
one mother have we;
God, the father of all beings,
Germany our mother here.]

In 1830 the young Riesser published a passionate pamphlet on the situation of the members of “the Mosaic religion” in Germany, criticizing in the name of the highest moral ideals of mankind both Jew-hatred and self-serving Jewish conversions to Christianity. A Heidelberg theologian named Paulus published a book on Jewish national separatism, arguing that the Jews could only be tolerated as *Schutz-Bürger* (protected citizens). Riesser replied with another fiery pamphlet advocating the freedom of religious practice everywhere.

To preserve their own group self, identity, and boundaries, the German Christians had unconsciously split off the bad aspects of themselves, projected them on the Jews, and marked off the Jews as different, if not subhuman. Some well-meaning Christians sought to better the lowly Jews by education. In 1833 a Prussian pamphlet entitled *On the Attitude of the Jews Toward the Christian States* offered to extend civil rights gradually to the wealthier Jews while keeping the Jewish masses as merely "tolerated."

Prussia had become the largest and most powerful German state. When King Friedrich Wilhelm III died in 1840, the question of Jewish "emancipation" (civil rights) became a major Prussian preoccupation. The Prussian Liberals and Jews hoped for new liberties and civil rights. But the romantic and conservative King Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1795–1861) considered the Jews a foreign nation that had to be given cultural autonomy, be exempted from military service, and be barred from state office. The patriotic Prussian Jewish leaders, desperate to be Prussian, petitioned their king to draft the Jews into his army so they could prove their loyalty to Mother Prussia.

These patriotic Prussian Jews were led by Ludwig Philippson (1811–89), editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* and author of the immensely popular Philippson Bible (McGrath 1986:44–46). In 1842 Friedrich Wilhelm IV let the Jews volunteer to be soldiers in his army. The tireless Gabriel Riesser published a pamphlet arguing that the national body of the Jewish people was dead, while its religious soul was alive.

The German Christian philosophers of the mid-nineteenth century were preoccupied with the Jews. In 1843 Hegel's pupil Bruno Bauer (1809–82), a Protestant theologian and leftist philosopher, published *Über die Judenfrage* (On the Jewish question), arguing that the Jews must be denied "emancipation" and must remain a separate *Volk* even though they were not really a nation. The young Karl Marx (1818–83), son of a converted Jewish lawyer, published articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung* and in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* endorsing Bauer's thesis and attacking the Jews for their worship of money. Marx proposed the elimination of Judaism. The Jewish-born German Lutheran legal philosopher and conservative clerical leader Friedrich Julius Stahl (1802–55) published *Der christliche Staat und sein Verhältnis zum Deismus und Judenthum* (The Christian state and its relation to Deism and Judaism, 1847), arguing that non-Christians must be denied political rights in Christian states.

ASSIMILATION

The nineteenth-century word for fusion with another culture was "assimilation." The Enlightened and Liberal German Jews wished to be like the Christians, to assimilate the dominant non-Jewish culture and to be assimilated into it. But to the Orthodox German Jews, assimilation was anathema. They felt deeply threatened by the liberal, antitraditional, and integrationist attitude of their Enlightened brethren, which they

thought blasphemous and "assimilationist." They needed to set themselves apart from the "Gentile" world, to create group boundaries and to maintain their group self (Stein 1987; Stein and Niederland 1989). Yerushalmi (1982:85) thought that assimilation was not so bad for the Jews:

I do not use the term "assimilation" in a negative sense. I have already stressed that the creative assimilation of initially foreign influences has often fructified the Jewish people.

In modern Israel "assimilation" is pejorative. The Hebrew word *hitboleluth* (assimilation) comes from the verb *bl*, meaning "mix," and means becoming like the "Gentiles" and losing one's Jewish identity. In nineteenth-century Germany, "Rabbis preach in flawless German; synagogues take on the hushed aura of the Lutheran service" (Potok 1978:372). It was a struggle between Orthodoxy and innovation, between isolation and assimilation, between rigidity and flexibility, between the open and closed mind (Rokeach 1960). Some German Jews, seeking a path between Jewish Orthodoxy and Liberalism, became "Conservative." Others, like Hirsch, founded Jewish "Neo-Orthodoxy." Were the new Liberal Jews "religious" in the traditional sense of the word? Potok (1978:333–34) called this new development "modern paganism," whose first phase was "secularism."

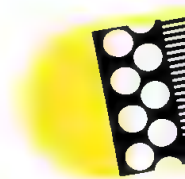
Some of Austria's more fortunate Jews lived under Joseph II's Toleranz-Patent of 1782 as "tolerated Jews"; unfortunate ones could not reside anywhere permanently. As modern Switzerland denies its guest workers citizenship and has a "foreigners' police" to control its non-Swiss population, nineteenth-century Vienna had a special *Judenamt* (Jews Office) to control its Jews. A Jew could visit Vienna for up to fourteen days by paying a special tax. Jews had to lie, cheat, and bribe Austrian officials to be able to extend their stay. This did not improve the Jews' self-image. In Bohemia, Moravia, and Galicia the Austrian Jews were discriminated against, taxed, and oppressed in every conceivable way.

From 1814 to 1823 the Orthodox Jews of Vienna gradually became Liberal. Wealthy bankers and traders like Nathan Adam von Arnstein (1748–1838) and Bernhard von Eskeles (1753–1839) promoted reform. An Austrian imperial decree of 1820 made German the official language of all religious services. In 1823 the thirty-year-old Rabbi Isaac Noah Mannheimer (1793–1865) came to Vienna from Copenhagen to take up the post of chief rabbi of the Vienna City Temple. He began preaching in German, and the wealthy Jews of Vienna sought to build a new temple. In 1824 Emperor Franz rejected the Jews' petition on the recommendation of his own police, who feared civil strife between Reform and Orthodox Jews. The Liberal Jews were forced to cheat, faking a structural collapse in the old building and asking for a new, safe one. In 1826 the New Temple of Vienna was inaugurated with Mannheimer as its rabbi. He was succeeded by Adolf Aaron Jellinek (1820–93).

In Hungary the Magyars were fighting for equal rights under Austrian rule. This struggle affected the Magyar Jews favorably. In 1839 the Pest Regional Assembly struck down anti-Jewish legislation and gave the Jews the right to acquire farmland.

The Slovak capital of Bratislava, thirty-five miles east of Vienna, was known to the Jews by its German name of Pressburg, and to the Magyars as Pozsony. Bratislava was the Hungarian capital from 1526 to 1784, and the Magyar parliament met there until 1848. The Austrian Habsburg emperors were crowned in Bratislava as kings of Hungary.


In early 1840 Rabbi Schwab of Pest called an assembly of Magyar Jews at Pest, which dispatched four delegates to the Hungarian parliament at Pozsony. The Magyar legislature struck down the Toleration Tax and gave the Jews equal rights with non-noble Magyars. But the Austrian government refused to ratify the Hungarian reforms. In 1848, at the height of the revolution, there were anti-Jewish riots in several Hungarian towns. Nor were the Jewish reforms in Germany smooth. In 1841 the Hamburg *Tempel-Streit* was revived when the Liberal reformers began building a new temple. Khacham Isaac Bernays sided with the Orthodox Jews against the reformers. Gabriel Riesser, the restless fighter for Jewish rights in Germany, joined the "New Templars." The Hamburg senate was dragged into the controversy, but did not stop the new temple. A legion of young German Jewish rabbis now fought for Reform.



44

German Light, Russian Darkness

TRAGIC REVOLUTIONS



Mid-nineteenth-century Europe was still governed by hereditary kings and princes. The American and French revolutions of the late eighteenth century fired up some of the young European revolutionaries who wished to replace their monarchies with Roman-like “republics.” Some may have unconsciously displaced their revolt against their parents to revolutionary rage. Others unconsciously externalized their inner struggle for the self into a war on what they perceived as the bad aspects of the social and political order. Oppressed classes, minorities, and nationalities rose up in revolt. The year 1848 saw a series of national uprisings and “republican” revolutions against the European monarchies, beginning in Sicily and spreading to France, Prussia, Germany, Italy, and multinational Austria. “Democratic” insurrections broke out in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna. In France alone did the revolution bring about the Second Republic and universal suffrage. Elsewhere the uprisings were brutally suppressed. In France the Social Democrats bitterly fought the Republican Democrats. In June 1848 the French minister of war, Louis-Eugène Cavaignac (1802–57), was given dictatorial powers, suppressing the workers’ insurrection by force of arms. Cavaignac became the head of the French government but lost the December presidential election to Charles-Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte (1808–73), later Emperor Napoléon III.

As in Eastern Europe in 1989, when Communist regimes were toppled one after another, the 1848 revolutions in Europe had a great effect on each other. The success of the revolution in France sparked an uprising in Austria. Vienna’s students and intellectuals, supported by the workers, demonstrated for liberal reform, demanding Foreign Minister Metternich’s resignation, which the frightened emperor granted. The revolution was manifold: social, democratic, liberal, and national. Slavs, Magyars, Italians, and other minorities demanded their freedom from their Habsburg “German” rulers.

ANOTHER EMANCIPATION

In March 1848 the Prussian revolutionaries fought their king's troops in the streets of Berlin. King Friedrich Wilhelm IV caved in to "the people's" demands. He hoisted the black, red, and gold flag of German unity, ordered his troops out of Berlin, created a Liberal ministry, and called upon his legislators to create a new, liberal constitution. Frankfurt became the new German capital. The Prussian, "German," and Austrian governments agreed to convoke constituent assemblies in Berlin, Frankfurt, and Vienna, respectively. Catholic and reactionary rabble-rousers in Bavaria and other German lands meanwhile incited the mob to anti-Jewish riots. It was a time of great excitement and social upheaval.

In Vienna the National Guard and the Students' Legion fought the emperor's forces. Austrian emperor Ferdinand der Gütige (Ferdinand the Kind, or Ferdinand I, 1793–1875) left town and abdicated. Prince Alfred of Windischgrätz (1787–1862) led the Austrian troops who brutally suppressed the Czech insurrection in Prague. In April 1848 the Czech mob erupted in anti-Jewish riots. Soon the Magyars of Bratislava (Pozsoni or Pressburg) demanded the expulsion of the Jews. Jewish historians often cite the role of two Jewish students named Adolf Fischhof and Joseph Goldmark in the Vienna revolt (Ben-Sasson 1976:808). Fischhof headed the General Security Committee, which temporarily ruled Vienna. But the Jews were never a significant part of the revolution. Fischhof was more Austrian than he was Jewish.

In September 1848 a newly elected Austrian Constituent Assembly met in Vienna; it gave the peasants title to their lands and passed other social legislation. The Jewish delegates lobbied for a Jewish rights bill, but the assembly was dissolved before any could be adopted. The Catholic masses were violently opposed to Jewish emancipation (Ben-Sasson 1976:809). The Magyars were not great lovers of the Jews either. In 1844 the Upper House of the Magyar parliament rejected the Lower House's liberal reforms. Kossuth Lajos (Louis Kossuth, 1802–1894), a man with a fascinating personal history, led the Magyar national uprising against Austria; the uprising was crushed by the Habsburgs.

In May 1848 the German National-Versammlung (National Assembly) met in Frankfurt's Paulkirche (Paul's Church) to draft a constitution for a new, free, and united German fatherland. There were four Jewish deputies: Riesser, Veit, Curanda, and Hartmann. Eduard Simmson, a Jewish-born Königsberger who had been baptized as a child, chaired the assembly. The Jewish civil rights leader Gabriel Riesser, a thoroughly Germanized Jew, was elected vice president of the assembly. The Proclamation of the Basic Rights of the German People voted by the new assembly gave equal rights to members of all religions, but was not adopted as the German Constitution. The German nationalists split into pro-Austrian *Grossdeutscher* who wanted a Greater Germany and pro-Prussian *Kleindeutscher* who wanted a Prussian Germany.

By late 1848 popular support for the revolution in Prussia began to ebb. The indecisive and mentally ill King Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1795–1861) was manipulated by the Prussian reactionaries, led by his younger brother, into dissolving the Constituent

Assembly in Berlin. In December 1848 Emperor Ferdinand der Gütige of Austria abdicated in favor of his eighteen-year-old nephew Franz-Joseph (1830–1916), who was not bound by any previous oath to Hungary. The young Kaiser appointed the Bohemian-born Prince Felix zu Schwarzenberg (1800–1852) prime minister; his troops crushed the popular uprisings in Bohemia and Italy.

Vienna fell to Emperor Franz-Joseph. The revolution of 1848 ebbed both in Austria and in Germany. In the spring of 1849 the German National Assembly at Frankfurt completed its deliberations and drafted a new German constitution. It called for a German federal union with a hereditary emperor at its head whose powers would be checked by the legislature. The mentally ill King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia was offered the emperorship but turned it down. After further insurrections, in June 1849, a new reaction set in. German troops dissolved the National Assembly in Frankfurt, replacing it with the “good old” Bundestag. In 1851 the Frankfurt Declaration of the Basic Rights of German Citizens was annulled. In 1857 King Friedrich Wilhelm was felled by a stroke. In 1858 his younger brother, Wilhelm Friedrich Ludwig, became crown prince and regent of Prussia. In 1861, when Friedrich Wilhelm died, Wilhelm Friedrich Ludwig became King Wilhelm of Prussia. In 1871 he became Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany.

The nineteenth-century Italian *risorgimento* (national resurgence) came to a head with the war of 1859 in which the allied Italian and French armies drove the Austrians out of Italy. The “winds of liberty” blew over Europe. The German lands edged toward their union in the Second Reich. Jewish historians proudly report that the new Prussian *Landtag* had two Jewish members, and that many Jews fell in the German wars of 1848, 1866, and 1870.

A MEDIEVAL NINETEENTH-CENTURY AFFAIR

In 1840 occurred a bizarre neomedieval ritual-murder libel against the Jews of Syria. Significantly, it came at a turbulent time, at the height of the Egyptian viceroy's revolt against the Ottoman sultan. Egypt was a semiautonomous province of the Ottoman empire, ruled by the *wali* Muhammad Ali (Mehmet Ali Pasha, 1769–1849). The father of ninety-five children by numerous wives, he was born Mehmet Ali in Ottoman Macedonia, was an Ottoman Muslim, and may have been an Albanian. Muhammad Ali lost his father in his childhood and may never have forgiven this abandonment. As a young man he married one of the relatives of the Ottoman governor of Macedonia and went into Ottoman politics.

Muhammad Ali became the Ottoman viceroy of Egypt with the rank of pasha in 1805, after successfully fighting the French occupation forces. Nonetheless, he had to struggle constantly to prevent the sultan from removing him from office. In 1831–33 Muhammad Ali Pasha fought his first war against Ottoman sultan Mahmud (Mahmud II, 1785–1839), seizing Syria, including Palestine, as far as Adana, Turkey, from the Ottomans. In 1838–1841 Muhammad Ali Pasha fought his second successful war

against the Ottomans, defeating them at Nizip in south-central Turkey, just north of what is now the Syrian border. The Ottoman fleet, which did not like the sultan, deserted to Muhammad Ali Pasha.

In 1839 the relatively liberal Abdülmecit (Abdülmejid I, 1823–61) succeeded his father Mahmut as the Ottoman sultan. Abdülmecit enacted liberal social reforms with poetic titles such as the Noble Edict of the Rose Chamber (1839) and the Imperial Edict (1856). Muhammad Ali's revolt went on. In July 1840 Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia intervened militarily to stop Egypt from further breaking up the Ottoman empire. Into this turmoil came the Damascus affair. The Capuchin monks are an autonomous branch of the Franciscan order begun in the sixteenth century by Matteo da Bascio in an attempt to return the Franciscans to their true origins. In February 1840 the head of the Capuchin monastery in Damascus, Father Thomas, quarreled with a Turk, who threatened to kill him. Father Thomas then vanished. His fellow monks accused the Jews of his murder.

The French consul in Damascus, a character named Ratti-Menton, conspired with the Syrian governor, Sharif Pasha, to frame the Jews. Under torture, the first Jew arrested named seven Damascus Jewish notables as the culprits, who were also arrested and tortured. Sixty Jewish children were placed under house arrest and starved. One of the victims, Joseph Laniado, died of torture; another, Moses Abulafia, converted to Islam, and the rest of the accused "confessed" their crime. Three rabbis, additional notables, and an Austrian-Italian Jew named Isaac Levi Picciotto were further accused. Ratti-Menton published inflammatory anti-Jewish articles in the French press.

The Damascus affair of 1840 was exploited by the European powers to further their own ends. European Jewish leaders like Isaac-Adolphe Crémieux of France (Isaac Moïse, 1796–1880), Sir Moses Haim Montefiore of Great Britain (1784–1885), and the Rothschilds of Germany, Austria, France, and Britain protested the Damascus horrors to their respective governments. Crémieux, a renowned French Jewish jurist and deputy chairman of the Central Consistory of the Jews of France in Paris, took the matter up with the French government of King Louis-Philippe (1773–1850) and Prime Minister Louis-Adolphe Thiers (1797–1877), who evaded him. Thiers backed his consul in Damascus, and Crémieux's passionate protests in the French National Assembly were useless.

The British, to batter both France and Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt, helped the Jews. The British Jewish delegation was received by Foreign Secretary H. J. T. Palmerston (1784–1865), who skillfully manipulated the affair against France. Britain protested the brutality in Syria to Ottoman sultan Abdülmecit and to the Egyptian viceroy Muhammad Ali Pasha. In Austria Metternich gave his protection to the Jews of Syria. Rebuffing France, Muhammad Ali Pasha appointed an international court consisting of the British, Austrian, Russian, and Prussian consuls to investigate the affair. A Jewish delegation consisting of Crémieux, Montefiore, and the French Jewish linguist Solomon Munk (1803–67) went to Cairo and Damascus to plead the release of the Jewish prisoners. They were backed by nine European consuls.

Munk had immigrated to France from Prussian Silesia. He was a distinguished

scholar of medieval Jewish Arabic literature who became blind reading old Arabic manuscripts. Munk edited a scholarly three-volume edition of the original Arabic version of Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed* with a new French translation (Maimonides 1856–66). Munk discovered that the medieval Spanish Jewish poet Solomon ben Yehuda ibn Gabirol (Abu Ayyub Sulayman ibn Yahya ibn Gabirut, c. 1022–70) was the man the Christian Scholastics called Avicbron or Avencebrol.

Some German Jewish leaders did not like the new Jewish activism. Abraham Geiger of Wiesbaden (1810–74) wrote his French Jewish friend Joseph Derenbourg (1811–95), the Orientalist, “[F]or me it is more important that Jews be able to work in Prussia as pharmacists or lawyers than that the entire Jewish population of Asia and Africa be saved” (Ben-Sasson 1976:848). Nonetheless the Damascus affair ended in a Jewish victory. In September 1840 Muhammad Ali Pasha ordered the release of the seven surviving tortured Jews. Syrian governor Sharif Pasha was arrested, brought to Cairo, tried, convicted, and executed for treason. In October Muhammad Ali lost control of Syria. On 6 November 1840, Sultan Abdülmecit, once again in control of Syria, issued a decree making ritual-murder charges against Jews illegal. The Ottoman Jews had won their first political victory.

In 1858, during the papacy of Pius IX (1792–1878), “the reactionary enemy of modern civilization” (Margolis and Marx 1985:678), the papal police kidnapped a six-year-old Italian Jewish boy named Edgar Mortara from his parents in Bologna. As an infant Edgar had been baptized during his illness by his pious Catholic nurse, and the pope considered him Catholic. Jewish leaders raised howls of protest. Sir Moses Montefiore had an audience with the pope, and the rulers of France and Austria pleaded with His Holiness, to no avail. Edgar Mortara was raised as a Jew-hating Catholic, and when he attained his majority had no wish to return to Judaism.

JEWISH POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The unhappy Damascus and Mortara affairs brought home to the Jews their political helplessness and led to the creation of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris (1860). It was founded by several prominent French Jewish leaders, including Charles Netter (1828–82) and Isaac-Adolphe Crémieux (Isaac Moïse, 1796–1880), who became its first president. The Alliance at once began to fight for the political rights of Jews in Switzerland, Romania, and elsewhere. But the Jews themselves were far from united. The Orthodox-Reform rift grew wider. In 1868 the Hungarian Jews held a congress that gave the leadership to the Liberal (Reform) group. The angry Orthodox Jews set up their own separate organization.

The French Jewish Alliance claimed to be “universal,” but its Austrian and British members felt like second-class citizens and broke away during the 1870s to form their own national Jewish groups. In 1871 the Anglo-Jewish Association was created in London, and in 1873 the Israelitische Allianz zu Wien was set up in Vienna. In 1870–71 Bismarck defeated France, unified Germany, created the Second Reich, and

made Berlin its capital. From 1871 to 1887 the *Kulturkampf* (cultural struggle) raged between German chancellor Otto von Bismarck's government and the Roman Catholic Church. In May 1873 the Prussian minister of church affairs and education, Paul Ludwig Adalbert Falk (1827–1900), clamped strict state controls on the Catholic Church, introduced mandatory civil marriage, undercut church influence in education, and enforced various disabilities on the Catholic clergy and laity. A grave economic crisis gripped Germany. In 1878 Bismarck changed course. He split with the National Liberal Party, the mainstay of the *Kulturkampf*, and improved Germany's relationship with the pope. Falk resigned in 1879, and in 1882 became president of the Prussian court of appeals at Hamm.

THE NEW "ANTI-SEMITISM"

During the 1870s Jew-hatred became widespread in Central Europe. An anti-Jewish German journalist named Otto Glogau, writing in the national German Catholic journal *Germania*, blamed the Jews for the sufferings of the German people. In 1878 the German imperial court preacher, Adolf Stöcker (1835–1909), founded the anti-Jewish German Christian Social Party, a precursor of Hitler's Nazis. It adopted a blatantly anti-Jewish platform. The new Jew-hatred was called "anti-Semitism" and was racist rather than religious, claiming scientific validity for its projective racist fantasies.

The euphemism *Anti-Semitism* for Jew-hatred was introduced in 1879 by a Jewish "apostate," the German "gutter journalist" Wilhelm Marr, who ascribed Germany's woes to its defeat in an imaginary struggle with Judaism (Marr 1879; Pawel 1989:75). The new word made Jew-hatred fashionable. It was quickly adopted by the German press and public. The eminent German historian Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–96) assailed the Jews for their refusal to assimilate into German culture. An emotionally disturbed university professor named Carl Eugen Dühring (1833–1921), fired from his post for his irascible, violent behavior, blamed the Jews for his dismissal and published hate literature against them (Dühring 1881).

Ben-Sasson (1976:870–75) ascribed the new anti-Semitism to social, political, and economic roots: "The power of the [evil] Jewish stereotype resulted from the fact that it combined the remnants of the mediaeval image of the 'evil Jew,' the images created under the impact of new ideological currents, and the fear aroused in the European town-dweller by the integration of the Jews into society and their steady advancement" (Ben-Sasson 1976:874). The deeper causes were unconscious. Once more painful inner feelings were projected upon the Jews.

JEWISH HISTORY AND JEWISH MEMORY

Jewish historiography seemingly made great progress in the nineteenth century. The work of scholars like Leopold Zunz, Abraham Geiger, Zacharias Fränkel, Moritz

Steinschneider, Marcus Jost, and, above all, Heinrich Graetz, created a veritable "new historiography." Yet some scholars think that this modern Jewish historiography destroyed the traditional processes of Jewish group memory. These processes involved unconscious fantasy, projection, denial, fusion of past and present, and the inability to mourn. Halbwachs (1950:68) thought that history began where tradition ended, when social memory died out. Yerushalmi (1982:86) thought that modern Jewish historiography involved "a sharp break in the continuity of Jewish living and hence also an ever-growing decay of Jewish group memory." He diagnosed the ailment as "a symptom of the unraveling of that common network of belief and praxis [*sic*] through whose mechanisms . . . the past was once made present." Yerushalmi (1982:95) believed that modern Jewish historiography was antithetical to traditional Jewish memory. "Nothing has replaced the coherence and meaning with which a powerful messianic faith once imbued both Jewish past and future." Roskies (1984:259) disagreed:

The shaping and preserving of group memory is precisely what Jewish writers, artists and intellectuals have been doing since the emancipation. Those who reviled the claims of [Jewish] history . . . did as much to revive the process of [Jewish] group memory as those writers who affirmed their place on the continuum. That the impact of neoclassicists and apocalyptists alike can now be felt only through a colossal act of retrieval is a measure not of their failure but of the break that finally did occur—the Holocaust—a break made greater by the conscious and unconscious desire of postwar Jews to trace their roots anywhere but to the devastated landscape of Eastern Europe.

We shall deal with the Holocaust at some length below. Now let us turn our attention to Russia, where the Jews were still living under medieval conditions.

THE JEWS UNDER CZAR NIKOLAI

Czar Nikolai Pavlovich (Nicholas I, 1796–1855), who succeeded his elder brother Aleksandr in 1825, pursued the forced Russification of the Jews with a vengeance. Czar Nikolai made his special contribution to Jewish misery with his Military Statute of 1827, which abolished the Jews' previous right to ransom their sons from the army and made imperial Russian military service mandatory for all male Jews. While ordinary Russians had to serve twenty-five years, from age eighteen to age forty-three, Jews had to serve from age twelve "so they could catch up with the military level of other Russians." The Jewish communities were held accountable for delivering their young members to the czar's army. New recruits for the czarist army were called *kantonisty*, because they had to attend *kantony*, military academies in faraway parts of Russia run by "brutal drill sergeants, generally of peasant stock" (Ben-Sasson 1976:814). Under Czar Nikolai's Military Statute, which the Jews called the "Cantonist Decree," these twelve-year-old Jewish boys were kidnapped from their parents as early as age eight or nine, taken to cantonist schools in Siberia or in eastern Russia,

tortured into converting to Christianity, and never seen again. In late 1827 Czar Nikolai expelled the Jews from additional provinces of Byelarus and the Ukraine.

The Russian Jews were badly traumatized. Many sought to avoid losing their teenage sons to the army by marrying them off to teenage girls. In 1835 another Russian imperial *ukaz* (decree) expelled the Jews from a fifty-verst (thirty-three-mile) strip along the western borders of Russia with Prussia and Austria. The Russian ambivalence toward the Jews, and toward "Mother Russia," was obvious here: on the one hand, the Jews were restricted to the Russian "borderlands" with Europe; on the other hand, they were banished from these very territories. Geographical borders unconsciously symbolize incest taboos and internal boundaries, as well as those of the group self (Falk 1974, 1983). The Russian ambivalence toward both the Jews and their own borders betrayed the Russians' inner struggle for the self, with the Jews unconsciously serving as targets of externalization and projection for the inner conflict within the Russians.

The harsh 1835 decree, called the "Statute of the Jews," excluded the Russian Jews from residence in many rural and urban areas of the Pale of Settlement, narrowing it down very considerably. It forced them to adopt "regular" (Russian) family names, and prohibited their marriage until age eighteen. A diplomatic and public outcry all over Western Europe forced the Russian government to desist from the actual expulsion, but the decree remained in force. In 1836 another edict, which may have been instigated by the "enlightened" Russian Jews against the "benighted" Hassidim, imposed Russian government censorship on all Hebrew books. The Russian government began to resettle 1,317 farm Jews in Siberia, but this program was stopped by Czar Nikolai in early 1837, and the Jews were forcibly transferred to Kherson province in the southern Ukraine, on the shores of the Black Sea, Lake Sivash, and the Sea of Azov.

Like the Ukraine, Byelarus was the scene of perennial struggle between Poland, Lithuania, and Russia. Byelarus was under Lithuanian and Polish-Lithuanian rule from the thirteenth century to the First Partition of Poland in 1772, which gave Vitebsk, Mogilyov (Mohilev) and Gomel (Hemel) to Russia. The Second Partition of Poland (1793) brought Minsk and central Byelarus into Russia as well. The Third Partition in 1795 brought the rest of Byelarus, including Vilnius and Grodno (Horodna), into Russia. Byelarus was a geographical but not a political entity. Minsk, Mogilyov, Vilnius, Grodno, and Vitebsk became new Russian provinces.

In 1812 there were heavy battles between Napoléon's forces and the Russian armies in Byelarus. As in medieval Europe, in 1816 there were cases of ritual-murder libels against Byelorussian Jews. One was in Grodno, a formerly Lithuanian and Polish river town. Another occurred in Volyzh, Vitebsk province. The ensuing investigations lasted many years. In 1826 Czar Nikolai ordered the closing down of the Volyzh synagogues. Only in 1834 were the Jews cleared of the ritual-murder charge. The 1827 Military Statute created Jewish informers who worked for the authorities and terrorized the Jewish communities. When two informers named Ochsmann and Schwarzmman were murdered in 1838, the Russian authorities severely punished the

Jewish communities. Like their medieval ancestors, the Jews of Russia were living in constant fear for their lives.

The Russian persecution of the Jews went on unabated. The Russian Orthodox Christians could not tolerate the Jews being different from them. From 1840 to 1844 the imperial Russian government, taking its cue from Germany and Austria, sought to "reform" (i.e., Russify and Christianize) the Jews. It did so not by granting the Jews equal rights with Russian Christians but by compulsory education, abolishing their system of self-rule, and discriminating against them so badly that they would be forced to convert to Christianity.

Russian Jew-hatred changed its names but not its ways. The Russian "Committee to Reform the Jews" became the "Committee to Determine Ways of Fundamental Reform of the Jews in Russia." In 1841 the committee decided to impose modern Russian education on the Jews. The imperial Russian minister of public education, Sergei Semyonovich Uvarov (1786–1855), and the imperial minister of home affairs, Pavel Aleksandrovich Stroganov, asked Max Lilienthal (1815–82), the young German-born principal of the new Jewish School at Riga, Livonia (now Latvia), to undertake this project. The official Russian records say that Lilienthal asked Uvarov to abolish all traditional Jewish education by *kheder* and *melamed* in Russia. Lilienthal later claimed that he had told Uvarov to ask Czar Nikolai to grant equal rights to the Jews, but the minister told him the Jews must first curry favor with the czar by acceding to the czar's plan to educate them.

In the winter of 1841–42 Lilienthal toured the Jewish Pale of Settlement in Lithuania, Byelarus, and the Ukraine to garner Jewish support for the Russian education plan. He encountered rejection, hostility and suspicion (Ben-Sasson 1976:817). Nevertheless, Lilienthal reported to Education Minister Uvarov that the plan was feasible. An imperial edict was issued placing all Jewish education under Russian Ministry of Education control, and Lilienthal was given charge of the new program. In 1843 Czar Nikolai once again expelled the Jews from the fifty-verst strip along Russia's western borders. A commission of two Orthodox rabbis and two Jewish laymen was summoned to Saint Petersburg to discuss the project with the authorities. The rabbis were the Hassidic leader Rabbi Menachem Mendel of Lubavitch (the *Lubavitcher rebbe*) and the Mithnaged (anti-Hassidic) leader Rabbi Yitzhak ben Khayim of Volozhyn. Both sought to preserve the traditional Jewish schools along with the proposed new ones.

In 1844 Czar Nikolai issued two orders, one open, the other confidential, concerning Jewish education. The open decree created new schools and rabbinical seminaries for the Jews run by both Christians and Jews, with incentives to attend them, such as a shorter military service. The secret imperial memo to the minister of public education specified that the old Jewish schools were gradually to be closed down. The aim was to make the Jews into regular Christian Russians. In 1845 the unhappy Max Lilienthal quit his post with the Russian government and emigrated to New York, where he became rabbi of the three German Jewish congregations. His long career ended in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1882.

The Russian government's attempts to Russify and Christianize the Jews by force were intensified. In late 1844 the Russian government abolished the institution of *kahal* (Jewish community government), the traditional form of self-rule for the Russian Jewish communities. Its powers were transferred to the imperial Russian police and local governments. The Jews still had to pay special taxes and serve in the czar's army. New meat taxes and candle taxes were imposed. In 1845 the infamous Classification Plan divided the Russian Jews into five categories, four "useful" and one "useless." The "useful" Jews included wealthy merchants, landed farmers, guild artisans, and permanent burghers (property owners and religious functionaries). The "useless" Jews were the "temporary" town-dwellers (wagoners, goldsmiths, apprentices, small traders, and poor people). They were to be expelled or otherwise harshly treated. Russian Jews had to secure official documents showing their category or face expulsion.

In 1843–45 Max Lilienthal corresponded with Western European Jewish leaders such as Ludwig Philippson and Abraham Geiger in Germany, Isaac-Adolphe Crémieux (Isaac Moïse) in France, and Sir Moses Haim Montefiore in England, seeking their support for the Russian reform of the Jews. Philippson's *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* praised the new Russian reforms. But after the Edict of Expulsion of 1843–44, the European Jewish leaders spoke out against the czarist persecution of the Russian Jews. Lilienthal emigrated in 1845. In 1846 Sir Moses Haim Montefiore, armed with a letter from Queen Victoria to Czar Nikolai, went to Russia, where he was able to persuade Czar Nikolai to rescind his Edict of Expulsion, but not the infamous Classification Plan.

In 1852–53 the Jews of Saratov on the Middle Volga, who lived outside the Pale of Settlement by special Russian police permit, were accused of the ritual murder of two Christian boys whose bodies had washed ashore mutilated and circumcised. Two of the arrested Jews killed themselves under torture. The case dragged on through the archaic Russian judicial system for fourteen years while three Jews—a *mohel* (ritual circumciser) named Schleifermann, a leather merchant named Yoshkevicher, and his "apostate" son—languished in jail. In 1860 the three were found guilty and condemned to hard labor; Schleifermann and the younger Yoshkevicher were physically unable to serve their sentence. Only in 1867, after an appeal by Crémieux, did Czar Aleksandr II pardon old Yoshkevicher, who had remained in prison. Only the tragic Crimean War of 1853–1856 and the death of Czar Nikolai in 1855 stopped his nefarious Classification Plan.

The Crimean War grew out of a dispute between Russia and Turkey over Russian demands to protect the Eastern Orthodox Ottoman subjects and a dispute between the Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches in Palestine. It was a great humiliation for Russia, which managed the war poorly and was defeated by the joint British, French, Ottoman, and Sardinian armies. It was the worst campaign in British military history, thanks to incompetent commanders (Dixon 1979:36–51). It was only Russia's greater backwardness that caused its defeat. For the Russian Jews, except for the halting of Czar Nikolai's outrageous Classification Plan, it was an unmitigated disaster. Those Jews who had no documents, or those who were tricked out of them, were

seized for military service. Hundreds of Russian Jewish soldiers died at Sevastopol on the Black Sea. In 1856 the Treaty of Paris finally brought peace to Russia.

FATHER CZAR RESCUES MOTHER RUSSIA

When Aleksandr Nikolayevich (Alexander II, 1818–81) succeeded his father Nikolai in 1855, at the height of the Crimean War, he was burning with zeal to reform and modernize his country. Unconsciously, Aleksandr was acting out an infantile rescue fantasy, in which a child imagines himself liberating his suffering mother from his oppressive father. His father Nikolai had oppressed Mother Russia; he, Aleksandr, would set her free. From 1855 to 1865 Czar Aleksandr enacted a series of economic, industrial, educational, social, and political reforms in Russia. He rebuilt Russia's transportation and communication lines. From 1855 to 1881 over twenty-two thousand kilometers of Russian railroad track were laid. This led to an upswing of the Russian economy. The Bavarian-born Belgian Jewish banker Baron Maurice de Hirsch (1831–96) helped finance the Russian railways.

In 1861 came the Russian Emancipation of the Serfs Act; tens of millions of Russian peasants gained their liberty and were given modest tracts of land to farm on their own. Russian industry prospered, and the railroads grew rapidly. On the other hand the emancipation of the serfs destroyed the economic base of many Russian landowners, as well as of their Jewish intermediaries and liquor concessionaires. Other Russian Jews became nouveaux riches by virtue of the industrialization. Czar Aleksandr, however well-intentioned, also restricted the freedom of the Jews. Like his father Nikolai, he imposed modern education on them, seeking to legislate the traditional Jewish education by *kheder* and *melamed* out of existence, and to Russify and Christianize the Jews.

The reforms turned Russian Poland into a hotbed of political agitation. From 1856 the Russian viceroy of Poland was Prince Mikhail Dmitriyevich Gorchakov (1793–1861), an officer and statesman who had played a major role in the Crimean War. Gorchakov inaugurated a policy of leniency and reform. Russian rule in Poland and elsewhere was relaxed, and freedom of speech and assembly was given to all Russian subjects. But the long-muzzled Poles erupted in nationalist anti-Russian fervor, patriotic demonstrations, and riots against Russian rule. Most Polish Jews sided with the Polish Christian rebels. Rabbi Dow Berusz Majzels of Kraków (Baer Meisels, 1800–1870), now the Orthodox chief rabbi of Warsaw, and Mordechai Markus Jastrow (1829–1903), preacher of a reform Warsaw Jewish congregation, marched in rebel demonstrations and funeral processions and were imprisoned for three months in 1861.

After Gorchakov's death that year, an autocratic pro-Russian Polish nobleman, Count Aleksander Wielopolski (1803–77), was made head of the Russian civil government in Poland. He too tried to institute liberal political reforms while upholding Polish submission to Russia. To quash the nationalist riots, Wielopolski sought to

press the revolutionary Polish youth into imperial Russian military service, which precipitated more riots. In January 1863 the Polish nationalists rose up against Russia, vainly counting on French and Austrian support. They were joined by Lithuanian and Catholic Ukrainian rebels. Many Polish Jews supported the revolt, while most Lithuanian Jews opposed it and paid with their lives for this opposition, being killed by Lithuanian nationalists. In April 1864 the revolt was crushed; many Polish nationalists were executed or deported. The Jews were forbidden to buy lands in the provinces of Vilnius and Kiev.

RUSSIA REGRESSES

The Russian liberal reforms lasted a while longer. In 1864 the antiquated Russian judicial system was overhauled along French lines, and Russian *zemstvo* (local government) was inaugurated. In 1865 Jewish residential rights were expanded; several old restrictions were abolished. Russian Jewish craftsmen and artisans were allowed to settle outside the Pale. But in 1866 the Russian Reaction (1866–80) set in. After the Polish revolt of 1863, Czar Aleksandr II feared losing his power and his territories to Polish rebels and to the Russian revolutionaries. An “apostate” Byelorussian Jew named Jakob Brafmann had met Czar Aleksandr in 1858 and persuaded the monarch that he had the key to the assimilation of the Russian Jews. Brafmann gained access to the Most Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, becoming the Hebrew teacher at the Minsk Russian Orthodox Seminary.

After the Polish insurrection of 1863, which many Polish Jews supported, when the Russian Reaction set in, Brafmann moved to Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital. In Vilnius, Brafmann “exposed” the Jewish exploitation of the Russian “Gentiles,” claiming publicly that the Jewish *kahal* (community government) was a secret instrument for fighting the Russian state and Russian Orthodox Church. Brafmann also claimed that the French Jewish Alliance Israélite Universelle was part of a universal Jewish *kahal* seeking world domination.

Brafmann may have read two obscure anti-Jewish literary works published in the 1860s: *Dialogue aux enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu* (A dialogue in hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu, 1864), a French political satire by Maurice Joly on Charles-Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte (1808–1873), who had made himself Emperor Napoléon III in 1852; and *Biarritz* (1868), a German novel by Hermann Goedsche. Brafmann’s misguided allegations anticipated a vicious forgery based on these two works published forty years later, called *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* (1905), concocted by the Okhranka (the Russian czar’s secret police). In the 1890s the Okhranka plagiarized Joly’s and Goedsche’s works to produce the infamous *Protocols*.

In 1869 the provincial Russian governor of Vilnius appointed a special commission to study Brafmann’s allegations. The Russian Council of State also considered the imaginary “Jewish peril” as if it were real. In 1870 the Russian authorities set out

to "destroy the communal cohesion of the Jews" (Margolis and Marx 1985:685). Czar Aleksandr II outlawed Hassidic dress and did not allow Jews to make up more than one third of local government. No Jew could be mayor of any town. In 1871 the Russian Council of State appointed a special Commission to Reform the State of the Jews. At Easter 1871 a pogrom broke out in Odessa in which Greek and Russian gangs pillaged the Jewish community. It took four days for the Russian authorities to catch and publicly flog the rioters.

Russian Jew-hatred grew during the 1870s. In 1874 a new Russian military statute made military service universal and obligatory for Jews, whose minimum height and chest measurements were set lower than the average recruit's. The new law made reporting for military service the personal responsibility of each Jew rather than that of the entire Jewish community, as before. In 1878 there was another ritual-murder libel case at the Russian Georgian town of Kutaisi. Ippolyt Lutostanski, a Roman Catholic convert to Greek Orthodoxy, had published a scurrilous pamphlet on the Jewish ritual use of Christian blood. He gave it to Czarevich Aleksandr Aleksandrovich (1845–94), the future Czar Aleksandr III, who gave Lutostansky an imperial award. The fraudulent tract served as a prosecution document in Kutaisi. Russia was becoming medieval. Luckily for the Jews, Daniel Khvolson (1819–1911), a Jewish convert to Russian Orthodoxy and a respected Orientalist in Saint Petersburg, helped defend the accused, who were eventually acquitted.

It was a time of Russian revolutionary activity, of conflict between the "father" czar and his young subject "sons" over Mother Russia. During the 1870s many young Russian Jews became social revolutionaries. They did not consider themselves part of the Jewish "people" or "nation," but Russians. The czar's police hunted down the Russian revolutionaries, regardless of religion. In 1876 a Jew named Aaron Liebermann, who had fled Vilnius in 1875 when the Russian police arrested Jewish revolutionaries, founded the Union of Jewish Socialists in London.

Despite a revival of Hebrew literature in Russia during the mid-nineteenth century and the publication of several new Hebrew-language periodicals and books, there was massive Jewish assimilation into Russian culture. In 1863 the Society for Spreading the Enlightenment Among the Jews of Russia was created in Saint Petersburg. It was led by influential and affluent Jews like the Baron Joseph Ginzburg (1812–78), his son Baron Horace Ginzburg (1833–1909), Leon Rosenthal, Daniel Khvolson, and the court physician Dr. J. Bertenson. Its Odessa chapter was very active in promoting Jewish education.

The new Hebrew literature and *haskalah* (enlightenment), however, were restricted to a small minority of Russian Jewish intellectuals. The masses of Russian Jews were poor and uneducated, spoke Yiddish, and eked out a miserable living in a land that did not want them. Many of them never heard of Michah Joseph Lebensohn (Michal), Abraham Mapu, Yehuda Leib Gordon (YLG or Yalag), Shalom Jacob Abramovich (Mendele Moycher Sfoyrin), Peretz Smolenskin, or Moses Leib Lilienblum (MLL or Malal), the heroes of the new Hebrew literature. They continued

to live in the towns and villages of the Pale of Settlement, however miserably, until some terrible events forced them to leave Russia.

NEW POGROMS

In 1881 a fresh catastrophe befell Russian Jewry. The bomb-throwing assassination of Russian czar Aleksandr II in March led to the trial and conviction of the leaders of *Narodnaya Volya* (The People's Will), a small group of young revolutionaries founded in 1879 by extremist members of *Zemlya i Volya* (Land and Freedom), the revolutionary Russian populist party. *Narodnaya Volya* was led by Andrei Ivanovich Zhelyabov (1851–81) and Sofia Perovskaya (d. 1881). It advocated violence and terror against the oppressive Russian state. Among the czar's assassins was a young Jewess named Khasia Gelfand (d. 1881), who was promptly hanged along with her fellow terrorists. Jew-hatred flared up again in Russia.

The new czar, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich (Alexander III, 1845–94), may not have mourned the loss of his father properly and may have had unconscious guilt feelings for having displaced his murdered father on the throne. Czar Aleksandr had been tutored by Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev (1827–1907), chief procurator of the Most Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church and a fanatical Jew-hater. Aleksandr treated Pobedonostsev as an adopted father. Czar Aleksandr dismissed all his liberal ministers and instituted rigid, autocratic, Orthodox, nationalist rule. The new czar appointed a new, reactionary government that encouraged the Russians to hate the "Jewish" terrorists who had killed their Great Father. Ben-Sasson (1976:882–83) explained the new Russian government's anti-Jewish policy as a conscious attempt to reconcile itself with its people at the expense of the Jews, diverting the people's anger. On a deeper level it was an attempt to rid itself of guilt feelings over the death of the previous czar, with massive unconscious splitting and projection.

In mid-April an enraged mob at Yelizavetgrad in the southern Ukraine (Kirovograd), a city with a Jewish population of fifteen thousand, erupted in an anti-Jewish pogrom that included the murder of Jews, the rape of their women, the looting of their property, and indiscriminate violence and destruction. Only ten days later did the Russian authorities, who had stood by, stop the massacre. The government-inspired massacres spread to Kiev, Odessa, and all of the Ukraine. Some scholars think a secret group of Russian courtiers known as the Holy Brotherhood was involved (Ben-Sasson 1976:881–82). In July 1881 there were fresh pogroms at Pereyaslav, Nizhyn, and other Ukrainian towns in Poltava province. Ironically, in August the *Narodnaya Volya*, which the Russians called "Jewish," called upon the Ukrainian peasants to "rise up against the Tsar of the *Pany* [noblemen] and the *Zhidy* [kikes]" (Ben-Sasson 1976:884).

The 1881 riots were inspired by three anti-Semitic Russian leaders: the arch-conservative, Slavophile minister of the interior, Count Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatyov

(1832–1908); his reactionary police chief, Vyacheslav Konstantinovich Plehve (1846–1904); and Pobyedonostsev. All three men hated the Jews and wanted to drive them out of Russia.

The Russian Jews were terrified. The call went out to leave Russia for America, which the Yiddish-speaking Jews called *die goldene medineh* (the golden country). Ten thousand poor Russian Jews gathered in Brody, Galicia, in October 1881, hoping to have their trip financed by the French Jewish Alliance Israélite Universelle. There were horrible scenes of famine and homelessness. At Christmastide 1881 there was a three-day riot in Warsaw (Russian Poland) in which dozens of Jews were killed. Jewish historians have compared the anti-Jewish riots of 1881 to some of the worst disasters of Jewish history: the Crusader massacres of 1096, the Black Death massacres of 1348, the Spanish riots of 1391, the Ukrainian Cossack massacres of 1648–49, the *haidemaky* riots of the 1730s and 1740s, and the Uman massacre of 1768.

Interior Minister Ignatyov issued new regulations curtailing the Russian Jews' residential and property-owning rights. He lasted only one year in office, being dismissed in May 1882 by Czar Aleksandr III after publicly proposing the restoration of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Russian *zemsky sobor* (assembly of the land), a council composed of church leaders, boyars, landowners, and freemen that the czar feared was intended to limit his own power. The *zemskie sobory* had been convened by the Russian czar to decide state issues. Ignatyov was replaced by Count Dmitri Andreyevich Tolstoy (1823–89), a reactionary former minister of education, who sought to undo the liberal reforms of the 1860s. He imposed strict censorship on the Russian press and appointed local noblemen as “land captains,” who appointed town elders, who in turn could arrest and fine peasants without trial. The anti-Jewish riots lasted through 1883–84.

In 1883 the ruthless Pyotr Nikolayevich Durnovo (1845–1915) was made chief of the Russian police in Count Tolstoy's Interior Ministry. Durnovo zealously hunted down and broke up the *Narodnaya Volya*. A “Supreme Commission for Revising Current Laws in the Empire Concerning the Jews” was created in Saint Petersburg. It was chaired by a sympathetic Count Pahlen, who favored easing the discriminatory restrictions on the Jews; he spent five years studying the conditions of the Russian Jews and preparing recommendations for cautious reforms, but the czar decided not to accept his recommendations. On the other hand, during Count Tolstoy's tenure as interior minister there was a letup in the pogroms. In May 1882 there was a pogrom in Rostov on the Don. During 1882–83 there were anti-Jewish riots in Yekaterinoslav and Novomoskovsk. In 1884 there was another riot in Nizhny Novgorod (now Gorky), outside the Pale of Settlement.

The Russian Jewish exodus to America began in 1881 and gained momentum in January 1882, when Count Ignatyov, still the Russian minister of the interior, opened up Russia's western border and encouraged the Jews to emigrate, threatening them with more pogroms if they didn't. Public protests in Great Britain and America were of no avail. At Easter time 1882 there was a terrible pogrom in the Ukrainian town of Balta, on the Kodyma River. Over one thousand Jewish homes and shops were burned

down. Forty Jews were killed or severely wounded, 170 Jews more lightly injured, and 15,000 Jews made homeless. Over 20 Jewish women were raped. Many were traumatized into madness.

The Russian Jewish leaders gathered at Saint Petersburg, resolving to stay in Russia and to petition the Russian government to defend the Jews. In response, the Russian government issued "Temporary Regulations" on 3 May 1882, "to protect the general population against Jewish exploitation." These regulations drastically abridged the civil and residential rights of the Jews. During the 1880s Jews without legal residence were deported from the major Russian cities. Anti-Semitism had become Russian state policy.

From 1882 to 1889 the pogroms abated (Ben-Sasson 1976:883). From 1882 to 1884 most Russian professional and educational institutions, from the army officer corps to the universities, imposed unofficial quotas on the number of Jews who could join them. In 1884 the Jewish Craft School in the Ukrainian city of Zhitomir, established in 1862, was closed down. In 1887 the Imperial Russian Education Ministry officially clamped the quota system on the Jews. In the Pale of Settlement, where the Jews constituted 30 to 80 percent of the population, no more than 10 percent of school enrollment could be Jewish. Outside the Pale only 5 percent could be Jews; in the major cities only 3 percent.

In 1888 Czar Aleksandr and his family were "miraculously" saved from a railroad accident on their way to the Ukrainian city of Kharkov. Pobyedonostsev and the Church saw this as a sign from God to stop the liberal reforms and go back to the old Orthodoxy. The czar drastically cut the power of *zemstvo* (local government) and instituted autocratic Orthodox nationalism. He was convinced that the evil Jews had crucified Jesus Christ. In 1891, when the czar moved from Saint Petersburg to Moscow, twenty thousand Jews were expelled from Moscow. In 1892 Jews were excluded from participation in local government. In 1893 the Crimean town of Yalta, the czar's vacation resort, was removed from the Pale and all its Jews were expelled.

Plehve remained in power all his life. He ran the police and held other key government posts until Czar Aleksandr III died in 1894 and was succeeded by his son Nikolai (Nicholas II, 1868–1918). Czar Nikolai, the last Russian emperor, made Plehve head of the Imperial Russian Chancellery. In 1899 Plehve was made acting minister and state secretary for the Grand Duchy of Finland, then under Russian rule. In 1902 he was made minister of the interior. Plehve actively obstructed the liberal reforms of Russian *zemstvo* and used every harsh means at his disposal to force the Finns, Armenians, Jews, and other minorities to become Russified. In 1903 he met with Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), the founder of Political Zionism, seeking to encourage the emigration of the Russian Jews (Falk 1993a).

Pobyedonostsev hated the Jews with a passion. He was an obsessional, childless, reserved, ascetic, lonely man, "one of Russia's most notorious reactionaries and Jew-baiters" (Pawel 1989:362). Czar Aleksandr III was "totally under the sway of his tutor, the reactionary Pobyedonostsev" (Ben-Sasson, 1976:881). Pobyedonostsev was known as the "grand inquisitor of Russia." He feared democracy and freedom.

Pobyedonostsev, unconsciously projecting his own feelings on all mankind, declared that man was by nature "weak, vicious, worthless and rebellious" and saw it as his holy task to tame that vile nature. Pobyedonostsev reportedly announced that one-third of the Russian Jews would leave Russia, one-third would die out, and one-third would convert to Christianity.

During the nineteenth century the city of Chisinau (Kishinev), the capital of Moldova, was part of the imperial Russian province of Bessarabia. Chisinau had a mixed Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian, and Jewish population and was part of the Jewish Pale of Settlement dating back to the late eighteenth century. Jew-hatred was endemic in Moldova. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century an emotionally unbalanced, Russianized Moldovan anti-Semite named Krushevan edited a government-subsidized newspaper entitled *Novoya Vremya* (New times). In 1897 Krushevan began publishing anti-Jewish articles in his paper, inflaming Christian feelings against the Jews.

In early 1903 the dead body of a Christian boy was found in a small town in Kherson province, the Ukraine, across the river from Moldova. The boy had been killed by his own disturbed family, yet Krushevan told the Moldovan Christians that the Jews had killed him for ritual purposes. Krushevan, Bessarabia's vice-governor, Ustrugov, and a high-ranking police officer from Saint Petersburg secretly plotted an anti-Jewish pogrom. They printed posters falsely declaring that the czar had issued a *ukaz* sanctioning a bloody retribution upon the Jews during the coming Easter holiday, which in Christian minds recalled the killing of Jesus Christ by the Jews. Anti-Jewish feeling ran very high.

On Easter Sunday 1903 the Christian rage against the Jews in Chisinau exploded in a bloody pogrom. On Easter Sunday and Monday, 19–20 April, some fifty Jewish men, women, and children were murdered, several hundred were wounded, and most Jewish shops and homes were burned. The atrocities committed by the emotionally disturbed and frenzied rioters were unprecedented. Men were tortured to death, eyes gouged, nails driven into people's skulls, babies hurled from high windows onto the pavement, bodies mutilated, and women raped, their breasts slashed. The unconscious rage that many people harbor against their early mothers was displaced to the hapless Jewesses. Several hundred Jews were severely wounded. Homes and shops were looted, synagogues desecrated. At first the Russian police did nothing to stop the massacre. Only on Monday evening did Interior Minister Plehve in Saint Petersburg order the police to halt the riots. The Russian Hebrew poet Khayim Nakhman Bialik (1873–1934) published a fiery lament on the massacre entitled *belr haHaregah* (In the city of slaughter).

These were violent revolutionary times in Russia. For forty years the imperial Russian government had been pursuing a policy of forced Russification of ethnic minorities such as Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Jews. The nationalism of the ethnic groups was suppressed. Political ideology often helps displace and rationalize violent personal emotions. Anticapitalist socialism, founded by Karl Marx in 1848,

kept growing in Russia. In 1898 the Russian Socialist and anticzarist forces founded the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (RSDWP) in Minsk, Byelarus.

Many Russian Jews were active in Russian revolutionary politics. The urban-minded RSDWP rejected the idea of *mir*, the idealized Russian rural peasant commune, as the basis of a new socialist society, and held that Russia had to develop a bourgeois society with an urban proletariat to achieve socialism. The czar's police soon arrested the party's leaders. In the summer of 1903 the party held a congress in Brussels and London. The *bolsheviky*, led by Lenin (Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, 1870–1924), wanted a party of disciplined professional revolutionaries. They fell out with the *mensheviky*, led by Martov (Yuli Osipovich Zederbaum, 1873–1923), a Russian Jewish revolutionary who had been a Bund activist in Vilnius. The *menshevik* Georgy Valentinovich Plekhanov (1856–1918) led the middle-of-the-roaders.

The RSDWP had several rivals. In 1901 the extremist Socialist Revolutionary Party was founded as an ideological heir to the nineteenth-century Narodniki (populists). It attracted the agrarian socialists and the peasants. The Socialist Revolutionary Party wished to socialize the land and to federalize the government. The fanatical Socialist Revolutionaries practiced political assassination and terror. In early 1904 a new radical-liberal party, Soyuz Osvobozhdeniya (Union of Liberation), was formed at Saint Petersburg. It sided with the Jews and blamed the czar's government for instigating the Chisinau riots. The writers Lev Niolayevich Tolstoy (Leo Tolstoi, 1828–1910) and Vladimir Galaktionovich Korolenko (1853–1921) bitterly denounced the imperial government. Count Tolstoy had undergone a severe personal emotional crisis that made him a revolutionary pacifist and anarchist (Troyat 1980). In 1901 he had been excommunicated by the Most Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church for his unorthodox revolutionary Christian anarchism. Having denounced both organized Christianity and the imperial Russian government, Tolstoy was now an enemy of both church and state.

The Chisinau riot's secret supporters, if not instigators, were none other than Plehve and Pobyedonostsev. The civilized Western world was shaken by the Chisinau riots. While the government-controlled Russian press published a false government statement blaming the riots on the Jews themselves, the *Times* of London published Plehve's secret letter to the Bessarabian governor anticipating the riot and ordering him not to use arms against the rioters. The Jews of Europe and America raised large sums of money to help the victims' families, and the European and American press carried horror stories from Chisinau. The young Jews of southern Russia and Lithuania formed self-defense groups. Many Lithuanian Jews emigrated to South Africa. Interior Minister Plehve banned all Jewish self-defense associations.

In August 1903 fresh anti-Jewish riots broke out in Homyel (Gomel), a major Byelorussian city with a large Jewish population. This time both the Zionist and Bundist Jews of Homyel had organized self-defense units and fought back. When a Christian rioter was killed, the furious Russian laborers went on a violent rampage into Jewish homes and synagogues. When the Jewish defenders fought back in Gomel's hippodrome,

the imperial Russian police fired upon the Jews. Several Jewish defenders were killed and wounded. The Russian governor of Mohilev (Mahilyov or Mogilyov) province blamed the Jews for spearheading the anticzarist revolutionary movement, thus bringing their troubles upon themselves. Absurdly, the Jews of Mohilev, 94 percent of the population, were accused of living off the Christian 6 percent. The irrationality of the charges betrayed the unconscious operation of projection and externalization in the accusers.

Another bloody pogrom took place in Zhitomir, the Ukraine, where Jew-hatred was virulent. The imperial Russian government's official inquiry into the Chisinau riots and the trials that followed were a judicial farce. The justice minister ordered the court to hold secret hearings. The secret trials took place in the fall of 1903. Minor rioters were tried, while the actual perpetrators and instigators were left untouched. The court was packed against the prosecution. A prominent Russian prosecutor, Karavchevsky, called the riots a Roman circus in which unarmed gladiators were thrown to the lions. The accused were given light sentences. The victims' claims were rejected. The following year (1904) Interior Minister Plehve was assassinated by a member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5 was a deep narcissistic injury for Russia. Imperial Russia had been pursuing an expansionist policy in the Far East, conquering territories and islands around the Pacific rim. From 1891 to 1903 Russia had built the Trans-Siberian railroad from Moscow to Vladivostok; its 5,786 miles of track spanned several time zones. The nation is an unconscious extension of the self. The "greater" Russia became, the greater Czar Nikolai felt, avoiding personal feelings of inadequacy. External war diverted his attention from internal conflict. The bones of contention with Japan were Korea and Manchuria, in northeastern China and Mongolia. Japan deeply resented the Russian conquests. They were a deep wound to its national narcissism and to its emperor, a divine being in the Shinto religion. Russia agreed to withdraw its troops from Manchuria but later reneged on its promise. The Japanese seethed with narcissistic rage.

In February 1904 the furious Japanese launched a surprise attack on Port Arthur (now Lüshun, Liaoning Province, China), which they took after many bloody battles (January 1905). Japan also won the Battle of Mukden (February–March 1905). Worse still for Russia, the Japanese admiral Togo Heihachiro destroyed the Russian fleet at the Battle of the Tsushima Straits (May 1905). Czar Nikolai II, beset by internal Russian revolutionary activity, sued for peace, and U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt personally brokered the peace talks at Portsmouth, New Hampshire (August–September 1905). The Russian envoy, Count Sergei Yulievich Witte (1849–1915), skillfully negotiated for Russia. Victorious Japan received the Liaodong Peninsula (Port Arthur), the South Manchurian Railroad, and half of Sakhalin Island, but Russia kept northern Manchuria. The Kurile Islands remained Japanese until World War II, when they reverted to the Soviet Union. In the 1990s, after the breakup on the Soviet Union, Russia considered returning them to Japan.

Even though many Russian Jews served in the imperial Russian army, some with distinction, the virulently racist, anti-Semitic Russian press accused the Jews of aiding and abetting the Japanese enemy to whom the Jews were said to be "racially related." From 1903 to 1905 alone some 125,000 Jews fled Russia for America, a figure rivaled only by the half-million Russian Jewish refugees to Israel in the late 1980s and early 1990s. A handful of Russian Jews went to Palestine. The anti-Jewish riots continued. On Sunday, 22 January 1905, came "Bloody Sunday," also known as "the Winter Palace Revolution." A large crowd of Russian workers led by Father Georgi Gapon marched in front of the czar's Winter Palace in Saint Petersburg protesting against the harsh government. The imperial troops fired upon the crowd. Hundreds of people were killed and injured.

The violent unrest in Russia continued unabated. In October 1905 there was a nationwide railroad strike and the first Council of Workers' Deputies was formed in Saint Petersburg. Foreign Minister Witte persuaded Czar Nikolai to grant his people limited rights, and the czar grudgingly issued the October Manifesto. Witte was made prime minister. Paranoid, extremist, and fanatical Russian right-wing groups such as the Black Hundreds agitated against the Jews. Bloody anti-Jewish riots broke out all over the Russian Jewish Pale of Settlement. Within twelve days in October 1905 no less than 810 Jews were killed in riots all over western and southern Russia, including the Ukraine, Byelarus, the Crimea, Poland, and Lithuania. In Odessa alone some three hundred Jews were massacred over a four-day period.

From 1905 to 1907 the Russian revolutionaries, including socialists and anarchists, became increasingly active, violent, and daring. Imperial Russia was a dangerous place. Street fighting, strikes, demonstrations, insurrections, and mutinies were commonplace. The ethnic minorities fought it out much like they did after the disintegration of the Soviet Union at the end of the century. In Poland, Latvia, Georgia, and the Ukraine there were violent anti-Russian riots. In Azerbaijan there were anti-Armenian riots. Everywhere in Russia there were anti-Jewish riots. Violent left-wing and right-wing armed bands roamed the streets. The right-wing Russian "Black Hundred" bands were forerunners of Benito Mussolini's *fascisti* and Adolf Hitler's Nazis. The more militant Russian Jewish leaders created Jewish self-defense associations. Among the Russian Jewish leaders involved in setting up these Jewish self-defense associations were Vladimir Zhabotinsky (Jabotinsky, 1880–1940) and Joseph Trumpeldor (1880–1920), both of whom became Zionists, immigrated to Palestine, and became active in the armed struggle of the Palestinian Jews against the Arabs.

Personal freedom and civil rights in Russia waned. In 1905 Czar Nikolai II, still afraid to lose control of his people, agreed to the creation of the first Gosudarstvennaya Duma (elected state legislature), which was short-lived (May–July 1906). In mid-1906 Pyotr Arkadyevich Stolypin (1862–1911), a conservative former governor of Grodno and Saratov provinces, was appointed Russian minister of the interior and president of the Council of Ministers. Stolypin dissolved the Duma, initiating his own agrarian reforms by ukase to improve the lot of the Russian peasants. At the

same time the dictatorial Stolypin instituted a system of courts-martial to try rebels, terrorists, and revolutionaries. Several thousand Russian revolutionaries were executed with a special noose called "Stolypin's necktie."

The second Gosudarstvennaya Duma (March–June 1907) was as brief as the first. Stolypin once again dissolved the legislature and ruled by decree when it refused to endorse his policies. Like Plehve before him, he sought to force the Russification of the ethnic minorities. To restore international credit to Russia, Stolypin had his Council of Ministers pass resolutions reversing the official Russian anti-Jewish policy; Czar Nikolai II refused to sign them into law. The third Gosudarstvennaya Duma cooperated with Stolypin and lasted five years (1907–12).

In 1911 a conference of Russian nobles called for the expulsion of the Jews from Russia. Prime Minister Stolypin was assassinated. The medieval ritual-murder libel was revived in the Russian Ukraine. Menakhem Mendel Beilis (1873–1934), a Kiev Jewish laborer, was accused of having killed a Christian child to use its blood to make Passover bread. His show trial lasted two years (1911–13) before he was acquitted. Jewish emigration from Russia, which had begun in 1881, intensified. By 1914, nearly three million Jews had left Russia. For the Russian Jews, too, things went from bad to worse. Russian Jew-hatred was endemic, and many blamed the Jews for the unrest. Many Jews joined the Russian revolutionaries in the hope of toppling the czar, which only increased the imperial government's anti-Jewish activities.

Mass Russian Jewish emigration to America continued. Some forty thousand Jews went to Palestine on the First Aliyah (1905–14), but there was a great turnover among them. On 28 June 1914 Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1863–1914) was assassinated by a nationalist Bosnian Serb student named Gavrilo Princip (1894–1918) at Sarajevo, Bosnia. In August the Great War broke out. Austria declared war on Serbia, Russia allied "herself" with her Slavic "sister" Serbia, Germany with her Germanic "sister" Austria. Ottoman Turkey joined Germany, while Great Britain and France made war on Germany and Turkey. The Russian authorities suspected the Jews of the Pale of Settlement they had created in the Russian west and south of sympathizing, if not collaborating, with the German and Austrian enemy. They began expelling Jews from Galicia and Bucovina (now in the Ukraine, Moldova, and Romania). Jewish hostages were taken to ensure the allegiance of the Russian Jewish community. Gavrilo Princip died a prisoner at Theresienstadt (Terezin) a few months before the end of the war.

The Great War of 1914–1918 killed some eight million people, wreaking havoc upon the Russian and European Jews. The old multinational empires of Habsburg Austria and Ottoman Turkey broke up into "independent" nation states. Millions of people became refugees. Many others were forced to migrate, uprooting themselves from their native lands and cultures. After the war, nationalist persecution of ethnic minorities broke out in Poland, Romania, Moldova, Hungary, and the Ukraine. One of the worst massacres of the Ukrainian Jews was led by Semyon Vasilyevich Petlyura (1879–1926), leader of the Ukrainian struggle for independence from Russia during and after the Russian Revolution of 1917.

No country is truly independent: all countries depend on one another for commerce, fuel, communications, finances, and so on. Nonetheless, in June 1917 the nationalist Ukrainian leadership proclaimed a "free" Ukraine and Petlyura was made its minister of war. The Germans invaded, occupied the Ukraine, and set up a puppet government. When the war ended in 1918, the Germans withdrew. On 3 January 1919 Petlyura became ataman of the Ukrainian army.

The Ukrainian Jews were accused of treacherous Bolshevik and pro-Russian sympathies. Ukrainian and *haidamaky* bands rioted in Volhynia, massacring Jewish men and raping Jewish women. The atrocities multiplied when the Bolshevik "Red" and anti-Bolshevik "White" Russian armies fought it out in the Ukraine. During the second half of 1919 General Anton Ivanovich Denikin (1872–1947) led his White Armies into the Ukraine, "spelling death for Jews everywhere" (Ben-Sasson 1976:954). The Red Army prevailed, and in 1919 the new Soviet government occupied and annexed the Ukraine to the new Soviet Union. It was only after the breakup of the Soviet Union that the Ukraine once again became "independent."

Reversing Khmelnitsky's desperate ploy of 1654, Petlyura allied the Ukraine with Poland against Russia. The Polish armies of Marshal Józef Pilsudski fought the Soviet armies in the Ukraine. Petlyura's men roamed the Ukrainian countryside, killing thousands of Jews. The riots were worse than the prewar pogroms. From 1917 to 1921 some 60,000 to 75,000 Jews were brutally killed in the Ukraine, and many more were wounded, both physically and emotionally. Thousands of Jewish women were raped and masses of Jews lost their homes. The invading Soviet armies were opposed to the killings, and hunted down the gangs of Ukrainian murderers and robbers. In 1921 Poland signed the Treaty of Riga with Russia, in which Ukrainian independence was given up. Petlyura fled to Warsaw, and after a few months set up a Ukrainian government in exile in Paris.

45

The Golden Land

The history of the Jews in America begins in Russia and the Balkans. During the 1860s and 1870s there were major political changes in the Balkans. The European powers freed Dacia and Wallachia (now in Romania), Moldova, Serbia, and Bulgaria from Ottoman rule, making them "independent under Ottoman suzerainty." The Treaty of Paris (1856) and the Convention of Paris (1858), which created Romania, vaguely pledged equal civil rights to its non-Christian population. The new Romania, which had been under Ottoman rule for centuries, was created in 1859 by the union of Dacia, Wallachia, and Moldova. Alexandru Ion Cuza (1820–73), scion of an old noble Wallachian family, became the first prince of Romania. In 1861 Romania proclaimed its unity and independence.

Moldova had a Jewish population since the sixteenth century, possibly earlier. There were Jews in Wallachia since the mid-seventeenth century. The Jewish population grew during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries by immigration from Poland, Russia, Turkey, and Germany. There were about two hundred thousand Romanian Jews in 1861. Prince Cuza sought to grant them equal civil rights, but pushed his reforms autocratically, alienating the boyars (nobles) and the clergy, and was forced to abdicate (1866). A secret committee led by the future prime ministers Ion Ghica (1816–97), Ion Constantin Bratianu (1821–91), Lascar Catargiu (1823–99), and Dimitrie Alexandru Sturdza (1833–1914) had plotted Cuza's overthrow and the election by plebiscite of the young Prussian prince Carl Eitel Friedrich von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1839–1914), a cousin of Emperor Napoléon III of France. The Prussian prince became Prince Carol of Romania.

Some historians inaccurately call the Romanian government of 1866–71 "the Bratianu government." Actually, during those first five years of Prince Carol's reign, the Romanian government changed no less than ten times. Bratianu led the Romanian Liberal Party. Prince Carol at first made Bratianu finance minister, while the Conservative leader Catargiu and the nobleman and former revolutionary Ghica alternated as prime minister. In early 1867 the power-hungry Bratianu became prime minister of Romania. The younger Prince Carol and the older, autocratic Bratianu had an ambivalent father-son relationship, with many ups and downs.

The new Romania was heavily influenced by France. Modeling it on the French one, Bratianu designed the liberal Romanian constitution of 1866, which the Romanian

National Assembly met to frame, granting all Romanians equal civil rights. When the Jewish leaders Crémieux and Montefiore visited Bucharest in 1866–67, the Romanian government promised them to stop the persecution of the Jews. It never kept its word. Romania was in great political turmoil, almost civil war, between Bratianu's Liberals and Catargiu's Conservative nobles, merchants, and industrialists. The Romanian masses unconsciously needed the Jews as "foreigners" upon whom all evil could be projected. Violent demonstrations by frenzied Jew-baiting mobs that raided the assembly and dispersed its members forced the government to change course and persecute the Jews again.

Indeed, when it came to the Jews, the "liberal" Bratianu government was quite reactionary. It granted citizenship and civil rights to Romanian Christians only; Jews were formally declared "foreigners," expelled from the Romanian villages, and deported to Turkey; some were drowned in the Danube River. This led to formal protests by the European powers, which forced the Bratianu government to resign (1868). The following year (1869) Prince Carol married the German princess Elisabeth von Wied (Carmen Sylva, 1843–1916), who wrote poetry in German, French, and Romanian. During the Franco-German war of 1870–71 the Romanians sided with France and the German-born Carol was unpopular. The queen's poetry did not stop the massacres. There were savage pogroms against the Jews in 1868 and again in 1871–72, during Catargiu's tenure as premier (1871–76). The European powers protested and the United States of America called upon the signatories of the Paris Convention to intervene on behalf of the Romanian Jews. The U.S. consul in Bucharest, Benjamin F. Peixotto (1834–90), was also a Jewish leader of the Bnai Brith.

During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 an abortive anti-German coup d'état (probably engineered by Bratianu) almost forced Prince Carol to abdicate. Bratianu himself fell from favor and was replaced by Catargiu. After the Romanian pogroms of 1871–72, the Alliance Israélite Universelle called a world meeting of Jewish leaders in Brussels, chaired by Crémieux, to combat the persecution of the Jews by the Romanian government. At the request of the United States, Ottoman Sultan Abdülaziz (1830–76), the "suzerain" of Romania, warned the Romanian government he would use force to restore order. The riots stopped temporarily. In 1876 Catargiu himself fell from power. Prince Carol restored Bratianu to favor and made him prime minister. The narcissistically enraged Catargiu led his opposition Conservatives in violent attacks on the ruling Liberals. Bratianu was prime minister of Romania from 1876 to 1888 (except for a brief interval in 1881), with near-dictatorial powers. His Liberals were mostly middle-class and Francophile, and wished to dominate the Jews.

Imperial Russia had been fighting Ottoman Turkey on and off since 1676. The last Russo-Turkish War (1877–78), in which Romania fought on Russia's side, gave Prince Carol an opportunity to prove his military leadership. It also gave Romania the opportunity to persecute the Jews again. The Russo-Turkish War led to the humiliating Treaty of San Stefano (March 1878) that the victorious Russians imposed on the defeated Ottomans. To satisfy Britain and Austria, Count Gyula Andrassy (1823–90), the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, called the Congress of Berlin (June-July 1878),

which was dominated by Germany. It humiliated Russia and failed to satisfy the aspirations of the Balkan peoples. Old people determined the fate of Europe at Berlin. German *Reichskanzler* Otto von Bismarck (1815–98) represented Germany, British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81) spoke for Great Britain, French foreign minister William Henry Waddington (1826–94), the son of an English manufacturer who immigrated to France, was the French delegate, and Prince Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Gorchakov (1798–1883), the Russian imperial chancellor, spoke for Russia.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle sent a three-man delegation (Netter, Veneziani and Zadoc Kahn) to the Congress of Berlin. They lobbied the delegates of the great powers to intervene on behalf of the Romanian Jews. As a result of this lobbying, French foreign minister Waddington moved that the European powers' recognition of the newly created Balkan states (Romania, Serbia, and Bulgaria) be made contingent on their granting equal civil rights to all their citizens. Germany's Otto von Bismarck supported this egalitarian motion, as did the Ottoman, Bulgarian, and Serbian delegates. Even the Romanian delegate did not openly defy it. But the Russian delegate, Chancellor Gorchakov, opposed the motion. Gorchakov argued that the Jews of Russia were nothing like those of England or France and that the backwardness of the Russian Jews forced his government to restrict their freedom. Bismarck argued that it was precisely the abridgment of the Jews' civil and political rights that made them so "backward," but Chancellor Gorchakov was adamant. Nonetheless the egalitarian motion was adopted as Article 44 of the Treaty of Berlin (July 1878). When Romania ignored it, the European powers withheld recognition.

The Treaty of Berlin nonetheless made Romania "fully independent." From 1879 to 1888 Bratianu's government imposed all manner of discrimination, violent persecution, and hardship on the Romanian Jews. Many Romanian Jews, like their Russian brethren, emigrated to America. A handful emigrated to Ottoman Palestine. In 1881, after Czar Aleksandr II was assassinated, Bratianu's "Liberal" government feared revolution in Romania. It proclaimed Romania a kingdom, and Prince Carol was elected King Carol (Charles I) of Romania. The autocratic, corrupt Bratianu government was briefly out of office that year, but Bratianu made a quick comeback.

During the 1880s and 1890s the Romanian government enacted many new laws and regulations restricting Jewish educational, occupational, and residential freedom, and violent pogroms killed many Jews in Romania's cities. The Romanian Jews, who had no citizenship and no civil rights, were drafted into the Romanian army. Dimitrie Alexandru Sturdza, the scion of a great boyar family who had served on the secret committee that deposed Prince Cuza, was foreign minister under Bratianu. In 1883 he signed a secret treaty allying Romania with Germany and Austria.

An army scandal forced the aging Bratianu to resign in 1888; he was succeeded by other anti-Semitic leaders. In 1892, a year after Bratianu died, Sturdza became the leader of the Romanian Liberal Party. In 1895 Sturdza became prime minister, serving, with some interruptions, until 1909. In 1895 the Romanian Anti-Semitic Society was created. Its bylaws called for its members to use every means to get the Jews to

leave Romania. Many high Romanian officials joined this society. In 1899–1900 there were bad harvests in Romania and famine hit the land. As with the plague in 1348–49, the Jews were blamed for it. A pogrom at Iasi caused a wave of Jewish refugees to flee Romania. Some managed to immigrate to Austria, England, and America. Many were turned back and forced to return “home” to Romania.

IMMIGRATION FANTASIES

Such was the state of the Russian and Romanian Jews in 1881–1914. Discriminated against, used, exploited, persecuted, and the victims of paranoid violence, they increasingly sought to leave their bad motherlands for the good motherland of their fantasies—America. Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe, mainly Russia, Romania, and Austrian Galicia (now the Ukraine), during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth was unprecedented. From 1881 to 1914, nearly three million Russian Jews left Russia, mostly for the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, South Africa, and Latin America. Some four hundred thousand Jews from Eastern Europe came to the U.S. from 1881 to 1890 alone, roughly 10 percent of the total U.S. immigration figure. Most of them settled in the big cities of the northeast. In 1887 the western U.S. plains were hit by a cattle-killing blizzard, followed by a summer drought. Farm prices fell and a ten-year crisis ensued. In 1893 the U.S. gold reserves fell under \$100 million, and panic buying of gold led to widespread economic depression.

From 1891 to 1893 the U.S. government, alarmed by the flood of poor Russian Jewish refugees, and under the pressure of millions of unemployed Americans, enacted legislation to limit their numbers. Many were turned back at Ellis Island under medical pretexts. Nonetheless another 250,000 Jews arrived from Eastern Europe in 1891–92 alone. In 1893–1900 the United States admitted only 30,000 Russian Jews each year, along with another 30,000 Romanian and Austrian Galician Jews. By 1900 there were 1.5 million Jews in America, and by 1914 there were roughly 2.5 million U.S. Jews, compared with 100,000 in Argentina, 85,000 in Palestine, 75,000 in Canada, 50,000 in South Africa and 20,000 in Australia (Ben-Sasson 1976:863).

Most of the Russian Jewish immigrants to America were poor and uneducated. Some had only the traditional Yiddish and Hebrew education. Many Jews worked in New York City's sweatshops for paltry wages and lived in crowded Lower East Side tenements; some of the girls became prostitutes. Yet they idealized America as the golden country. Unconsciously, they longed for a Great Good Mother who would receive them with open arms. Meanwhile, the Jewish immigrants to Ottoman Palestine idealized it as the biblical Land of Israel. Their fantasies of that land were a far cry from the backward country they migrated to. Disappointment was natural. Not surprisingly, there was a 90 percent turnover rate among the Jewish immigrants to Ottoman Palestine, whose harsh reality never matched their fantasies and expectations.

THE JEWS ARRIVE IN AMERICA

Immigrants to the New World imagined a great, bountiful motherland—El Dorado, the golden one. The name “America” had maternal connotations (Stein and Niederland 1989:82–96). Some Spanish Jews had settled in Nueva España (New Spain, now the southwestern United States, Mexico, and Central America) soon after their expulsion from Spain and the discovery of “America” by Columbus. A few others arrived during the intervening centuries. But the Spanish Inquisition soon caught up with the “heretical” Spanish Jews, who were persecuted, tortured, and executed. Jewish communities were destroyed, and Jewish settlement in “New Spain” was halted. The Portuguese rulers of Brazil similarly persecuted their Jews, who fled Pernambuco (Recife in northeastern Brazil) after the Portuguese conquest. From 1624 to 1654 the Dutch ruled Brazil, and the Jews once more settled there.

The first Jews to reach the “American” Dutch colony of Nieuwe Nederland (New Netherlands) came in 1654, when the Dutch-British war wound down and the Portuguese had defeated the Dutch in Brazil. They were Dutch Jews of Iberian descent. Jacob bar Simson arrived from the Netherlands in August. In September 1654 a group of twenty-three Dutch Jews arrived in Nieuwe Amsterdam after many trials and tribulations at sea. They had fled Pernambuco in northeastern Brazil after its recapture from the Dutch by the Portuguese. Their Dutch vessel had been seized by Spanish pirates, but a French battleship, the *Saint Charles*, had rescued them and brought them to Nieuwe Amsterdam.

Like other people with a “bad self” problem, Nieuwe Nederland governor Petrus Stuyvesant (1592–1672) was a racist who feared and hated the Jewish newcomers. He externalized all aspects of his own bad self onto the Jews and dehumanized them. In early 1655 Stuyvesant addressed the board of the West India Company and argued against admitting the Jewish settlers, the “hateful enemies and blasphemers of the name of Christ.” But the West Indian Company, under pressure from its wealthy Jewish board members in Amsterdam, voted to admit the Jews, provided “that the poor among them should not become a burden to the Company or to the Community, but be supported by their own nation” (Margolis and Marx 1985:603). Stuyvesant was stymied in his hateful efforts.

During the second half of the seventeenth century the handful of Jews in North America made some progress. In 1655 the first Jewish congregation in Nieuwe Amsterdam was founded. Christian anti-Semitism had crossed the ocean from Europe. A Jewish physician named Jacob John Lumbrozo was tried and convicted in Maryland for denying the divinity of Jesus Christ (1656); he was set free only after Richard Cromwell (1626–1712), Oliver Cromwell’s son, became lord protector of England (1658). In 1664 the Dutch-British War resumed off the coast of Africa, spreading to Europe and North America. A British fleet sent by the Duke of York sailed into the Nieuwe Amsterdam harbor. Stuyvesant wished to defend his territory, but the Dutch burghers, who hated their governor, refused to fight for him, and the crushed Stuyvesant surrendered without a fight. The British took Nieuwe Amsterdam, changing both its

name and that of the entire colony to "New York." In 1673 the Dutch once more seized New York, this time renaming it *Nieuwe Oranje* (New Orange), but in 1674 the city reverted to British rule and to its previous name.

After the British took over *Nieuwe Amsterdam* in 1664, Jewish settlement sharply increased. Both the Puritan settlers of New England, who idealized the "Children of Israel," and the rulers of Great Britain, who sought to attract skillful traders, encouraged Jewish settlement in the North American colonies. In 1658 Jews settled in Newport, Rhode Island, where religious liberty was promised by Roger Williams to any settlers who obeyed the laws of His Britannic Majesty. During the eighteenth century the Newport Jewish community was augmented by arrivals of Ashkenazi Jews from central Europe. In 1763 a Jewish synagogue opened in Newport.

American Jewish historians proudly enumerate the Jews who distinguished themselves in American colonial affairs. They tell us, for example, that the earl of Bellomont, the late-seventeenth-century colonial governor of New York who sent the pirate Captain William Kidd (1645–1701) to the gallows, commended a Jew named Jacob Bueno for his assistance in colonial finance. Another New York Jew named Jacob Franks was the fiscal agent of the British king for the northern colonies. He and his son David Franks of Philadelphia (1720–93) supplied the British forces during the French and Indian War (1754–63), which ended with bitter French defeat and British control of North America.

A Jew named Hayman Levy, the American Jewish historians proudly tell us, owned a privateer that fought on the American side and preyed on British naval vessels in the American Revolutionary War (1775–83). Another, Aaron Lopez of Newport, was praised by Ezra Stiles, the future president of Yale College. Yet another, Hayim Isaac Carregal, came to Newport all the way from Hebron, Ottoman Palestine, in 1773 and preached to its Jews. An "apostate Jew or fashionable Christian proselyte," Isaac Miranda of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, became a judge in the British court of the vice-admiralty (Margolis and Marx 1985:605–6). This detailed enumeration seems psychologically defensive. The number of Jews in colonial America was very small and their contributions hardly earthshaking.

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries some Jews settled in British American colonies, such as Pennsylvania, that granted "freedom of conscience" to their settlers. In 1740 a Jewish congregation was set up in Philadelphia. During the first part of the eighteenth century there was a great deal of anti-Jewish discrimination in the North American colonies. Jews could not become citizens of the colony of New York, which required the taking of an oath "upon the true faith of a Christian," until 1727, when the oath requirement was repealed. New England was no different. Judah Monis became a Hebrew instructor at Harvard University in 1722 only after embracing Christianity. In 1735 Monis published the first American Hebrew grammar.

In 1730 the first public Jewish synagogue opened in New York, with Rabbi Moses Lopez de Fonseca as "minister." In 1733 forty wealthy Jews from London settled in Savannah, Georgia, after its colonial founder, James Edward Oglethorpe (1696–1785), "befriended them" (Margolis and Marx 1985:604). But in 1741, for obscure reasons,

most of these Jews moved to Charleston, South Carolina. In 1737 the New York Assembly barred Jews from voting, and other discriminatory restrictions were imposed. It was only after the American Revolutionary War and the enactment of the Constitution that most of these discriminatory laws were repealed. By the time of the Revolutionary War Jews had settled in all thirteen colonies, but they were very few in number.

Jews fought on both sides of the Revolutionary War. Robert Morris (1734–1806), George Washington's treasurer, borrowed over \$200,000 without any security or collateral from the Polish-American Jewish financier Haym Salomon (1740–85), who also made large private interest-free loans to James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and James Monroe. The U.S. government owed Salomon a total of over \$600,000, a vast amount of money at that time, which it never paid back. Salomon's descendants were unable to collect a penny. A friend of the Polish freedom fighters Tadeusz Kosciuszko (Andrzej Bonawentura, 1746–1817) and Kazimierz Pulaski (1747–79), who came to fight for America, Salomon had fled Poland when it was first partitioned in 1772, being wanted by the new Russian rulers for his revolutionary activities. He had come to America, and did very well in business as a commission merchant. Salomon was twice arrested by the British (1776 and 1778) but escaped to Philadelphia, where he worked for the French and American governments.

Philadelphia became a Jewish population center during the Revolutionary War. When the British took New York and Southern cities from the "rebels" (1776) many "patriotic" American Jews fled to Philadelphia, where Rabbi Gershom Mendes Seixas of New York (1745–1816) led the Jewish congregation. After the Revolutionary War, in 1783, Seixas returned to his New York congregation of Shearith Israel (the Remnant of Israel). In 1787 he became a trustee of Columbia College, the former King's College of New York.

The U.S. Constitution theoretically gave equal civil rights to every citizen for the first time in history. In practice the Jews' civil rights were abridged. Nonetheless the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century saw an expansion of Jewish settlement in North America. The numbers of American Jews were still negligible, however, compared with the millions of English, Irish, German, Polish, Italian, Chinese, and other immigrants. By 1800 there were only twenty-five hundred Jews in the United States, out of a total U.S. population of 7.5 million (Grayzel 1969:616).

One of the prominent nineteenth-century American Jewish personalities was Judah Touro (1775–1854), son of Isaac Touro, the Spanish Jewish cantor in Newport, Rhode Island, and his wife Reyna Hays. Judah Touro suffered many early losses. He first lost his hometown and his father. Isaac Touro was a British loyalist in the Revolutionary War. When the British lost, the Touro family fled Newport for New York (1776), then to Jamaica in the British West Indies (1782), where the father died (1783). Reyna Hays Touro went back to New England with her four orphan children, taking up residence with her rich brother Moses Michael Hays in Boston.

Touro myth has it that Hays's daughter fell in love with her teenage cousin and wished to marry him, but her father refused to consent. In 1801 Judah Touro left Boston for New Orleans, then a small French river town under Spanish rule, which

had just been secretly returned to France. In 1803 France sold the western half of the Mississippi River basin to the United States at less than 3 cents per acre in the famous Louisiana Purchase, which doubled the size of the United States. Touro prospered in the newly acquired territory.

Great Britain still fought its former colonies. The War of 1812 formally ended on 24 December 1814 with the Treaty of Ghent, but news of it had to cross the Atlantic Ocean by sailboat. On 8 January 1815, the American and British forces at New Orleans, unaware of the signing of the peace treaty, fought the Battle of New Orleans, which the U.S. won. Touro, who had lost his pro-British father as a child, was now a civilian volunteer in the U.S. Army, fighting against the British; he was severely wounded. His life was saved by a Virginian named Rezin Shepherd, who became his closest friend. Touro's sexual organs were crippled, he was left with a limp, and he suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder. The unhappy Touro lost interest in the political and social life of New Orleans. He took no interest in Jewish affairs. He was described by contemporaries as "reticent, shy and peculiar." Touro made his fortune as a commission merchant, by patient and prudent investments, and through great frugality. He did very well, becoming one of the richest men in America. It was rumored that Touro had made some of his money in the slavery and prostitution trade. Touro never married. Only in 1839–40 did a Dutch Jew named Gershom Kursheedt talk Touro into buying up an old Episcopal church and converting it into a Jewish synagogue. Touro's will left some of his money to his friend Rezin Shepherd and most of it to religious and charitable institutions in Newport, New Orleans, Boston, Jerusalem, and other cities. The Touro Hospital in New Orleans is well-known and the Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, is a U.S. national monument.

While Touro was more or less realistic, his contemporary Jewish leader, Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785–1851), acted out grandiose fantasies on a large scale. Born in Philadelphia, thirsting for power as an antidote to his deep feelings of helplessness, Noah went into politics early. In 1813 he was appointed by President Madison the American consul to Tunis, where the Berber pirates of North Africa were kidnapping seafarers for ransom. Noah recklessly spent vast sums of U.S. money to ransom captured Americans. He was dismissed. Noah settled in New York City, becoming active in Tammany Hall, the corrupt executive committee of the Democratic Party whose bosses controlled their constituents through patronage. He was made sheriff and surveyor of the Port of New York. Noah also edited a newspaper called the *Enquirer* and wrote "thrilling, melodramatic" plays about "villains and fair damsels who had to be rescued" (Grayzel 1969:618).

In 1825 Mordecai Noah experienced delusions of grandeur. He bought Grand Island in the Niagara River, near Niagara Falls in upstate New York, proclaiming himself a judge in Israel and Grand Island the Jewish colony of Ararat, the biblical mountain upon which Noah's ark came to rest after the Flood. He invited the Jews of the entire world to settle there. Adopting the fantasy of the seventeenth-century Amsterdam rabbi Manasseh ben Israel that the South American Indians were the ten lost tribes of Israel, Noah extended it to the North American Indians and called upon

them to join him, too. He was ridiculed by some and ignored by others. In 1844 Noah published a *Discourse on the Restoration of the Jews*, pleading with the Christians to help the Jews resettle in Palestine.

Uriah P. Levy (1792–1862) was another colorful American Jew; his “checkered career” included brawls, mutinies, duels, and courts-martial. Levy became “one of the highest-ranking American naval officers” (Grayzel 1969:619) but we are not told his rank. Levy bought Monticello, Thomas Jefferson’s home in Charlottesville, Virginia, which his heirs later sold to the United States Government. Levy’s Jewishness was insignificant in his career, yet Jewish historians proudly chronicle his exploits.

The most important development in mid-nineteenth-century American Jewish history was the arrival of large numbers of German-speaking Central European Jews. These new immigrants threatened the Spanish-Jewish domination of the American Jewish scene. Many of them were Liberal (Reform) Jews, which threatened American Spanish-Jewish Orthodoxy. Isaac Leeser (1806–68), one of the more prominent German Jewish immigrants, was active as a preacher, translator, and journalist. The quest for national, religious, or political union, deriving as it does from the craving for the earliest fusion between mother and child, can be consuming (Strozier 1982). Leeser sought to unify American Jewish religious ritual under the Spanish Jewish tradition, but the German Jews eventually created their own congregations and rituals.

In 1848 came the California gold rush. After a New Jersey carpenter named James Wilson Marshall picked up some gold nuggets from the American River near Coloma, California, thousands of gold prospectors flocked West to seek their fortune. Some sailed from the eastern United States around Cape Horn. Some hiked across the plague-ridden Isthmus of Panama. Others trekked three thousand miles across the continent. Many died of cholera, some were killed by Indians. In 1849 some eighty thousand gold prospectors came to California. Very few struck it rich, but it helped California become a state in 1850.

During the political reaction in Germany and Austria (1849–60), many Central European Jews emigrated to America. Some were drawn to California, “The Golden State,” one of whose counties was named Eldorado. After 1860 the Russian Jewish immigrants outnumbered the German ones, but the established German Jews ran the American Jewish communities. The German Liberal Jewish synagogues and temples were the best organized in the country. They began the movement of American Reform Judaism, which is still one of the largest Jewish groups in the United States.

The issues of slavery and abolitionism, and the Civil War of 1861–65, naturally caught up with the American Jews of the mid-nineteenth century. Two of them were Southerners who favored slavery: David Yulee of Florida, “the first Jew in the United States Senate” (Grayzel 1969:628), and Judah Philip Benjamin of Louisiana (1811–84), “the first professing Jew elected to the United States Senate . . . the most prominent American Jew during the 19th century” (Goetz 1990, 2:104). Benjamin was elected to the Senate in 1852 and again in 1858. He did not “profess” his Judaism very vigorously, but his enemies did. In 1861 Benjamin was made Confederate attor-

ney general, then secretary of war, by his friend, Confederate president Jefferson Davis. In 1862 Benjamin resigned amid charges that he had mismanaged the war. Davis nonetheless made him Confederate secretary of state, in which job Benjamin enraged many Southerners by calling for the recruitment of slaves into the Confederate army in return for their freedom after the war. At the end of the war, in 1865, Benjamin escaped to England.

Rabbi Morris J. Raphall of New York was irrationally pro-slavery because "the Bible recognized the existence of slavery, [and] therefore slavery was an institution blessed by God" (Grayzel 1969:628). The antislavery Reform rabbi David Einhorn (1809–79), who was active in the Reform movement in Baltimore, was driven out in 1861, when Maryland seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy. Einhorn continued his work in Philadelphia and New York. Most American Jews were antislavery, and during the Civil War their number kept growing. Some Jewish leaders firmly opposed slavery. One was Michael Heilprin (1823–88), born in Russian Poland. As a young man he took part in the nationalist and antiroyalist revolutions of 1848–49. In 1856 Heilprin immigrated to America, and during the Civil War he spoke out against slavery. In 1881, the year of the great pogroms in Russia, Heilprin helped found the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society.

One of the fascinating things about nineteenth-century American Jewish life was the imported tendency to use the terms "Hebrew" and "Israelite" rather than "Jew." The Reform rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise (1819–1900) arrived in Albany, New York, from his native Austrian Bohemia (now in the Czech Republic) in 1846 to take up the post of rabbi. In 1854 Wise fell out with the leaders of his community and moved to Cincinnati, where he founded Reform Judaism and published the English-language *American Israelite* and the German-language *Die Deborah*. In 1855 Wise called an American rabbinical conference at Cleveland to forge a compromise between Orthodox and Reform Judaism.

Rabbi Wise was unsuccessful, but his efforts led to the rise of American Conservative Judaism, the movement begun in Germany by Zacharias Fränkel as Positive-Historical Judaism. In 1875 Wise established the Hebrew Union College, the first rabbinical seminary in the United States. It is now the stronghold of American Reform Judaism, with additional campuses in New York, Los Angeles, and Jerusalem. In 1885 a Reform Judaism conference at Pittsburgh codified Reform beliefs. Rabbis like Alexander Kohut (1842–94) and Kaufmann Kohler (1843–1926) became leaders of American Reform Judaism.

The American Conservative Judaism movement was led by Rabbi Benjamin Szold (1829–1902) of Baltimore, Rabbi Marcus Jastrow (1829–1903) of Philadelphia, and Rabbi Solomon Schechter (1847–1915) of New York. In 1867 Maimonides College was created. In 1886 a Conservative rabbinical seminary called the Jewish Theological Seminary Association was founded in New York City. It was headed by the non-resident Rabbi Sabato Morais of Philadelphia (1823–97). In 1902 Solomon Schechter took over. Schechter, a Romanian-born Jewish scholar, had moved to England in

1882 at the invitation of Claude J. G. Montefiore (1858–1938), the grandnephew of Sir Moses Montefiore. Claude Montefiore was an archenemy of Jewish nationalism and the eventual founder (1902) of the Jewish Religious Union.

From 1890 to 1902 Schechter developed a brilliant academic career at Cambridge University in England. In 1896 he went to Egypt to examine the *genizah* (cache, repository, or archive) at the old Jewish synagogue at Cairo, from which manuscript fragments had been brought to the West by travelers. There Schechter found part of the ancient Hebrew manuscript of the Apocryphal Book of Ben Sira and a treasure trove of other ancient manuscripts. In 1902 Schechter moved to New York, taking over the rabbinical school now known as the Jewish Theological Seminary (J.T.S.). He developed the J.T.S. into the scholarly center of Conservative Judaism. In 1913 Schechter founded the United Synagogue of America.

AMERICA VERSUS PALESTINE

After the first pogroms of the 1880s, the traumatized masses of Russian Jews, who during the entire nineteenth century lived almost exclusively in the Jewish Pale of Settlement in western and southern Russia, formed emigrant societies. They had two major destinations: the United States of America and Ottoman Palestine. The two were radically different choices. The United States was the land of the future, a modern, rapidly developing country with vast economic opportunities; Palestine was a backwater of the crumbling Ottoman empire, where life was unsafe, labor very hard, and disease rampant.

Most Russian Jews sought a safe haven where they could start a new life, leaving Russia for America. A small minority of Jewish idealists and individualists, out of deeply personal reasons, involving the struggle for separation and individuation, sought "rebirth" in their ancestral "motherland," going to the "Land of Israel" (Ottoman Palestine). From 1881 to 1914 more than sixty times as many Jews migrated to other places than to Palestine: some three million Jews migrated to the United States, Argentina, Canada, South Africa, Australia, Western Europe, and Great Britain; during the same time only some forty thousand Jews migrated to Palestine. Moreover, while entire Jewish families migrated to the United States, very few Jewish families migrated to "The Land of Israel." Most of the Jewish immigrants to Palestine were young, male, and single.

JEWISH AMBIVALENCE

It was indeed mostly young Russian Jewish individuals who went to Palestine. Many of these young Russian Jewish idealists, who often struggled with serious emotional problems, eventually wound up in America, but America was not the golden land the immigrants had expected. Some of the Jewish refugees wished to settle in Western

Europe, but they were a psychological threat to the established Jewish communities there, who sought to shunt them to America. The Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society, set up by Michael Heilprin in 1881, did not have the resources to cope with the masses of Russian and Romanian Jewish immigrants (Grayzel 1969:658). The reasons were psychological. The established communities had deeply ambivalent feelings about the newcomers.

Since 1860 the French Jewish Alliance Israélite Universelle had been fighting anti-Semitism. After the Russian pogroms of the 1880s, the Western European Jews formed organizations to help the Russian Jews. In 1891 the German Jews set up the Central Committee for Russian Jewry in Berlin. In 1897 the Austro-Hungarian Jewish journalist Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) convened the first Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland. Henceforth Jewish politics were split into Zionists, non-Zionists, and anti-Zionists. In 1901 the German Jews created the non-Zionist Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden (German Jews' Aid Society), known in Hebrew as Ezrah (Help), to help Jewish immigrants in both America and Palestine. The Hilfsverein was led by Paul Nathan, who convened an international meeting of Jewish leaders in Brussels to help the Russian Jews (1906) and demanded that Romania pay its Jews compensation for the damages they had suffered during the riots there (1907) (Ben-Sasson 1976:928).

Just as most of the German Jews were more German than Jewish, so was their Hilfsverein. Its attitude to Zionism was ambivalent. On the one hand, the Hilfsverein established German-style kindergartens, schools, and teachers' training colleges in Palestine, where the language of instruction was Hebrew. On the other hand, its refusal to allow higher education in Hebrew led to a crisis in Jewish Palestine. In 1912 the Hilfsverein joined with the Palestinian Jewish Wissotsky Tea Company, the American Jewish philanthropist Jacob Henry Schiff (1847–1920), and other Zionist and non-Zionist Jewish groups to create a technical college and high school in Haifa, Palestine. At the first board meeting in 1913 the Hilfsverein demanded that the language of instruction at what it called the Haifaer technische Hochschule be German rather than Hebrew (Laqueur 1976:143). This led to a furious language war. The Hilfsverein was pitted against the Palestinian Hebrew teachers, led by David Yellin, and the Zionist leaders Ahad haAm, Shmaryahu Levin, Yekhiel Chlenov, and Menakhem Mendel Ussishkin. The Hilfsverein's Palestinian Jewish students went on strike and their teachers resigned. The Palestinian Jewish teachers' organizations opened new schools in Palestine, and the Hebrew Technion of Haifa, which had been founded in 1912, was opened in 1925, the same year as the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

In the United States the non-Zionist American Jewish Committee was created in 1906 to fight U.S. immigration restrictions. The committee was founded by the German-born banker-philanthropist Jacob Henry Schiff and led by prominent American Jewish lawyers and scholars including Mayer Sulzberger (1843–1923), Louis Marshall (1856–1929), and Cyrus Adler (1863–1940). Ironically, the Zionist leader Theodor Herzl approached the anti-Zionist Schiff (Falk 1993a:549–55). Two former leaders of the Russian Jewish Committee in Britain—Oscar S. Straus (1850–1926),

who became the U.S. secretary of commerce and labor, and Joseph Jacobs (1854–1916)—also helped create the American Jewish Committee (Margolis and Marx 1985:720). In 1909 the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) was formed in the United States, and in 1912 Paul Nathan of the German Jewish Hilfsverein succeeded in creating the international Union des Associations Israélites.

Most of the Russian Jewish immigrants of the 1880s and 1890s settled in New York's poor Lower East Side, working in the notorious garment industry and tobacco "sweatshops." The established community of German Jews "took full advantage of the flood of immigrants," working them sixteen hours a day and paying them only \$4 to \$8 a week (Grayzel 1969:689). Life was rough. Some Russian Jewish immigrants went into farming. From 1881 to 1885 several Jewish agricultural settlements were created in Louisiana, the Dakotas, and Oregon; none survived for long. Naturally the hardships of life in the new country disappointed many immigrants. Some looked back to "the old country" nostalgically, idealizing it and forgetting its harsh realities. The idealized motherland of their youth was in their minds. Nowadays many American Jews, the offspring of these Russian Jews, like to think of Israel as their "old country." It is our deepest and earliest emotions for our mothers that determine our feelings for and attitudes toward our own country and others.

46

“The Land of Zion”

POLITICAL ZIONISM AS THE NEW MESSIANISM

The Biblical Hebrew name *Tsiyon* (Zion) has a fascinating history. It originally designated the eastern hill of ancient Jerusalem, the site of the old biblical city of Jebus, which was seized by King David (2 Sam. 5:6–9). “David did capture the stronghold of Zion, and it is now known as the City of David” (2 Sam. 5:7). Several centuries later Zion came to mean the entire city of Jerusalem (Isa. 35:10; Lam. 1:4). Still later it denoted the entire People of Israel (Isa. 51:16). Zion had become a psychogeographical fantasy rather than a real place. “Mount Zion” came to mean the dwelling place of Yahweh Sabaoth, the “Lord of Hosts” (Isa. 8:18; Ps. 74:2), his realm (Isa. 24:23), and the place where he anointed David as king (Ps. 2:6). The prophet Isaiah derided King Hezekiah of Judah, saying, “The virgin daughter of Zion disdains you, she laughs you to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem tosses her head as you retreat” (Isa. 37:22). Jeremiah used Zion as a synonym for the Land of Israel (Jer. 3:14). The Babylonian Jewish exiles were said to mourn the loss of Zion and long for her (Ps. 137:1).

In the first century C.E., Flavius Josephus called the western hill of Jerusalem, where most of the city was built, by the name of “Mount Zion.” The “Mount Zion” of our own time is the hill on which the German Catholic Dormition Abbey, the “Holocaust Cellar,” and “King David’s Tomb” are located. This “Mount Zion” has nothing to do with the original Zion; “King David’s Tomb” is not a tomb, and certainly not King David’s. Nevertheless countless Jews keep visiting “Mount Zion” and “King David’s Tomb,” believing that this is where King David is actually buried.

The name Zion attracted Jews throughout the ages. It had a dreamlike quality: “When the Lord restored the fortunes of Zion, we were like dreamers” (Ps. 126:1). Longings for “Zion” had been part of the Jewish liturgy since the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E. (Ps. 137:1), yet Political Zionism came twenty-five centuries later. The idea seemed sound: get the persecuted Jews out of their unhealthy “diaspora” and “exile” in anti-Semitic Christian Europe and back into their ancient homeland, where they could live a normal, healthy, national Jewish life. In actual practice things were very different. Zionism led to the creation of modern Israel, whose Jews are beset by no less serious problems than were the Jews of nineteenth-century Europe.

Political Zionism has been a thorny issue for Jewish historians. Hertzberg (1984:15) believed that "for Jewish historians Zionism is, of course, one of the pre-eminent facts—for most, it is the crucial issue—of Jewish life in the modern age, and it therefore engages our complete attention. Nonetheless, how to place it in a larger frame is still the most debated, and least solved, problem of Jewish historiography." The European "revolutions" of 1848–49 were mostly unsuccessful, yet they deeply affected the European Jews. The common view is that the anti-Jewish pogroms in Russia and Romania during the second half of the nineteenth century eventually led to the new Jewish nationalism, which in turn led to Political Zionism, which ultimately led to the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. But nationalism is a form of defensive group narcissism. The Jews had an unconscious "bad self" to defend themselves against: the "Gentiles" hated the Jews, persecuted them, and discriminated against them; over the centuries the Jews had internalized a self-image as evil, inferior, and despicable. Jewish life was not, could not be, emotionally healthy.

DREYFUS

In October 1894 the infamous Dreyfus affair broke in France. Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935), a French Jew from Mulhouse (Mülhausen), Alsace, was an officer on the staff of the War Ministry. He had been trained at the École Polytechnique and at the École Militaire. In 1871 Alsace had become part of Germany.

In the fall of 1894 a French spy at the German embassy in Paris, Major Hubert-Joseph Henry, found a handwritten *bordereau* (schedule) sent by an officer in the French general staff to Major Max von Schwartzkoppen, the German military attaché, listing secret French military documents. On 15 October Captain Dreyfus was suddenly arrested on charges of selling military secrets to Germany. The real culprit was the French-Hungarian officer Major M.-C.-F. Walsin-Esterhazy. Despite his protestations of innocence, Dreyfus was kept in solitary confinement, barred from seeing his wife, family, and lawyer, was court-martialed, convicted on 22 December of treason to France, and sentenced to life imprisonment. The legal proceedings were highly irregular. Dreyfus was publicly disgraced on the grounds of the École Militaire. He was stripped of his rank and insignia and his sword was broken, with the Parisian mob screaming, "A mort les Juifs!" (Death to the Jews!). Dreyfus was imprisoned on the faraway Devil's Island off the coast of French Guiana.

The French public was divided into Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards. The anti-Dreyfusards and the French anti-Semites went wild. Édouard Drumont (1844–1917) and Léon Daudet (1868–1942) published inflammatory anti-Jewish tracts in *La Libre Parole* and *Le Figaro*, violently decrying the Alsatian Jews as Germans and traitors to France. Then the officer investigating the case, Lieutenant-Colonel Georges Picquart, the chief of French military intelligence, discovered that the incriminating *bordereau* had been written by Major Walsin-Esterhazy. Rather than reverse Dreyfus's conviction and arrest Walsin-Esterhazy, the embarrassed French general staff removed

Picquart from his post, replacing him with Major Hubert-Joseph Henry, who was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. The Dreyfusards won the adherence of prominent Frenchmen like Joseph de Reinach, Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929), Senator Auguste Scheurer-Kestner, and the novelist Émile Zola (1840–1902).

The cover-up attempts in the Dreyfus affair surpassed Richard Nixon's in the Watergate affair eighty years later. The frightened Walsin-Esterhazy attempted to cover up his crime by forging false evidence and spreading false rumors. Lt.-Col. Henry, who had discovered the original *bordereau*, forged new documents and suppressed others vital to the case. The French minister of war had Maj. Walsin-Esterhazy court-martialed and acquitted, while Lt.-Col. Picquart was arrested.

On 13 January 1898, over three years after the Dreyfus affair broke, Émile Zola published his celebrated *J'Accuse* on the front page of Clemenceau's republican-socialist newspaper, *L'Aurore*, exposing the lies, injustices, and cover-ups of the Dreyfus affair. On that day alone *L'Aurore* sold two hundred thousand copies. The nationalist, militarist, authoritarian, and closed-minded anti-Dreyfusards treated France as their *mère-patrie* (motherland) and hated the Dreyfusards for discrediting the French army. They equated the Dreyfusards with the socialists, Jews, and Germans—"enemies of France." The Dreyfusards fervently believed that individual freedom was more important than national security and that republican civil authority must prevail over arbitrary military authority.

The Dreyfus affair was very emotional. The anti-Dreyfusards pressed the French government to put Zola on trial. Anti-Semitic riots broke out in the French provinces. Some three thousand Frenchmen, including the writers Anatole François Thibault (Anatole France, 1844–1924) and Marcel Proust (1871–1922), signed a petition demanding a retrial for Dreyfus. Zola was tried, found guilty of libel, and sentenced to one year in prison and a 3,000-franc fine. In 1898–99 the Dreyfusards became stronger. Lt.-Col. Hubert-Joseph Henry, who had committed perjury and falsified evidence, confessed his forgeries, was arrested, and killed himself in August 1898. The Dreyfus family filed an appeal for a retrial. Walsin-Esterhazy fled to Brussels and then London. The street demonstrations by Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards became more violent.

In June 1899 the conservative senator Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau (1846–1904) was named to form a "government of republican defense." He appointed a cabinet of both right and left, including Alexandre Millerand (1859–1943), the first French socialist minister, as minister of commerce and industry. The French Cour de Cassation (Supreme Court) ordered a retrial for Dreyfus. In September 1899 Dreyfus was brought back from Devil's Island and retried. Flying in the face of public knowledge of the document forgeries, a French military court at Rennes again found him guilty. Waldeck-Rousseau persuaded the president of the republic to pardon Dreyfus. The French Jewish officer accepted the pardon but reserved the right to clear his name by further legal action.

In 1904 (the year Theodor Herzl died) another retrial for Dreyfus was granted. In 1906 the French Cour de Cassation finally cleared Dreyfus of guilt, reversing his

previous convictions. The French parliament passed a special law reinstating Capt. Alfred Dreyfus. He was formally reinstated in the army and received the Légion d'Honneur decoration. Dreyfus was promoted to major and then retired as a reserve officer. During World War I Dreyfus was recalled into service, promoted to lieutenant colonel, and commanded an ammunition column. He spent the last seventeen years of his life in relative obscurity, dying in Paris in 1935.

Jewish historians call the period between the first Zionist Congress in 1897 and the first serious "wave" of Jewish immigration to Palestine in 1905 "the Revival Movement," referring to the resurrection of Jewish nationalism. During that time the political and financial institutions of Zionism were created: the Zionist Organization, the Jewish Colonial Trust, and the periodical *Die Welt*. Yet few Jews were Zionists, and fewer still read *Die Welt*. From 1905 to 1914 some forty thousand Jews, mostly Russian ones, came to Ottoman Palestine. This is known in Zionist history as the Second Aliyah (ascent) to the Land of Israel. The term "ascent" betrays the unconscious feelings behind the fantasy. During the First Aliyah in 1882 only a handful of Jews had immigrated to Palestine.

ZIONISM AND MESSIANISM

Gonen (1975), an Israeli Jewish immigrant to the United States, "psychoanalyzed" Zionism in a somewhat simplistic manner, yet captured its essentially dreamlike, fantastic, and illusory character. Zionism involved a longing for a "Zion" that did not exist in reality. It tried to roll back history, to restore the ancient Jewish losses of country, territory, sovereignty, language and nation, rather than to mourn them and give them up. Hertzberg (1984:16) pointed out the Zionist ambivalence toward Jewish history:

[T]he [Jewish] past was, in two senses, a crucial issue for Zionist theory: on the one hand, history was invoked to legitimize and prove the need for the Zionist revolution; in another dimension, as it followed the pattern of all revolutions in imagining the outlines of its promised land, the mainstream of Zionism sought a "usable past," to act as guideline for the great days to come. The inevitable differences about the meaning of Jewish history thus are the stuff out of which the warring Zionist theories have been fashioned. Precisely because these discussions have been complex, passionate, and often brilliant, the analysts of the career of Zionism have tended to be swept into the debate, so that most have written as partisans of, or in conscious opposition to, one or the other of these Zionist doctrines.

The Zionist idealization of the "Land of Israel" as the Great Good Mother and the very notions of "redemption" and "rebirth," were messianic. The inability to mourn historical losses, and the desire to restore them, characterize both Zionism and messianism. As Hertzberg pointed out, Zionism betrayed a great ambivalence about Jewish history, glorifying its better periods while denigrating its twenty-five centuries of humiliating persecution, "exile," and "diaspora." While Political Zionism rejected the traditional Jewish messianic notion of "waiting for the Messiah to redeem

us from our sufferings," insisting on self-redemption, Zionism itself had messianic aspects, replacing the traditional Jewish religious messianism with its political variety. Some Zionist historians have called Zionism "secular messianism" and interpreted Jewish history as a succession of "ascents" to the "Land of Israel." Hertzberg (1984:17) disputed this view:

From the Jewish perspective messianism, and not nationalism, is the primary element in Zionism. The very name of the movement evoked the dream of an end of days, of an ultimate release from the "exile" and a coming to rest in the land of Jewry's heroic age. Jewish historians have, therefore, attempted to understand Zionism as part of the career of the age-old messianic impulse in Judaism. . . . Despite its neatness and appeal, this construction . . . must be subjected to serious criticism. In the first place, it is really a kind of synthetic Zionist ideology presented as history. . . . The assumption that we are in the midst of an "end of days," of a final resolution of the tension between the Jew and the world, is as yet unprovable . . . this thesis pretends to apply to the main body of the movement, and, as such, it is artificial and evasive. What is being obscured is the crucial problem of modern Zionist ideology, the tension between the inherited messianic concept and the radically new meaning that Zionism, at its most modern, was proposing to give it.

Yet Hertzberg (1984:20) also called Zionism both "the heir of the messianic impulse and emotions of the Jewish tradition" and "the most radical attempt in Jewish history to break out of the parochial molds of Jewish life in order to become part of the general history of man in the modern world." The yearning for the promised motherland in both messianism and Zionism derives from the deeper longing for the bounteous mother of our early life.

"PRECURSORS" OF ZIONISM

Zionist chroniclers, like other historians, feel compelled to look for the "antecedents" and "forerunners" of Political Zionism. Some start with Isaiah in the Bible, but others begin in the nineteenth century, and their favorite "precursor" is the Orthodox rabbi Yehuda ben Solomon Hai Alkalai (1798–1878), a descendant of the Spanish Jewish Alcalays from Alcalá de Henares.

Rabbi Yehuda ben Solomon Hai Alkalai was born in the Ottoman Bosnian capital of Sarajevo, the scion of the Spanish Jewish family of Alcalay that had migrated to Salonica in 1492 and had branched out to the Jewish Cifuthani section of Sarajevo. For unknown reasons the young boy Yehuda was taken or sent away from home to Jerusalem, a major loss and trauma for him. He studied with Eliezer Papo, a famous rabbinical scholar, and was influenced by Kabbalist mystics. In 1825 Yehuda Alkalai moved to Serbian town of Semlin (Zemun), across the Sava River from Belgrade, to become its Sephardic *khacham* (sage-rabbi).

Some scholars think the upsurge of Serbian nationalism affected Alkalai. In 1834 Alkalai published a Hebrew book entitled *Shema Yisrael* (Hear, O Israel), the title of

the Hebrew prayer recited by Jews who are about to die. He called for the creation of Jewish settlements in Palestine, which, he called "colonies." This, wrote the rabbi, would be a preamble to the messianic redemption of the Jews. The Damascus ritual-murder libel of 1840 further affected the young rabbi. In 1843 he published another Hebrew book, *The Third Redemption*, one of the "forerunners" of Zionism. Alkalai exhorted his fellow Jews to revive the Hebrew language, organize, unite, elect leaders, and "cause at least 22,000 to return to the Holy Land" (Hertzberg 1984:105-6). After all, wrote Alkalai, the Kabbalah called for the "Messiah Son of Joseph" to herald the true "Messiah Son of David." To Alkalai, the Jewish Assembly of the Elders was the "Messiah Son of Joseph." Was he unconsciously looking for his long-lost early mother in the Jewish motherland? Gabriel Riesser of Germany would have called Alkalai mad. In any event, Alkalai had few followers.

The new Jewish nationalism was affected by the European revolutions of 1848, which spread like wildfire all over Europe. These were both social and ethnic revolts. While radicals, socialists, anarchists, democrats, and antimonarchists sought to remove kings and emperors, the Magyars, Serbs, Croats, Poles, and other minorities in the multinational Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman empires demanded their national freedom. Poland was still divided between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Its western part, including Posen (Poznan) and Thorn (Torun), was part of Prussia.

Some Jewish leaders actively promoted Jewish settlement in Palestine during the mid-nineteenth century. Sir Moses Haim Montefiore (1784-1885), the British Jewish leader, manipulated Jewish philanthropists into large donations to the Jews of Palestine. Montefiore talked the wealthy American Jewish leader Judah Touro of New Orleans into giving \$60,000, a vast amount of money at that time, to the poor Jewish community of Jerusalem. Montefiore got Great Britain's ambassador to Constantinople to obtain a building permit from the "Sublime Porte" for a new stone building called Mishkenoth Shaananim (The Secure Dwellings). This was a multifamily residence west of the Old City Walls, with a windmill next to it, designed to get the Jews of Jerusalem to move out of the Old City. From 1855 to 1860 Judah Touro's money built Mishkenoth Shaananim, now an international, interdisciplinary residential cultural center for scholars and artists.

At about the same time the Russian Orthodox Church purchased a large lot northwest of the Jerusalem Old City walls, upon which they erected an entire city for Russian pilgrims. It included a hostel, a hospital, and a church. The Arabs called it al-Moscobiyyeh. It is now the Russian Compound, housing the Israeli police and court buildings. Life outside the Jerusalem Old City walls in 1860 was still so unsafe that the few Jews who did move into Mishkenoth Shaananim lived there only during the day, returning to the safety of the Old City at nighttime. The picturesque Yemin Moshe quarter of Jerusalem, named after Montefiore, has a street bearing Touro's misspelled name.

The Orthodox rabbi Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1874) of Thorn was born in Posen, both Polish cities under Prussian rule with mixed German-Polish-Jewish populations. Like other subjected peoples, many Poles hated foreign—that is, Prussian, Austrian,

and especially Russian—rule. The fiery Polish rebel Piotr Wysocki led a national uprising against Russian rule (1830–31) that was brutally quelled by Czar Nikolai's troops. Some six thousand Polish leaders were exiled (1831–32), most of them going to France. Hertzberg (1984:109) thought Rabbi Kalischer was affected by this revolt. As early as 1836 Kalischer thought of Jewish settlement in "the Holy Land" as "the beginning of the Redemption" (Hertzberg 1984:109–10).

In 1848–49 came the unsuccessful revolutions all over Europe. Only thirteen years later (1862) did Kalischer publish his Hebrew-language messianic redemption book *Drishath Tsiyon* (Seeking Zion), urging the Jews to settle in Palestine, farm the land, and rebuild the Temple. Kalischer believed that God always tried his people to see if they obeyed his commandments. "Only a natural beginning of the Redemption is a true test of those who initiate it" (Hertzberg 1984:112).

That same year (1862) a "modern" German Jew named Moses Moritz Hess (1812–75) published a German-language book saying almost the same things. While most nineteenth-century German Jewish intellectuals were steeped in German language, culture, and national feeling, Jewish history and psychogeography played a powerful role in the mind of Hess, who was born in Bonn's *Judengasse*. As a little child Moritz was abandoned by his father, who left Bonn for Cologne on business. At the age of thirteen he also lost his mother, who abandoned him by dying (Silberner 1966:3). Hess changed his first name to Moses, married a prostitute (which led to a breach with his father), and underwent a personal conversion to Jewish nationalism.

Hess was struggling with issues of ego-identity and self. He began his literary career as a radical young German intellectual, revolutionary philosopher, socialist, and anarchist. His first published work was *Die heilige Geschichte der Menschheit, von einem Jünger Spinozas* (The sacred history of mankind, by a disciple of Spinoza). Most Jewish historians ascribe Hess's conversion to Jewish nationalism to the Damascus affair (1840), which they call the "Damascus Blood Libel." Yet from 1840 to 1843 Hess was far removed from Jewish nationalism. He was one of the German exiles in Paris and wrote for Karl Marx's *Rheinische Zeitung*.

In 1848 Hess was active in the unsuccessful German revolution, and was sentenced to death in absentia. He returned to Paris in 1853 and remained there until his death. His conversion to Jewish nationalism occurred after the Mortara affair (1852) and the success of the Italian national risorgimento, which he cited in his "Zionist" manifesto (Hertzberg 1984:122). With his fiftieth birthday approaching, the orphan Moritz Hess adopted a new symbolic good mother, the Jewish nation. He decided that the Jews were a nation, not a religion, that he belonged to this nation, and that he had to show this to his people. Hess published *Rom und Jerusalem* (1862) to proclaim his personal "return to the Jewish people."

In 1862, when he turned fifty, Hess underwent a severe personal crisis. His conversion to Jewish nationalism was the outward expression of an attempt to resolve an overwhelming inner conflict. Hess thought and acted very emotionally (Laqueur 1976:47). He had already been a revolutionary socialist, idealist, anarchist, and pacifist. At the age of forty, when his middle-age crisis set in, Hess had retired from

politics and began to study natural science. At the age of fifty, during another personal crisis, he published his proclamation of Jewish nationalism with a personal confession in the foreword:

After twenty years of estrangement I have returned to my people. Once again I am sharing its festivals of joy and days of sorrow, in its hopes and memories. I am taking part in the spiritual and intellectual struggles of our day, both within the House of Israel and between our people and the Gentile world. The Jews have lived and labored among the nations for almost 2,000 years, but nonetheless they cannot become rooted organically within them. A sentiment which I believed I had suppressed beyond recall is alive again. It is the thought of my nationality, which is inseparably connected with my ancestral heritage, with the Holy Land and Eternal City, the birthplace of the belief in the divine unity of life and of the hope for the ultimate brotherhood of all men. For years this half-strangled emotion has been stirring in my breast and clamoring for expression. (Hertzberg 1984:119)

While Hess called for "the regeneration of the Jewish nation," unconsciously he wished to be reborn and to bring his dead mother back to life. He exhorted his fellow Jews to "reawaken in our hearts and souls the holy, patriotic spirit of our prophets and sages." He railed against the Jewish religious reformers who were "the death of Judaism." He said these reformers would make Judaism into a second, rationalist Christianity, which Hess called "a religion of death" (Hertzberg 1984:122-24). If we keep in mind that Hess's mother died when he was a child, and that "the Jewish nation" unconsciously stood for her, and for himself, it should not be hard to recognize the personal roots of Hess's political feelings.

Hess was not the only European Jewish orphan who unconsciously invented and embraced the "Jewish nation" as his idealized mother. The Russian Jewish writer Peretz Smolenskin (1842-85), a native of Byelarus in the Jewish Pale of Settlement, lost his father when he was ten. He studied at an Orthodox yeshiva, but displayed an interest in secular studies and was denounced for heresy. Smolenskin began wandering across the Pale of Settlement in the Ukraine and Byelorussia, singing and preaching for his livelihood. At the age of twenty he moved to Odessa, where he studied music and languages. At age twenty-six Smolenskin moved to Vienna, where he was a printer's proofreader. At age thirty-three he married and became the owner of the printing press.

From 1868 to his death in 1885 Smolenskin published and edited a Hebrew-language monthly titled *haShakhar* (The dawn), in which he published a series of Zionist articles entitled *A Time to Plant* (Eccles. 3:2). He argued that the Jews had always been "a people" and "a spiritual nation" and that "no matter what his sins against religion," every Jew belonged to his people. Laqueur (1976:66) thought that Smolenskin's essays were verbose, unsystematic, and unsophisticated, and "constantly digressed from the main theme." Smolenskin witnessed the anti-Jewish pogroms in Russia. At Easter 1871 there was a violent pogrom by Greeks and Russians against the Jews in Odessa. This was a trifle compared with March 1881, when, following the assassi-

nation of Czar Alexander II, there were murderous pogroms all over Russia. Many Jews were killed, and their property was looted and pillaged.

Smolenskin called upon his fellow Jews to "search our ways" and to emigrate to "The Land of Israel." Smolenskin's idealized Eretz Yisrael was in reality Ottoman Palestine, a godforsaken, malaria-infested Syrian backwater inhabited by hundreds of thousands of illiterate Arabs and a handful of uneducated Jews on the dole. Nonetheless, Smolenskin cited five reasons why "The Land of Israel" was more suitable for Jewish immigration than either North or South America: (1) Jews who cherished the memory of their ancestors would gladly go there if they could make a living. (2) The country was not so far from their former homes. (3) The immigrants could live together and keep their Jewish traditions. (4) The idle Jews of the Land of Israel would be transformed into productive laborers. (5) Those Jews who did not wish to farm the land could be merchants (Hertzberg 1984:152-53).

Smolenskin was joined by Yeudah Leib Gordon (1830-92), a Hebrew poet born in Vilnius, Russian Lithuania, who had anonymously published a "Zionist" pamphlet calling for a Jewish state in Palestine under British suzerainty (Gordon 1877; Laqueur 1972:68). In 1880 Smolenskin and Gordon were followed by Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (1858-1923), another native of Russian Lithuania, whose original name was Lazer Perlmann. Ben-Yehuda was such a fanatical champion of the Hebrew language that his son almost died because Ben-Yehuda would not listen if the child spoke any language but Hebrew. He is credited with the rebirth of the Hebrew language.

Following the murderous anti-Jewish riots of 1881 in Russia, an Enlightened and atheist Russian Jew named Moses Leib Lilienblum (1843-1910) also underwent a personal conversion to the new Jewish nationalism. He had been married at the age of sixteen (1859), and at age twenty-one (1864) began teaching at an Orthodox yeshiva. When Lilienblum embarked on secular studies, became "Enlightened," and published his "progressive" views about Jewish education, he was condemned by the Orthodox community. The support of his lover, a young "Enlightened" Jewish woman, only made matters worse for Lilienblum with the Orthodox Jewish community.

In 1869, at the age of twenty-six, Lilienblum abandoned his young wife and fled to Odessa. He described his conversion to Jewish nationalism in almost religious terms: "I was inspired by a sublime ideal, and I became a different man, full of a sense of purpose and spiritual satisfaction, even without secular schooling . . . all the old ideals left me in flash. Disdainfully I forsook my studies and threw myself completely into preparing myself to serve this lofty new ideal" (Hertzberg 1984:169-70). As with the other Zionist "precursors," Lilienblum's personal conflicts had unconsciously been displaced onto the public realm.

In 1882 an Odessa Jewish physician named Leo Pinsker (1821-91) was in a state of "emotional shock" in Austria, following the 1881 anti-Jewish riots in Russia (Hertzberg 1984:180). Pinsker anonymously published a German-language pamphlet entitled *Self-Liberation: A Russian Jew's Call of Warning to his Fellow Tribesmen* (Pinsker 1882). Few Jewish historians explain why the pamphlet was published anonymously, and why in Berlin. Was Pinsker afraid of the Okhranka, the czar's secret

police? Or did he fear the Orthodox Jewish rabbis? When Pinsker's identity became known, Emma Lazarus (1849–87), the American Jewish poet who wrote "The New Colossus" (1883) for the Statue of Liberty, hailed his work. Orthodox and Liberal Jews attacked him. In 1884 Pinsker became a leader of the newly created Lovers of Zion movement.

The term *Zionismus* had appeared loosely in print a few times in 1890–91. Nathan Birnbaum (1864–1937), a very bright but neurotic young Austrian Jewish political essayist, was the first to use it politically. The young Birnbaum struggled with issues of identity and self. He used the nom de plume of "Mathias Ascher." Birnbaum was a young Austrian Jew "of sharp critical intelligence and great ambition" (Laqueur 1976:81). In 1882 Birnbaum, Reuben Bierer, Moritz Schnirer, and Oser Kokesch founded Kadima (Eastward), a Jewish national students organization in Vienna. In 1884 Birnbaum published a polemic against the Jewish longing for assimilation. In 1885, influenced by Pinsker, he founded and edited the first German-language Jewish national periodical, *Selbst-Emancipation* (Self-Liberation), and there he coined the term *Zionismus* in 1892. In 1893 the fiery Birnbaum published *The National Rebirth of the Jewish People as a Means to Solve the Jewish Question*.

Birnbaum was clearly an emotionally disturbed individual. Elon (1975:181) felt that "with his fiery voice, his unruly beard and hair [he] was a wild sort of man with a quick temper." Pawel (1989:271) thought that within the small Viennese Zionist "band of uncommonly contentious and opinionated individualists, the hot-tempered and hirsute Birnbaum [was] the most volatile and aggressive." Did this have to do with his relationship to his mother, who had sold her shop to finance his literary efforts (Laqueur 1976:81)? Did he unconsciously wish to liberate himself from his mother? Birnbaum was a disciple of Herzl but wanted to be the leader himself. Herzl rightly felt that Birnbaum was "unmistakably jealous" of him (Herzl 1960:305). After Herzl's death Birnbaum became religious and Orthodox. He was the first general secretary of the ultra-Orthodox Agudath Israel.

The tragic Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) was a bright young German-speaking Hungarian-Jewish Viennese journalist and playwright whose great ambition was to make it as a playwright and have his plays staged at Vienna's Burgtheater. Herzl became the most famous leader of the new Jewish nationalism, the "founder" of Political Zionism and the "father" of modern Israel. His *Judenstaat* (1896) and *Altneuland* (1902) have become Zionist classics. Herzl organized the First Zionist Congress at Basel, Switzerland (1897), and created the machinery of Political Zionism, which eventually led to the creation of Israel (1948). But his personal life was deeply tragic and he committed slow suicide (Falk 1993a).

That year (1897) a small group of Russian Jewish laborers and intellectuals met in Vilnius, the Russian Lithuanian capital, to form an anti-Zionist, socialist group called Vseobshchy Yevreysky Rabochiy Soyuz v Litve, Polische i Rossii (General Union of Jewish Workers in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia). This union was popularly known from its Yiddish name—Bund Yiddisher Arbeiter in Lita, Poylen un Russland—as the "Jewish Bund." Its members were called "Bundists." The Bund

called for the abolition of anti-Jewish discrimination and turning Russia into a federation. The following year (1898) the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (RSDWP) was formed. The Bund and RSDWP joined forces, only to fall out in 1903 in a power struggle over who represented the Russian Jewish workers.

Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov (Lenin, 1870–1924) was a major leader of the RSDWP in western Europe. In 1903 an internal power struggle took place in the RSDWP. Lenin's Bolsheviks (majority) gained control and the Mensheviks (minority) lost power. That year a power struggle occurred in Zionism as well. At the Zionist Congress in Basel, Menachem Mendel Ussishkin's "Zion Zionists," who insisted on Palestine for the Jews, broke away from Theodor Herzl's "Uganda Zionists," who wanted to accept a British offer of a Jewish national home in East Africa.

The Bundists were at odds with the Zionists. The Bund derided Zionism as "romantic bourgeois nationalism" while the Zionists dismissed the Bundists' hopes for Jewish equality in a free, democratic Russian society as "delusions." Theodor Herzl died in 1904. Two years later (1906) the Bundists rejoined Lenin's RSDWP, but sided with the Mensheviks. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 the Bund leadership supported the new regime. In 1920 the Bund split up into two groups. The majority joined the new Communist Party; the minority, led by Rafael Abramovich, maintained its Jewish identity. The Bolsheviks eventually suppressed the Bund, which continued its activities in Poland until World War II.

The Bund was not the only Jewish opposition to Political Zionism. Asher Ginzberg (1856–1927), a Russian Hebrew writer who called himself Ahad haAm (one of the people), promoted a "Cultural Zionism" with Palestine as the spiritual rather than the political center of the Jews. Nonetheless, he immigrated to Palestine in 1922, settling in Tel Aviv. The battles between the Political Zionists and Cultural Zionists went on for a long time.

Herzl's Zionist writings incorporated highly idealized views of Palestine (Falk 1993a). His letters and diaries contained scathing comments about Jews, bordering on anti-Semitism. When Herzl visited Palestine in 1898 to see Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany, he became ill and left as fast as he could. Before Herzl was converted to the Zionist idea he had fantasies of solving the Jewish Question by dueling with prominent Austrian anti-Semites and leading the Jews into mass conversion to Catholicism. Herzl's quest for the Jewish State was a desperate unconscious attempt to resolve his lifelong personal conflict of fusion versus separation from his engulfing mother. Christian Europe unconsciously stood for his bad mother, and Palestine for his idealized good mother. The Jewish people unconsciously represented Herzl.

Max Nordau (Max Simon Südfeld, 1849–1923), born in Pest, Hungary, was one of Herzl's key colleagues and followers. Like Herzl, he was a German-speaking Hungarian Jew. Nordau was an adolescent prodigy, becoming a theater critic for his hometown *Pesther Lloyd* at age sixteen (1865). From 1867 to 1873 he studied medicine but before graduating he worked as Vienna correspondent for the *Pesther Lloyd*. In 1875–80 he continued his medical studies in Budapest and in Paris. Nordau wrote travel books, plays, poems, and essays, none of which made his reputation. In 1880 he

moved to Paris, where he lived the rest of his life, practicing medicine and writing for the German press.

In 1883 Nordau published *Die conventionellen Lügen der Kulturmenschheit* (The conventional lies of civilized humanity), a venomous attack on all institutions of human civilization, especially religion. Nordau became an instant succès de scandale. His book was banned by the Catholic Church as well as by the governments of Britain, Russia, and Austria, but was translated into all the European languages and reprinted over seventy times. Nordau followed this up with *Paradoxes* and *Degeneration*, in which he assailed great writers like Ibsen, Maeterlinck, and other people he disliked. Nordau was a controversial figure. Freud thought him "vain and stupid" (Jones 1961:175). Pawel (1989:177) thought that Nordau's ideas were "half baked, absurd, or plain wacky." Herzl, on the other hand, liked Nordau and treated him like a wise father. With Herzl and Nordau, Political Zionism took off. The First Zionist Congress in Basel (1897) and the congresses that followed almost every year thereafter created the political and financial institutions that eventually led to the creation of modern Israel. But Zionism harbored many illusions. It dealt at least as much in fantasy as in reality.

The First Aliyah of 1882–1904 was hailed as the rebirth of the Jewish people in its own land. This was sheer fantasy. It was more a trickle than a wave of immigration. Only a few hundred Russian Jews left for Palestine in 1882; many cut short their voyage in Odessa. By 1885 almost no Jews arrived in Palestine. After 1890 a few thousand immigrated each year. The total number of Jewish immigrants to Palestine was 25,000.

The vast majority of European Jews chose to stay where they were, or immigrate to America. As mentioned, living conditions in Palestine were very tough. Poverty, hardship, and disease were endemic. Many Jews were out of work, and the Ottoman authorities were very severe. In 1905–14 came the second "wave" of Zionist immigration to Palestine. During that Second Aliyah no more than forty thousand Jews migrated to Palestine, of which there was a very high turnover.

Of a total Ottoman Palestinian population of about eight hundred thousand, only about 10 percent were Jews by 1914. The early Zionists did not take the Arabs in Palestine seriously. Most of them denied the reality of the Palestinian Arab population. Herzl's astounding slogan of denial was "A land without a people for a people without a land." Like their ancestors for many centuries, the Zionists regarded the Ottoman backwater of Palestine as "the Land of the Jews" and called it "the Land of Israel." This name implied that Palestine was still the ancient land of the Jews and did not harbor hundreds of thousands of non-Jews. Indeed, the early Zionists were blind to the existence of the Arabs (Laqueur 1976:209–10).

Denial is an unconscious defensive process that we develop in our infancy. The denial of reality was current among the nineteenth-century Christian Zionists as well. The Pre-Raphaelite English painter William Holman Hunt visited Palestine in 1854 to receive inspiration for his religious illustrations of the life of Jesus Christ. He believed that the Arabs were the drawers of water and hewers of wood for the Jews,

as were the biblical Gibeonites (Josh. 9). It was therefore unnecessary to displace them from Palestine. "They don't even have to be dispossessed, for they would render the Jews very useful services," wrote Hunt (Tuchman 1956; Elon 1975:179). The Arabs could do all the menial labor and serve the Chosen People. Arab-Jewish relations would be fine when each side knew its proper place.

Theodor Herzl, the founder of Political Zionism, imagined Ottoman Palestine as an orderly, beautiful, cultured, lush, green land like Austria or Switzerland, with German as the language of the land and with a Central European way of life. From the psychoanalytic viewpoint, these psychogeographical fantasies betrayed the denial and idealization that propelled them (cf. Gonen 1975).

Other Zionists were obsessed with turning arid Palestine into a land of plenty. Leo Motzkin (1867–1933), a young Russian Lithuanian Jewish Zionist, was sent by the Zionist Executive to Palestine in April 1898, following the First Zionist Congress (1897), to investigate the conditions of the handful of Jews then living there. Motzkin wrote the Zionist Executive that the most fertile parts of Palestine were settled by some 650,000 Arabs and that innumerable violent fights between Jews and Arabs had already taken place. He added, however, that the number of Palestinian Arabs had not been verified, and that Palestine was basically a colorful mixture of desert, tourism, pilgrims, east and west. Motzkin had exaggerated both the number of violent fights and his idyllic portrait of Palestine. Despite his accounts of violence in Palestine, both he and other Zionist envoys wished to believe that the Jews had nothing to fear in *their* land (Laqueur 1972:211).

The Zionist belief that Palestine was the land of the Jews expressed a wish rather than reality. It was a belief in the historical right of the Jews to the Land of Israel, yet it led the Zionists to act as if in fact that land was theirs by right. This was, to say the least, exaggerated in 1898. Denying the fundamental Muslim Arab hostility to the Jews, the early Zionists thought that if the Christian Arabs of Palestine were anti-Zionists, the Muslim Arabs were potentially friendly. They ignored the warnings of Arthur Ruppin (1876–1943) and others in Palestine itself who argued that the Muslim Arabs were more hostile to the Jews than the Christian ones. Most Zionists lived in Europe, whence they could imagine Palestine as they wished.

Elias Auerbach, an early Zionist who settled in Palestine during the Second Aliyah, published an article in the German-language Zionist paper *Die Welt* in which he argued that the Arabs owned Palestine by virtue of being the majority there. He added that the Arabs would remain the owners because of their natural population increase. In 1931 Auerbach wrote that it had been a fatal Zionist error to ignore the Arabs at the outset, but added that even had the Zionists taken the Arabs into account it would not have changed matters, because the Arabs were hostile to the Jews in Palestine and would remain so no matter how nicely the Jews treated them.

Mandel (1976) thought that the Arab-Israeli conflict was rooted in the years preceding the First World War. Arab anti-Zionism was born between the rise to power of the Young Turks in 1908 and the beginning of the Great War in 1914. During the British Mandate over Palestine (1920–48), conferred by the League of Nations, a

violent conflict raged between the Jewish community of Palestine and the Palestinian Arabs, whose anti-Zionism became increasingly bitter. Laqueur (1972) believed that the bitterness of the Arab peasants (fellaheen) toward the Jews sprang from their being forced to sell their lands to the Jews and from the Jews refusing to share their grazing fields with the Arabs, as had been the custom earlier. When an Arab sold his lands to another Arab, he could still have his cattle graze in his former land, which the Jews refused to let him do. The Jews betrayed an amazing lack of empathy for Arab feelings.

The Palestinian Arabs, too, did not have much empathy for the Jewish settlers in Palestine. They were living in fantasies of their glorious medieval past rather than in the reality of their miserable present. Their denial of the new reality contributed to decades of Arab-Israeli warfare (Laroui 1976; Falk 1992:217–19).

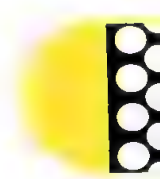
LONGING FOR THE PAST

The passage of time is traumatic: it symbolizes loss and death (Schiffer 1978). Zionism was a yearning to turn back time, to restore to the Jews their great historical losses. The Zionists wished to be reborn in their ancient motherland or fatherland. They wished to revolutionize Jewish life and to make sure that the Jewish future was not like the past, yet they longed for past glories at the same time. To them the alternative to Jewish rebirth in Palestine was the extinction of the Jewish people or the continued existence of the Jews in a state of insecurity, vulnerability, and indignity. Yet one obvious, real alternative to Palestine was America.

The fact that Zionism has been successful at altering Jewish reality by creating the Jewish community of Palestine, which eventually became the modern state of Israel, does not mean that it did not involve defensive psychological processes. The Zionist denial of the reality of the Arabs was a defensive, unconscious mental process, and we Israelis have paid a high and tragic price for it. When the Palestinian Arabs reacted with rage and violence to our ignoring them and attempting to build a Jewish homeland in what they regarded as *their* country, the idealist Zionists became enraged and violent in their turn at this Arab assault, which seemed to them so utterly vicious and unjustified.

Some scholars believe that the Arabs would never have accepted a Jewish state in Palestine, whatever the Zionist empathy, or lack of it, for their feelings. Yet Egypt, Jordan, and the Palestinians, however ambivalently and ambiguously, have recognized Israel and made peace with it. As a result of the mutual lack of recognition and empathy, the violent, murderous conflict has gone on between Israelis and Arabs for over a century. In fact, many of us Israelis still tend to deny the reality of the Arabs and of their deep hostility for us. This is obvious in the "Jordan is Palestine" fantasies of the extreme nationalist Israeli right-wing parties that wish to "transfer" the Palestinian Arabs to Jordan. Zionism, for all its great achievements, was based on denial and on the inability to mourn. Its stock in trade was myth, fantasy, and illusion. Modern

Israel still harbors many myths and illusions: the myth of the Jewish people, the myth of Jewish election, the myth of the Land of Israel, the myths of *aliyah* and *yeridah*. Despite the Israeli-Palestinian declaration of principles (1993), the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty (1994), and the Israeli-Palestinian accords (1995), an Israeli-Palestinian peace treaty has not yet been signed. It will take a great deal of sobering up, mourning, renunciation, and coming to grips with reality before true peace with the Arabs can be achieved and Israel becomes a normal country.



47

Zionists, Arabs, and Anti-Semites

A ONE-ARMED HERO

The British army seized Palestine from the Ottomans in 1917–18 and for two years ruled it under a military government. From 1920 Great Britain ruled Palestine under a League of Nations mandate. While moderate Zionist leaders tried to get the pro-Arab British government to make its Palestinian policy pro-Jewish, other Zionists sought military action. One of the heroes of modern Israel is Joseph Trumpeldor (1880–1920), a Russian Jewish immigrant to Palestine (1912) who was killed at Tel Hai (in Arabic, Talha) by Arabs seeking to annex the eastern Upper Galilee to Syria. It does not matter that all of Trumpeldor's battles—the Battle of Port Arthur in the Russo-Japanese war (1904–5), the Battle of Gallipoli in the Dardanelles Campaign (1915–16), and the Battle of Tel Hai (1920)—ended in defeat. People make their heroes where they need them.

Trumpeldor's father was impressed into imperial Russian military service as a "cantonist" Jewish child. He was trained in a military school, where Christianity reigned supreme and Judaism was suppressed. The elder Trumpeldor eventually settled in the Caucasus, where his son Joseph was born. The family was highly assimilated and spoke no Hebrew. Joseph Trumpeldor joined the imperial Russian army voluntarily. In 1904 he lost his left arm fighting the Japanese as a Russian soldier at the disastrous Battle of Port Arthur. He spent time in a Japanese POW camp, where prisoners were humiliated and traumatized. Trumpeldor was returned to Russia, winning a high military decoration and officer's rank. A handsome young man, the loss of his arm and his imprisonment by the Japanese were severe narcissistic injuries for him. Experiencing a personal crisis, he joined the Russian Zionists.

Zionist myth has it that in 1908 the twenty-eight-year-old Trumpeldor conceived heHalutz (The Pioneer), a group of young Russian Zionist idealists who aimed to settle in Palestine. Actually this group was first organized in Odessa in 1905 and in the United States in 1911; it was formally set up in 1918 and organized worldwide in 1921. The young men received farm training to prepare themselves for the ardors of the pioneering life in Palestine (Laqueur 1976:327). Trumpeldor did not even speak

any Hebrew in 1908. In 1912, during the Second Aliyah, Trumpeldor went to Ottoman Palestine. When he landed at Jaffa, Trumpeldor still spoke no Hebrew. He worked as a farm laborer for two years. When the Great War broke out in 1914, the one-armed Trumpeldor pined for battle again. In 1915 he met Vladimir Zhabotinsky (1880–1940), the fiery Zionist leader. Together they are said to have created the “Jewish Legion,” known in Israel as *haGdud haIvri* (The Hebrew Battalion or Regiment).

During the Great War Zhabotinsky strove almost single-handedly to create a “Jewish Legion” that would fight the Ottomans in Palestine. It was not clear exactly which army would sponsor the Jewish Legion—the Russian, British, or another army. Zhabotinsky was opposed by liberal Jewish assimilationists and by left-wing pacifists (Laqueur 1976:341). Trumpeldor at first thought that the Jewish Legion would be part of the imperial Russian army. When Zhabotinsky wrote Max Nordau, the Zionist leader in Paris, proposing the creation of a Jewish Legion to fight the Turks, Nordau replied, “But you cannot do that, the Muslims are kin to the Jews, Ishmael was our uncle” (Laqueur 1976:228n).

The Zionists did not succeed in organizing a real Jewish fighting force in the Great War except for the Zion Mule Corps, which Zhabotinsky is said to have conceived in 1914, when he was a Russian war correspondent in British Egypt. The corps, numbering several hundred Jewish soldiers, was created in 1915 and commanded by the British colonel John Patterson, a Zionist sympathizer; his deputy was Trumpeldor. The Zion Mule Corps took part in the disastrous British assault on Ottoman Gallipoli (Gelibolu) during the Dardanelles Campaign (1915–16).

A Jewish Legion for Palestine was finally created by the British Army at the end of the Great War. In 1917 Zhabotinsky and Weizmann succeeded in getting the British government to mobilize “alien” Russian Jews in Britain into the “First Jewish Regiment,” called “The Judaeans.” It became the 38th Royal Fusiliers Regiment and was commanded by Col. Patterson. In 1918 the 38th Royal Fusiliers were sent to Ottoman Palestine, but saw little action. The 39th Royal Fusiliers Regiment, set up that year, consisted of Jewish volunteers from North America; the 40th Royal Fusiliers Regiment was made up of Palestinian Jews. These regiments provided occupational therapy to many young unemployed Jews but were insignificant militarily.

In 1917 Trumpeldor left Palestine and returned to Russia to raise an army of Jewish pioneers for Palestine. When the Russian Revolution broke out in October 1917, Trumpeldor organized a small Jewish self-defense force and a union of Russian Jewish soldiers. In 1918 Trumpeldor took part in the first *heHalutz* (Jewish Pioneer) congress at Saint Petersburg (then Petrograd). In 1919 he traveled from Saint Petersburg to the Byelorussian city of Minsk, and thence to the Crimea, to bolster the pioneers of *heHalutz*. Trumpeldor returned to Palestine in 1919, where he took over the Jewish military defense of Tel Hai in the Upper Galilee.

The secret Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 had anticipated the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire, dividing the Middle East between Britain and France. The agreement gave the eastern Upper Galilee, including the Jewish settlements of Metullah, Kfar Giladi, and Tel Hai, to France, which was also free to set up its own

regime in the Syrian Lebanon, with its majority Christian Arab population. The sharif of Mecca, Emir Husain ibn Ali (c. 1854–1931), became king of the Hejaz (1916). He and the Hejazi Arabs helped the British defeat the Ottomans. The British conquests (1917–18) changed the geopolitical picture. The legendary scholar T. E. Lawrence (1888–1935) was the British liaison officer to the Arab forces commanded by Emir Faisal ibn Husain (1885–1933) of the Hejaz. They crossed the Nefud desert (now in Saudi Arabia) and took Aqaba, at the northernmost tip of the Red Sea (now in Jordan), on 6 July 1917.

Lawrence sought to coordinate the Arab revolt with General Edmund Allenby's campaign in Palestine. In November 1917 the Turks captured Lawrence and tortured him brutally, sodomizing him. Lawrence was severely traumatized for the rest of his life. In December he nonetheless joined Allenby's victory parade in Jerusalem. The thirty-year-old Lawrence returned to direct Faisal's campaign in Trans-Jordan and Syria. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel and awarded the Distinguished Service Order (D.S.O.). On 30 October 1918 King George V of England (1865–1936) was to confer the Order of the Bath and the D.S.O. on Lawrence, but the traumatized hero "politely refused" the honors, leaving King George "holding the box in [his] hand." Lawrence was masochistic and unable to enjoy the fruits of his achievements. He lived ascetically, demoting himself from colonel to private and courting privations and humiliations (Mack 1976).

At the end of the Great War, in June 1918, Faisal ibn Husain met the Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann (1874–1952) in Aqaba. In September–October the motley Arab force from the Hejaz occupied Damascus. Faisal ibn Husain was declared king of Syria. In November 1918 Britain and France declared their intention of setting up national governments in Syria and Iraq. In January 1919 Faisal went to the Paris Peace Conference, where he learned that France was determined to set up its own regime in the Lebanon and Syria. Faisal negotiated an agreement with France that gave it control of the Lebanon as well as the Syrian coastal regions as far north as Alexandretta (now Iskenderun, Turkey). On 3 January 1919 Faisal made an agreement with Weizmann, accepting the Balfour Declaration and the Jewish National Home in Palestine, provided the Muslims had freedom of worship and the Arabs and Jews maintained peaceful relations. The agreement may have been signed at a later date, after the wary Faisal had written a memo to the British Foreign Office and added a powerful handwritten Arabic-language disclaimer (Antonius 1965:439):

Provided the Arabs obtain their independence as demanded in my Memorandum dated the 4th of January, 1919, to the Foreign Office of the Government of Great Britain, I shall concur in the above articles. But if the slightest modification or departure were to be made (namely in relation to the demands in the Memorandum) I shall not then be bound by a single word of the present Agreement which shall be deemed void and of no account or validity, and I shall not be answerable in any way whatsoever.

Zionist historians often omit this disclaimer.

In January 1920 Prince Faisal ibn Husain returned to Damascus, where the Mus-

lim Arabs were rioting against French rule. The Muslim Arabs wanted their own government in Syria, including Lebanon, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan. Their armed attacks on the French forces and on the Christian Arab villages soon spread to the Jewish settlements of the Upper Galilee. On 1 March 1920 an Arab mob surrounded Tel Hai, demanding to check for French troops. A few Arabs were let inside, at which point they attempted to take over the settlement by force of arms. In the ensuing melee, Trumpeldor and five other Jewish defenders were killed. Zionist myth has his last words in Hebrew as "It is good to die for our country." This is a Hebrew version of the Latin *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*. More likely he uttered some Russian profanity.

In the spring of 1920 the Arabs of Palestine, incited by their Muslim religious leaders, rioted against the Jews. The "illegal" Jewish defenders were arrested and court-martialed by the British. Six months after Trumpeldor's death, in August 1920, he was lionized, immortalized, and glorified. The Joseph Trumpeldor Labor and Defense Legion, consisting of thousands of young Jewish socialists from Russia, was created and named after him. In 1921 the Labor Legion, as it was commonly known, created two kibbutzim (communal settlements), one of which was named Tel Joseph after Trumpeldor. Meanwhile the Syrian congress met in Damascus, electing Faisal ibn Husain king of United Syria, including Palestine. In July 1920 France used the Arab unrest as a pretext to invade Syria and to occupy Damascus. Faisal ibn Husain was forced to abdicate and go into exile. The British invited him to London, and in 1921 made him king of Iraq.

A FIERY FREEDOM FIGHTER

Vladimir Zhabotinsky (Jabotinsky, 1880–1940) was born in Odessa, in the Russian Ukraine, to an "assimilationist" middle-class Jewish family. His father died when he was very young, and his family became impoverished. Vladimir had no Hebrew name and was brought up speaking Russian. He loved Russian literature and showed no interest in either socialism or Zionism. He had a great gift as a writer and orator. In his youth the future leader of Jewish militarism wrote a pacifist play (Laqueur 1976:341). Zhabotinsky was drawn to journalism, becoming the foreign correspondent of an Odessa newspaper in 1898. He studied in Switzerland and in Italy, which he fell in love with, and even wrote Italian poetry. In 1901 Zhabotinsky's newspaper recalled the popular journalist to Odessa to serve as an editorial writer.

The Chisinau riots (1903) and the pogroms that followed in Russia (1904–5) shocked Zhabotinsky into becoming a Zionist. He wrote and made speeches in favor of the creation of a Jewish national state in "the Land of Israel" (Palestine). Zhabotinsky was preoccupied with power. He became a delegate to the Sixth Zionist Congress (1903), where Herzl made "a colossal impression" on him, even though Herzl then wanted to settle the Jews in East Africa. From 1903 to 1914 Zhabotinsky traveled in Europe as a Russian foreign correspondent, his Zionist views becoming increasingly rigid, nationalistic, and militant.

Zhabotinsky had many contradictory traits in his character. In 1906 he helped convene the anti-Zionist Helsinki Conference, which called upon the Jews of Europe to engage in *Gegenwartsarbeit* (work in the present) and to join in the liberation struggle of the ethnic minorities in Russia. It called upon Russia to ensure the rights of these groups and to grant the Jews full equality of rights. The Zionist leaders opposed these resolutions because they did not call upon the Jews to settle in Palestine. "Why should Jabotinsky have bothered to insist on full equality for the Jews [in Russia]," Laqueur (1976:340) wondered, "if he was convinced, with Pinsker and Herzl, that anti-Semitism was endemic in Europe and that east European Jewry was doomed?"

Zhabotinsky moved to Constantinople (Istanbul) to work for Victor Jacobson (1869–1935), the head of the Zionist office there since 1908. Jacobson had been a sharp critic of Herzl during the Uganda crisis of 1903. Jacobson was Ussishkin's brother-in-law. Shortly after Zhabotinsky's arrival, a crisis arose in Zionism. Jacobus Kann, a Dutch Jewish banker and Zionist leader who had also opposed Herzl (Falk 1993a), published an extremely nationalist-Jewish book about Zionism's ultimate aims, which envisaged a Jewish state on both banks of the Jordan River. Jacobson feared that Kann's book would hurt the Zionist cause in the Ottoman empire. Zhabotinsky, who supported Kann, was more cautious, yet he was forced to leave. In 1908 and 1909 Zhabotinsky wrote Hebrew articles complaining that his beloved Russian writers had depicted the Jews very unfavorably and that a Russian Jew could not aspire to be a great Russian writer. When the Great War broke out in 1914, the thirty-four-year-old Zhabotinsky was depressed and in a personal crisis. He wrote in his autobiography:

What would I have done if the world had not broken out in flames? I had wasted my youth and early middle age. Perhaps I would have gone to [the Land of Israel], perhaps I would have escaped to Rome, perhaps I would have founded a political party. (Laqueur 1976:340–41)

Instead Zhabotinsky went to Cairo to cover the war for his newspaper. He was rightly convinced that the ruling Ottoman empire would fall to the Allies, and that if the Jews gave military service to the Allies during the war, they would be allowed to colonize Palestine.

ZIONISM FIGHTS ANTI-SEMITISM

Vladimir Zhabotinsky had fantasies of Jewish heroics. In the spring of 1920 the Palestinian Arabs, incited by Islamic leaders, rioted against the Jews. Many Jews were killed and injured. Zhabotinsky helped organize the new illegal Jewish defense force known as the Haganah. He and his colleagues were arrested by the British, court-martialed, and sentenced to fifteen years at hard labor. A great outcry arose in the Palestinian Jewish community as well as among world Jewry. After months of intensive lobbying in London, Zhabotinsky was pardoned and released. In 1921 he was elected to the Council of Palestinian Jewry, which the "Hebrews" of the "Land of

Israel" called Assephath haNivkharim (The Assembly of the Elected). From 1920 to 1928 this body had little or no authority (Laqueur 1976:447); later it bowed to the Zionist Executive. Zhabotinsky was elected to the political department of the Zionist Executive and to the Executive itself. He constantly quarreled with Chairman Chaim Weizmann over the latter's pro-British policy.

Political Zionism was pursuing the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. From the Zionist viewpoint, the Ukrainian riots were a disaster, but also a blessing in disguise. Zionism fought anti-Semitism, but the riots served its purpose by making the Jews wish to leave for Palestine. In 1922 Zhabotinsky, who had been in Palestine during its takeover by the British, met in Paris with Slavinsky, a liberal member of Petlyura's Ukrainian government in exile. Zhabotinsky proposed the creation of a Jewish police force within the Ukrainian state to protect Ukrainian Jews against pogroms. Zhabotinsky's meeting with the representative of one of the worst enemies of the Jews provoked an outcry in the Jewish and Zionist world. In 1923 Zhabotinsky resigned from the Zionist Executive. In 1925 he created Revisionist Zionism, a right-wing offshoot that later led to the creation of Heruth and Likkud, the Israeli right-wing nationalist parties. In May 1926 Petlyura was assassinated in Paris by a young Ukrainian Jewish watchmaker, Schalom Schwarzbart, whose family had been massacred by Petlyura's men; Schwarzbart was acquitted by a French jury (November 1927).

While Zhabotinsky fought both the British and his leftist Zionist rivals, the dead Trumpeldor became the hero of both left-wing and right-wing Zionists. In 1923 Zhabotinsky's ultra-nationalist Zionists set up a youth movement in Riga, Latvia, which they called Bethar, a Hebrew acronym for Brith Ioseph Trumpeldor. Bethar had also been the name of an ancient Jewish stronghold during the disastrous Bar Kochba revolt against the Romans (132–35 C.E.). Bar Kochba was glorified by the Zionists as a hero. The Labor Legion broke up in 1923 and again in 1926 after fierce internal power struggles between its left and right factions. The communist faction returned to the Soviet Union, set up a commune, and were ultimately destroyed by Stalin's purges. The socialist faction remained in Palestine, working on road and building construction projects. Trumpeldor remains in the Israeli Heroes' Hall of Fame. Every Israeli Jewish schoolchild learns to sing "In the Galilee, at Tel Hai, a hero fell . . ." Every year on 11 Adar of the Hebrew calendar, a pilgrimage is made to his monument in the shape of a roaring lion at Tel Hai.

In 1925 Zhabotinsky and his right-wing faction seceded from the Zionist Organization and created the Revisionist Zionist Alliance, known by its Hebrew acronym of haTsohar. Henceforth the Revisionists were the chief opposition to the Labor Zionists in Palestinian Jewish and world Zionist politics. At the Seventeenth Zionist Congress (Basel, 1931) the Revisionists moved to define Zionism's ultimate aims much in line with Kann's pamphlet of 1908. This motion was voted down by the assembly, at which the Revisionists tore up their delegate cards and stormed out of the hall. In 1935 they seceded from the World Zionist Organization and set up the rival New Zionist Organization. The violent internal struggles of the Revisionists were unconsciously externalized upon the political stage.

Twentieth-Century Hebrews

“ASCENT” TO THE “LAND OF ISRAEL”

The history of the Palestinian Jews in the first part of the twentieth century is fascinating. In Ottoman Palestine, old Hebrew words took on new meaning. The Hebrew word *yishuv* means “settlement.” Orthodox Jews viewed the settlement of “the Land of Israel” as a *mitsvah* (commandment). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the word *yishuv* came to mean community. With the advent of Zionism the word *yishuv* also came to mean the entire Jewish community of Palestine. The old, pre-Zionist and non-Zionist Jewish community of Palestine was called *haYishuv haYashan* (the old community). The new settlers called themselves *haYishuv halvri beEretz Yisrael* (the Hebrew community in the land of Israel).

As mentioned, the Hebrew word *aliyah* means “ascent.” The land of Canaan was a place to ascend to (Gen. 45:25). The Hebrew Bible treated the Land of Israel as a great mother. After the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians and the exile of the Jews to Babylonia (586 B.C.E.), the term gradually came to mean Jewish immigration to “the Land of Israel.” The original usage may have had to do with the altitude of Jerusalem, some 800 meters (2500 feet) above sea level. In 538 B.C.E. Cyrus the Great took Babylon and, we are told, called upon the Jews to “go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah” (Ezra 1:3). A small group of Babylonian Jewish exiles heeded the call and “went up” to Jerusalem (Neh. 12:1). As the Jerusalem stronghold of Zion gradually came to designate the entire land, so the idea of “ascent” to Jerusalem was extended to all of the land of Israel; *aliyah* is the official Israeli term for immigration to Israel. The fantasy underlying this usage is that the Land of Israel is set above all other lands, and that the immigrant leaves his bad motherland and ascends to it, as an infant would to its mother.

The term *aliyah* also came to designate the Jewish immigrants themselves, and the “waves” of Jewish immigration, as if the immigrants were a sea washing ashore. Thus in Zionist history the twenty-five thousand Jews who came to Ottoman Palestine from Russia during the great pogroms, most of whom left Palestine again, are known as the First Aliyah (1882–1904); the forty thousand Jews who came to Palestine before the Great War are known as the Second Aliyah (1905–14); those who came right after the war are known as the Third Aliyah (1919–23); those who came during the

mid-1920s, mostly from Poland, are called the Fourth Aliyah (1924–28); and those who came, mostly from Germany, in the 1930s, are called the Fifth Aliyah (1930–39).

Zionist historians attribute the first “ascent” to the bloody anti-Jewish riots that swept Russia from 1881 to 1905. But the vast majority of Russian Jews went to America, not Palestine. The young Russian Jews who went to Palestine were a special lot. Many were newly secular Jews who ambivalently rebelled against their Orthodox, authoritarian fathers. Others were unconsciously trying to break away from fusional relationships in their families of origin. They unconsciously split off the internal image of their mother into an all-good and an all-bad one, idealizing Palestine as a great good motherland while denigrating Russia and the rest of the world as the “exile” and “diaspora” of the Jews.

The European Jews in Ottoman Palestine benefited from the Ottoman capitulations system. This system had begun informally in 1536, when King François of France (Francis I, 1494–1547) signed a treaty with Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent that gave France extraterritorial rights in Turkey. The humiliating capitulations system forced upon the weakened Ottomans by the European powers in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries placed non-Ottoman nationals outside the jurisdiction of the Ottoman courts and under that of their own consuls. They were also exempt from Ottoman military service.

The total number of Jews in Ottoman Palestine at the turn of the century did not exceed fifty thousand among the hundreds of thousands of Arabs there. There were still millions of Jews in Europe, Russia, and America. As we have mentioned, the vast majority of Russian Jews had migrated to the United States, while only a handful had “gone up” to Palestine. Of those who did “ascend” to the “Land of Israel,” many became discouraged and left again, either for America, or for their native Russia, Europe, South Africa, or Australia. Those who did remain in Palestine created twenty agricultural settlements that, in the colonial spirit of the day, they called “colonies.” The native Palestinian Arabs were treated with condescension, if not contempt, much as the European colonial settlers treated the African and Asian “natives.”

The Russian word for Jews, *yevrei*, comes from the Greek *evreios* (Hebrew), while the derogatory word for Jews, *zhydy*, derives from the Greek *ioudaios* (Judaean), which comes from the Hebrew *yehudah*. Perhaps to cease being *zhydy*, the Russian Jews who came to Ottoman Palestine prior to the Great War called themselves in Hebrew *ivrim* (Hebrews) rather than *yehudim* (Jews). They spoke of the “Hebrew” community, “Hebrew” labor, “Hebrew” education, “Hebrew” schools, and the “Hebrew” nation. It was as if there were no longer any Jews in Ottoman Palestine, only “Hebrews” in the “Land of Israel.” This was a tragic denial of reality. The Palestinian Jews were still Jews, and Ottoman Palestine was not their land. Neither were they Ottoman citizens; they retained their Russian, Austrian, German, or other nationality. This had advantages under the Ottoman capitulations system. In 1914–15, during the early part of the Great War, when the Ottomans expelled many Jews from Palestine, there was a Jewish Ottomanization movement, which called upon the Jews of Palestine to accept Ottoman citizenship and serve in the Ottoman army.

The young Jewish settlers in Ottoman Palestine not only had to contend with malaria, poverty, unemployment, and a corrupt system that extorted bribes; many of them simply could not make a living. They eked out a miserable existence working dawn-to-dusk on Jewish farms as hired hands. The landowning Jewish farmers preferred cheap Arab labor, which led to conflict between Jewish laborers and "peasants." Some of the Palestinian colonies were owned by the banker-philanthropist Baron Edmond de Rothschild (1845–1934), whose Palestinian agents and supervisors were arrogant colonial overseers who resented Herzl's Zionism. At least one of them, Elie Scheid, seems to have intrigued against Herzl (Falk 1993a:281). During the 1890s there were severe conflicts between the hardworking settlers and the baron's haughty agents. In 1900 Rothschild handed his colonies over to the Jewish Colonial Association, founded in 1891 by his rival, Baron Maurice de Hirsch (1831–96). In 1909 the first Jewish city, Tel Aviv, was founded outside the Arab city of Jaffa. The name was taken from Ezek. 3:15 and was used as a forced Hebrew rendering of Herzl's *Altneuland*. The small town eventually grew into one of the largest cities along the Mediterranean coast, with a total metropolitan population of about one million, including the suburbs.

Many of the Russian Jewish immigrants to Palestine were Zionist Socialists who believed in collective property and communal life, if not communism. In 1909 the first collective farm, Deganyah, on the Sea of Galilee, was called *kvutseh* (group). The name Deganyah was intended to mean "God's grain" or "God's cereal." Actually it combined the names of two ancient gods, the Canaanite Dagan and the Jewish Yahweh. Later the word *kvutseh* was changed to *kibbutz* (gathering or collective). By 1914 there were some eighty-five thousand Jews in Palestine, some 10 percent of the total Arab, Jewish, and Turkish population. This handful of contentious Jews split up into numerous political parties, both secular and religious, Zionist and anti-Zionist, left-wing socialist and right-wing nationalist. The total membership of each party did not exceed several hundred souls. If modern Israel is plagued by a multitude of political parties, at least it has several million citizens to make them up. The number of Jewish political parties in Ottoman Palestine indicated the contentiousness and stubbornness of its Jews.

MICHAEL IN THE LION'S DEN

One of the long-forgotten Second Aliyah heroes was Yekhiel Michal Halperin (1860–1919), also known as Michael Halpern. He was born to a wealthy Jewish family in Vilnius, the capital of Russian Lithuania. As a young man Halperin moved to Smolensk in western Russia, where he had visions of redeeming the world and saving the Jews. Halperin expended "a great deal of time and energy in trying to reform the local prostitutes" (Laqueur 1976:241n), spending his father's fortune on his grandiose plans. After the pogroms of 1881–82, the young Halperin became a Zionist. In 1885 he emigrated to Palestine, changing his middle name from the feminine Michal to the

masculine Michael. Halperin bought lands from the Arabs. He set up the first "Hebrew" workers' union and helped found several Jewish "colonies" in Palestine.

In the 1890s, when the Palestinian Jewish "colonists" rebelled against Baron Edmond de Rothschild's supervisors, Halperin supported the rebels and got in trouble with the baron's men. Halperin returned to Russia, either because of his problems with Rothschild's agents or because of illness in his family. He could not break the tie to his family and mourn the loss of his native land. In Russia Halperin became active in the Zionist movement, helping found the Workers of Zion movement and the Jewish self-defense force (1905). In 1906 he returned to Palestine, where he became an armed guard close to haShomer but not part of it. Years before the Great War Halperin dreamed of creating "The Jewish People's Legion" that would seize Palestine from the Ottomans. He even went as far as Ethiopia to recruit Jewish volunteers. "These were flights of fancy indulged in by a few individuals, and no one took them seriously at the time," wrote Laqueur (1976:228). Actually, many of the Second Aliyah settlers indulged in such flights of fancy.

Laqueur (1976:241n) called Halperin "a curious, tragic and in some ways prophetic figure." Halperin was not a normal individual. His "flights of fancy" included the idea of a fraternal alliance between Muslim Arabs and Jews against the "evil" Christians, and massive Jewish-Arab intermarriage. The most bizarre incident involving Halperin occurred a few years before the outbreak of the Great War. A circus visited Jaffa, and the overflow crowd included both Jews and Arabs. The Arabs challenged the Jews to enter the lions' cage. Halperin did, singing the Jewish anthem, *haTikvah* (The hope, with music by Smetana) inside the cage, "to the consternation of public and lions alike" (Laqueur 1976:241n). When the Jewish Legion for Palestine was created (1917), the fifty-seven-year-old Halperin asked to join but was turned down as too old. He died two years later.

A STUBBORN ZIONIST

Abraham Menachem Mendel Ussishkin (1863–1941) was the fiery leader of the Russian Jewish "Zion Zionists" who broke with Theodor Herzl over the Uganda Plan in 1903. Ussishkin visited Palestine briefly that year but returned to Russia and stayed there through the Great War. In 1919 Ussishkin returned to Palestine to lead the "Hebrew *yishuv*." He was rigid, obsessional, headstrong, opinionated, domineering, aggressive, and outspoken. Ussishkin saw the world in black and white. The "national Hebrew poet" Hayim Nakhman Bialik (1873–1934) thought that Ussishkin was

not as solid and hard as people say. Those who know him well find in him a good measure of emotion and sentimentality. There is a little bit of fantasy in him, too. His eyes tend to fill with tears. His supposed hardness stems more from stubbornness and inflexibility. His thoughts move as heavily as a bear and when he is set on an idea he cannot easily move away from it or turn right or left in the slightest degree. He is by nature and in spirit limited; he is straight. And very conservative. . . . He recognizes no colors or shadings. (Vital 1982:187)

Pawel (1989:515) called Ussishkin "the first in a long line of iron-willed apparatchiks with tunnel vision, grossly inflated egos, and an inflexible devotion to the cause, from Ben-Gurion and Golda Meir to Begin and Shamir, who were—and still are—an asset and an affliction to Zionism." One can hardly call Ussishkin "normal." But then political leadership is often associated with psychopathology (Robins 1977). Neither were most of the other early Zionists normal. "Normal" Jews went to America, not Palestine.

In 1917–18 the British took Palestine from the Ottomans and instituted a military government system. Colonel Ronald Storrs, the pro-Arab British military governor of the Jerusalem District (1918–1920), received the man he called "Czar Ussishkin" in 1919. Storrs (1936:489) recalled, "[W]hen he [Ussishkin] was announced for an interview I braced myself to take my punishment like a man, praying only that my subordinates would keep an equal control over their tempers." Storrs did not like the Jews very much. He loved to quote John Dryden's derisive verse on the Jews:

God's pampered people whom, debauch'd with ease,
No King could govern and no God could please.

Laqueur (1976:450) felt that, from the Zionist viewpoint, neither had God pampered the Jews, nor had Storrs tried to please them.

A SCIENTIFIC ZIONIST

In 1917–18, during the latter part of World War I, the Jewish Zionists, "assimilationists," and anti-Zionists waged internal power struggles in London. One of the prominent Zionist leaders was Dr. Chaim Azriel Weizmann (1874–1952). He came from the small Byelorussian town of Motol, northwest of Pinsk, and had been trained as a chemist in Switzerland. Weizmann was involved in Zionist politics in Herzl's time. In 1904, the year Herzl died, Weizmann had settled in England, teaching science at the University of Manchester. In 1916 Weizmann had helped the British Ministry of Munitions obtain badly needed acetone for its cordite explosive industry by inventing a chemical process to extract acetone from maize. He now had friends in high places, especially David Lloyd George, the former minister of munitions and secretary of state for war, and Arthur James Balfour, the former first lord of the admiralty.

In 1916 Weizmann was elected president of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain. On 20 May 1917 a conference of delegates from all the British Zionist societies and associations took place in London. Weizmann took on the anti-Zionists. He made a fiery address to the delegates, warning them against an impending attack by "the assimilationist handful of upper-class British Jews," denouncing the anti-Zionists as "a small minority" of British Jews and announcing that the British government would support the Zionists (Weizmann 1966:200–201). This was a daring statement. The British government

may have had Zionist sympathies, but its policy was ambivalent, if not pro-Arab. The British anti-Zionists included the British Jewish establishment: the Board of Deputies of British Jews, led by David L. Alexander; the Anglo-Jewish Association, headed by Claude J. G. Montefiore; and the Conjoint Committee, founded by both organizations in 1878 and chaired by Lucien Wolf, a prominent British Jewish scholar and journalist.

Weizmann's speech brought to a head a power struggle in British Jewry, whose ranks had been swollen by the poor immigrants from Eastern Europe. Stein (1961:446–48) thought that British Jewry had been run by a few “benevolent oligarchical families” who were out of touch with the new popular, democratic Jewish leadership. Weizmann won the power struggle. On 24 May 1917, the Conjoint Committee published a letter in the *Times* signed by Alexander and Montefiore, attacking Zionism, calling Judaism a religion, not a nationality, and denouncing Jewish nationalism as an anachronism (Weizmann 1952:202). This letter created an uproar. The protesters included the Hungarian-born and Orthodox chief rabbi of Great Britain, Dr. Joseph Herman Hertz (1872–1946); the Romanian-born leader of the British Sephardic Jewish community, Khacham Dr. Moses Gaster (b. 1856); Baron Lionel Walter Rothschild (1868–1937), a Conservative British member of Parliament, banker, and prominent Jewish leader; and Weizmann himself. These men publicly dissociated themselves from the Conjoint Committee's statement. The *Times* itself ran an editorial supporting the Zionists. The Board of Deputies of British Jews voted no confidence in the Conjoint Committee. The furious David Alexander resigned as president of the board, and the Conjoint Committee was dissolved (Laqueur 1976:193–194). Weizmann became the undisputed leader of the British Zionists.

THE “HEBREWS” TAKE UP ARMS

The Eastern European Jews, who had been persecuted for centuries, and who had survived, among other things, by forming self-government, had a gift and a passion for organization. From 1905 to 1914 the “Hebrews” of the “Land of Israel” created many economic, social, educational, military, and cultural institutions, including forty-three agricultural settlements, an armed self-defense group called haShomer (The Watchman), Hebrew schools, Hebrew newspapers, and much public debate and controversy. When the Great War came, there were less than ninety thousand Jews in Ottoman Palestine. Ottoman Turkey committed the fatal error of allying itself with Germany, paving the road for its own destruction. The British fought the Ottomans and their German allies for control of the Middle East.

In late 1916 a political crisis shook Great Britain. The Liberal prime minister Herbert Henry Asquith (1852–1928) was forced to resign. His younger, more radical rival, the Welshman David Lloyd George (1863–1945), a notorious womanizer, former minister of munitions, and secretary of state for war, became prime minister. Lloyd George replaced the unwieldy twenty-three-member British cabinet with a five-member

emergency war cabinet that efficiently and vigorously pursued the war. Arthur James Balfour, the former first lord of the admiralty, became foreign secretary.

Great Britain controlled Egypt and had massive military forces there. The indecisive and incompetent British general Sir Archibald Murray commanded the British Egyptian Expeditionary Force (E.E.F.), which had many Australian, New Zealand, and Nepalese Gurkha troops. General Murray made no haste to engage the Ottomans in Palestine. There were sharp divisions in the British cabinet concerning the conduct of the war. General Sir Douglas Haig (1861–1928), commander of the British Expeditionary Force in France, and Field Marshal Sir William Robertson (1860–1933), chief of the imperial general staff, felt that the war could only be won on the western front and gave Murray no orders to fight vigorously. Dixon (1979:249–53, 371–92) felt that Haig was a prime example of military incompetence. Lloyd George disagreed with Haig and Robertson, advocating an allied attack in the Middle East.

In December 1916, after Lloyd George became prime minister, General Murray was ordered to move into Palestine. He began a massive advance on Ottoman northeastern Sinai and besieged Gaza. But in March 1917 General Murray, fearing heavy losses, pulled his British troops away from Gaza just as the Ottomans were about to surrender. When Murray's troops tried to seize Gaza again in April, they were repelled by the Ottomans with heavy losses. Field Marshal Lord Douglas Haig, commander of British forces in France during the Great War, similarly caused hundreds of thousands of British casualties in 1916–17. Haig nevertheless denigrated Murray (Dixon 1979:251).

In June 1917 Lloyd George replaced General Murray as commander of the British Egyptian Expeditionary Force with the more daring General Sir Edmund H. H. Allenby (1861–1936), who was ordered to capture Jerusalem by Christmas (Lloyd George 1936, 4:1835). Dixon (1979:241–43, 340–41) considered Allenby, later promoted to field marshal, one of the great commanders in British military history. By November 1917 Allenby's forces had captured Gaza and marched on Beer Sheba. The British liberated southern Palestine from the Ottomans and pushed on from Beer Sheba to Jerusalem. To the Orthodox Palestinian Jews, the British victories over the Ottomans in late 1917 heralded no less than the arrival of the Messiah.

Weizmann lobbied hard with his Whitehall friends for a pro-Zionist declaration, but the British government felt its interests in Palestine lay with the majority Arabs. After prolonged deliberations in the British cabinet, Balfour sent a carefully crafted letter to Weizmann's colleague, Lionel Walter Rothschild. Balfour's declaration said nothing of a Jewish state in Palestine, and was very careful to safeguard Arab rights:

Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to, and approved by, the cabinet:

'His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours,
Arthur James Balfour

When they read what they called "The Balfour Declaration," the British Zionists and the Palestinian Jews were ecstatic. The latter had suffered during the war and were now "depleted and impoverished" (Laqueur 1976:446). They dismissed the second half of "The Balfour Declaration," which guaranteed Arab rights.

When General Allenby liberated Jerusalem from the Ottomans on 9 December 1917, which was the Jewish feast of Hanukkah 5668, many Jews called Allenby the Messiah. Some Christians called him the Son of God, and Muslims his Prophet. In 1917–18 General Allenby's British forces drove the Ottomans out of Palestine and pushed toward Syria. T. E. Lawrence (1888–1935), better known as Lawrence of Arabia, called the British army's Middle East campaigns in the Great War "a side-show of a sideshow." They were indeed insignificant compared with the British war effort in Europe. Nonetheless, the Jewish community of Palestine saw it as the most momentous event since Moses led the Jews out of Egypt.

BRITISH AMBIVALENCE IN PALESTINE

From 1918 to 1920 Palestine was administered by a British military government known as the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA). Palestinian Jewish and Arab nationalism conflicted, and the British were mostly pro-Arab. General Allenby and most of his officers liked the Arabs better than the Jews (Laqueur 1976:448). The British OETA turned down a Zionist request to set up a self-defense force, refused to use the Hebrew language along with English and Arabic on official documents, denied the Jewish medical organizations the privileges given the Red Cross, and allowed no one to buy land. Senior British officers refused to rise when the Jewish national anthem was played at public events.

That anthem was based on a Hebrew poem entitled "haTikvah" (The hope), written by Naphtali Herz Imber (1856–1909), an itinerant Russian Jewish Hebrew poet. "HaTikvah" was incongruously set to a musical phrase from *Vltava* (Moldova), a symphonic poem by the Czech composer Smetana (1824–84) that had nothing to do with the Jews. No specifically Jewish music was used. The Hebrew poem spoke of the Jews' age-old longing to be a free people in "the Land of Zion and Jerusalem."

Like Zionism itself, the poem assumed that all Jews outside Palestine wished to live there, and expressed the yearnings for liberty of those already living there. After Israel became a free Jewish state in 1948, *haTikvah* was retained as its national anthem.

The Palestinian Arabs seethed with righteous rage at the Jewish settlers. Most British politicians opposed the Balfour Declaration. The Jews began to mistrust the British. In early 1918 the British government sent a newly created Zionist Commission to Palestine "to survey the situation and to prepare plans in the spirit of the Balfour Declaration" (Weizmann 1966:212). The Palestinian Jews called the Zionist Commission by the Hebrew name of Vaad haTsimim (Committee of Delegates). The commission incredibly included an anti-Zionist French Jew named Sylvain Lévy. Other members were an Italian Jew named Angelo Levi Bianchini, Dr. Chaim Weizmann (he had dropped his middle name of Azriel), Dr. David Eder (a British Zionist psychiatrist), Joseph Cowen (a former Herzl aide in London), and the British Zionist leaders Leon Simon and Israel Sieff, whom the Hebrew speakers called "Yisrael Ziv." The commission's British army liaison officers were William George Arthur Ormsby-Gore (1885–1964), a future colonial secretary, and James de Rothschild, son of the Baron Edmond de Rothschild. The commission went out of existence in 1921, when the National Council of Palestinian Jews was created.

Lloyd George and Balfour gave Weizmann letters of introduction to General Allenby, but their policy was not to anger the majority Arabs. Allenby had an independent mind and did not shrink from defying his superiors. Weizmann (1966:218) ascribed Allenby's negative response to the general's disdain for civilians:

Almost his first remark was: "Yes, but of course nothing can be done at present. We have to be extremely careful not to hurt the susceptibilities of the [Arab] population." He was polite, even kind, in manner, but not at all forthcoming when we got down to the purpose of the [Zionist] commission. One felt that this was a military world, and in it only soldiers had a right to exist. Civilians were a nuisance. But here we were—a very motley group of civilians—injected into the military organism like a foreign body. . . . The messianic hopes which we had read into the Balfour Declaration suffered a perceptible diminution when we came into contact with the hard realities of GHQ [General Headquarters].

In fact, Allenby's attitude was consistent with the ambivalently pro-Arab policy of the British government. The general knew what his superiors in London wanted him to do, and that was not to anger the Arabs. The Zionist Jews were to suffer many "perceptible diminutions" in their hopes and expectations. They had denied the reality of Palestine. Allenby's behavior was not just a matter of his military viewpoint, or of his independent personality, but of British Middle East policy.

The ancients used to think that "to the victor belong the spoils." The American writer F. Scott Fitzgerald, in *The Beautiful and Damned* (1922), felt that "the victor belongs to the spoils." Greed enslaves the greedy. After the Great War the victorious Allies divided the spoils. In 1919 the Paris Peace Conference created the new League of Nations. Article 22 of the League's charter, drafted by the South African statesman

J. C. Smuts (1870–1950), was fascinating. Ambivalently treating the “natives” of their Asian colonies as parents do their children (Mannoni 1964, Mason 1970, Wurgaft 1983), the Allied powers devised what they called Class A mandates, under which the mandated territory was deemed “independent,” yet subject to the mandatory power “until it reached political maturity. . . .” On 19–26 April 1920 the prime ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy met with representatives of Japan, Greece, and Belgium at the resort town of San Remo, on the Italian Riviera dei Fiori, to decide the fate of the conquered Ottoman territories. Syria was divided into two Class A mandates. Northern Syria, including Lebanon, was mandated to France, while southern Syria, including Palestine and Trans-Jordan, was mandated to Great Britain. In 1922 the League of Nations ratified the British Mandate in Palestine. Its preamble promised much to the Jews:

[T]he Principal Allied Powers have agreed . . . that the Mandatory Power should be responsible for putting into effect the [Balfour] declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917 by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people . . . and recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine. . . . The Mandatory Power has undertaken to create conditions that will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home (Article 2); to recognize an appropriate Jewish Agency, which would cooperate with the Administration of Palestine in all matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine (Article 4). The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions; and shall encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands. (Article 6)

In August 1920 the Treaty of Sèvres legalized the Allied division of Ottoman Turkey. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s nationalist Turkey angrily repudiated the treaty. In July 1922 the League of Nations ratified the British Mandate over Palestine. In 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne between the Allied Powers and Turkey legalized Palestine’s status as a League of Nations mandate to Great Britain. The treaty took effect in 1924. The Jewish Agency for Palestine was formally constituted at the Sixteenth Zionist Congress (Zurich 1929). At first half the members of its Executive were non-Zionists, but the Zionists gradually took over. The Jewish Agency became the Palestinian arm of the Zionist Organization. Ironically, the “Jewish Agency for the Land of Israel” still exists, forty-five years after the British left Palestine and Israel became a state. It deals with Jewish “ascent” to Israel, with Zionist education in Jewish communities, and with fund-raising.

In July 1920 the British military government of Palestine had been replaced with a civilian mandatory administration, and the British Jewish Lord Herbert Louis Samuel (1870–1963) was made high commissioner for Palestine for five years (1920–25). Colonel Storrs’s friend Ernest Richmond, a fanatical foe of Jewish nationalism, was appointed political secretary of the Palestine government. Ussishkin briefly headed

the short-lived Zionist Commission (1919–21). He became the chairman of the Zionist Executive, but was soon replaced by more prominent rivals.

NAME CHANGES AND REBIRTH FANTASIES

Unconsciously many Jewish immigrants to Palestine, suffering from an inner conflict of the wish for fusion versus the need for individuation, and unhappy with their families of origin, were seeking rebirth in a new motherland (cf. Gonen 1975). Moving from Russia to Palestine involved changing one's language, name, and identity—a symbolic rebirth. Yitzhak Ben-Tsvi (1884–1963), the second president of modern Israel, is a case in point. He was born Isaac Shimshelovich to Orthodox Jewish parents in the Russian Ukraine. In his youth he was drawn to the revolutionary socialist and Zionist causes. In 1905 he helped organize the Jewish self-defense against Russian rioters and founded the Socialist-Zionist Poalay Zion (Workers of Zion) party. In 1907 the Poalay Zion World Federation was created and Shimshelovich came to Ottoman Palestine. Here he changed his name to Yitzhak Ben-Tsvi. In 1908 he helped create haShomer, the Palestinian Jewish self-defense organization. In 1909 he helped found the Hebrew-language high school in Jerusalem known as haGymnasia haIvrit (The Hebrew Gymnasium). Germany was a model to the early Zionists, and like many other ideas and institutions, the term was borrowed from the German educational system. In Jerusalem Ben-Tsvi was a prominent leader of the Poalay Zion.

In 1915 Ottoman governor Cemal (Djemal) Pasha exiled Ben-Tsvi from Palestine along with several other Palestinian Jewish leaders, including David Ben-Gurion. Like most Russian Jewish immigrants to America, they went to New York, where they founded a chapter of *heHalutz* (The Jewish Pioneer). In 1918 Ben-Tsvi joined the newly created Jewish Legion for Palestine, returning to what was now British-ruled Palestine. In 1920 he helped found the Histadruth (General Federation of Jewish Workers in the Land of Israel), and in 1929 Mapai (Land of Israel Workers Party), the predecessor of the Israeli Labor Party. In 1931 Ben-Tsvi helped create the National Council of Palestinian Jews, which he chaired until the state of Israel was created in 1948. He was one of the signatories of Israel's "Scroll of Independence." In 1952 Israel's first president, Chaim Weizmann, died, and Ben-Tsvi became president until his death in 1963. At his insistence, his simple hut in Jerusalem remained the president's residence for many years.

David Ben-Gurion (1886–1973), the well-known Zionist leader and first prime minister of Israel (1948–63) is another case in point. His given name was David-Joseph Gryn. He was born shortly after the death of his maternal grandfather, David-Joseph Friedmann. David's grieving mother, her father's only daughter, who had lost several children as well as her father, gave him her dead father's name. The boy was a linking object to her dead father for his mother. David-Joseph Gryn grew up in an Orthodox Jewish family in Russian Poland. Six of his ten siblings died in infancy. As an infant and child, David-Joseph Gryn had to comfort his grieving mother, who

clung to him for dear life, while struggling for his separation and individuation. The inner conflict between the wish for fusion and the need for a separate self tormented him all his life. His mother died when he was eleven, and his teenage love object married another man because of David-Joseph's profound ambivalence and indecision about her.

In the summer of 1906, after several years of wavering in Warsaw, the nineteen-year-old Gryn left Plonsk for Palestine. The day he landed in Jaffa he wrote a card home, which he signed "David," omitting his middle name. The diminutive Gryn had been active in Jewish Socialist and Zionist politics in his hometown. Now the land of Israel became his new mother. He worked briefly in several Palestinian Jewish "colonies" in the coastal plain and Galilee. The "Jewish" coastal plain in those days was called "Yehudah" (Judah), the name of the ancient kingdom around Jerusalem. This was another psychogeographical fantasy. The fantasy of power is also an antidote for feelings of helplessness. David Gryn became politically active in the tiny Jewish party of Poalay Zion (Workers of Zion), which, like the other Jewish parties, numbered no more than several hundred members.

In 1910 David Gryn was invited to move to Jerusalem to help edit a workers' newspaper called *haAkhduth* (Unity). The iconoclastic Russian Jewish Hebrew writer Michah Joseph Berdichevsky (1865–1921) had adopted the nom de plume of Michah Joseph Bin-Gorion (son of Gorion). The name was lifted from Flavius Josephus. Joseph son of Gorion had been a noble commander of the Jerusalem Jews at the time of the Roman-Jewish war (66–70 C.E.). Josephus variously called him Joseph the son of Gorion (*The Jewish War* 2.20.3), Gorion the son of Joseph (*ibid.* 4.3.9), and simply Gorion: "The Zealots . . . slew Gorion, a person eminent in dignity, and on account of his family also; he was also for democracy, and of as great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whosoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free-speaking" (*ibid.* 4.6.1). Identifying with both Berdichevsky and his ancient hero, when the twenty-four-year-old David Gryn published one of his first articles in *haAkhduth*, he signed it Ben-Gorion. Gryn soon made this his official name, rejecting altogether his father's name of Gryn. For a young Jewish boy from Russian Poland to assume such a name betrayed the depth of the fantasy he was acting out. He was no longer an oppressed small-town Jewish boy from czarist Russia, but an ancient Hebrew hero from Judah (Falk 1987c). Gryn lived the biblical stories as much as present reality. Due to the vagaries of Hebrew spelling, Ben-Gorion was soon pronounced Ben-Gurion.

Ben-Gurion idealized the disintegrating Ottoman empire as a Great Good Mother and believed the Palestinian Jews should build their future on her falling fortunes. In 1911 he went to Thessaloniki (Salonica), in Ottoman Greece, to learn Turkish, and in 1912 moved to Istanbul to study Ottoman law. When the Great War broke out Ben-Gurion returned to Palestine. Soon the Ottomans decided to exile all "enemy aliens" who had rejected Ottoman citizenship. In 1915 Ben-Gurion was exiled from Palestine by Ottoman governor Cemal Pasha along with several other Zionist leaders. Ben-Gurion spent three years in America, where he married the bossy Paula Monbaz,

whom he left pregnant to join the British army's Jewish Legion for Palestine. He idealized her as an angel and a saint. An old Yiddish joke has two men discussing their wives. One says, "You know, my wife is an angel." His friend answers, "I know, my wife is not human either."

Ben-Gurion returned to Palestine in 1918 as a member of the Jewish Legion for Palestine. Unconsciously replicating his early relationship to his mother, in which the conflict between fusion and separation was paramount, Ben-Gurion was forever uniting and splitting the Jewish workers' parties. During the period of British rule in Palestine (1918–48), Ben-Gurion was Weizmann's rival for the Zionist leadership. He won the struggle. When Israel was created in 1948, Ben-Gurion became prime minister, while Weizmann was relegated to the ceremonial office of president. In 1930, after Ramsay MacDonald's British government published its White Paper restricting Jewish immigration to Palestine, the enraged Ben-Gurion called for a bloody Jewish revolt against Great Britain, which would bring about a catastrophe to rival that of the destruction of the Second Temple. Ottoman Turkey, Great Britain, and the Land of Israel had each taken on the unconscious role of idealized mother for him. When the great empires disappointed him, his rage at his early mother broke out. The creation of the state of Israel was his way of acting out the fantasy of repairing and reviving his dead mother. As he had been during his infancy and childhood, he became the father of his own motherland.

"WAVES OF ASCENT"

Before the Great War of 1914–18, the United States was open to Jewish and other immigration. After the Great War, the United States severely restricted immigration, and many Jews could no longer go there. This left Palestine as a real option. At first the British government of Palestine freely issued immigration certificates to Jews of means, relatives of Jews already living in Palestine, and rabbis.

The Palestinian Arabs were getting angrier with Jewish immigration. In 1920–21 there were bloody anti-Jewish riots. In 1921 the British government stopped Jewish immigration, and on 3 June 1922 Colonial Secretary Winston L. S. Churchill (1874–1965) published its first White Paper on Palestine. Palestine, which included Trans-Jordan (now Jordan), was partitioned. Trans-Jordan was made a separate country, the Emir Abdallah ibn Husain was imported from Arabia to rule over it, and the Balfour Declaration had no force in Trans-Jordan. Churchill's White Paper did affirm the right of Jews to immigrate to Palestine, but their immigration was restricted to the country's "economic absorption capacity" and by the interests of the local population. Great Britain did not wish to make Palestine a Jewish country. This White Paper was followed by two others, worse for the Jews. The "Hebrews" of the "Land of Israel" called the White Papers "White Books" and agitated violently against them.

The Fourth Aliyah (1924–28) brought some eighty thousand Jews to Palestine, of whom some twenty thousand left again. It was spurred by economic hardship in

Eastern Europe, especially Poland, which had become independent of Russia. With Polish inflation rampant, Wladyslaw Grabski (1874–1938), the Polish prime minister, instituted emergency measures to save the Polish economy, including the creation of a new gold-based currency and the founding of a central national bank. Some three million Jews lived in Poland, most of whom made a living as merchants or textile manufacturers. Grabski's tax policy especially hurt small Polish Jewish merchants and manufacturers. The United States was no longer open to mass immigration, and many Polish Jewish merchants and manufacturers left for Palestine. Tel Aviv became a virtual Polish Jewish city. The Fourth Aliyah was called the "Grabski Aliyah."

In 1925 a new crisis occurred. Germany, afflicted by hyperinflation, declared economic war on Poland. The German national bank sold vast amounts of Polish currency in the European money markets. The Polish zloty lost half its value, Polish prices rose, unemployment soared, and Grabski resigned. In 1926 General Józef Pilsudski staged a coup d'état in Poland. The Polish government clamped severe restrictions on the transfer of money outside the country. The Polish Jewish immigrants in Palestine, who had engaged in real estate deals, lost their savings when the urban real-estate market collapsed. There was no industrial infrastructure to employ the immigrants. In 1927–29 more Jews left Palestine than came in.

The bloody anti-Jewish Arab riots of 1929 discouraged further Jewish immigration. A Royal Commission of Enquiry chaired by Sir Walter Shaw came to investigate. On 21 October 1930 a *second* White Paper on Palestine was published by Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield (Sidney Webb, 1859–1947). It severely restricted further Jewish immigration and settlement and gave the Arabs priority in the labor market. The Palestinian Jews were up in arms. The leaders of the "Hebrew *yishuv*" in Palestine resigned in protest. On 13 February 1931 British prime minister James Ramsay MacDonald (1866–1937) sent a letter to Weizmann, then chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, revoking Passfield's White Paper.

The Fifth Aliyah (1930–39) brought some 145,000 Jews to Palestine, mostly from Germany and Poland, especially after Hitler came to power in Germany (1933). In 1935 alone some 66,000 Jews arrived. Many were people of means, professionals, businessmen, and intellectuals. The Palestinian Arabs were getting ever more upset. Incited by fanatical Muslim leaders like Haj Amin al-Husaini (1897–1974), the Arabs erupted in violence (1936–39). Many Jews were murdered, and Jewish immigration fell off. Living conditions in Palestine during the 1930s were crowded and hard. The Jewish housing industry did not keep up with the number of immigrants. Many families had only a single room to live in. In the agricultural settlements physical work was very tough. In 1939 the British government published a *third* White Paper on Palestine, this one by Colonial Secretary Malcolm MacDonald, a namesake of a tenth-century Scottish king (Malcolm I, d. 954). MacDonald's White Paper severely restricted Jewish land acquisition in Palestine. Haj Amin al-Husaini fled to Germany, where he spent the war years as Hitler's guest broadcasting anti-Jewish propaganda. In 1945 he fled the victorious Allies to Egypt, where he remained until his death.

In 1929 the Palestinian Arabs erupted in bloody anti-Jewish riots. The largest

and most important Palestinian Jewish self-defense organization was the Haganah, created in 1920. The Zionist leaders could not agree on their British and Arab policy. Zhabotinsky was unable to mourn his losses. At the Seventeenth Zionist Congress (Basel, 1931) he moved to define Zionism's ultimate aims as no less than "the redemption of the people of Israel and of the Land of Israel, the revival of Hebrew language and culture, the re-establishment of Jewish kingship in Israel, and the creation of a Hebrew majority on both banks of the Jordan River [Palestine and Trans-Jordan]." Zhabotinsky's motion was voted down. Enraged, he and his Revisionist delegates tore up their delegate cards and stormed out of the congress hall. Weizmann resigned as president of the World Zionist Organization to protest Britain's pro-Arab Palestinian policy. Nonetheless, Weizmann remained basically pro-British, whereas Zhabotinsky was rabidly anti-British. In 1935 he founded the New Zionist Organization, whose official goals were those that had been voted down by the congress.

In 1936 the Palestinian Arabs again rioted against the Jews, following the Jewish wave of immigration to Palestine that the Palestinian Jews called the Fifth Aliyah. In April 1937 Zhabotinsky's New Zionist Organization, the Bethar youth movement, and the Jewish Soldiers' Alliance spawned the illegal militant Jewish underground Irgun Tsvai Leumi (National Military Organization), which fought both the British and the Palestinian Arabs. The Jews called it by its Hebrew acronym of Etsel. The members of this group had fantasies of being ancient Hebrew warriors. Ostensibly to mislead the British and Arabs, each fighter adopted a Hebrew code name, usually that of a biblical hero such as Ehud, Yiftah (Jephthah), or Yair (Jair). The British Criminal Investigation Department, a plainclothes branch of Scotland Yard set up in 1878, saw the Etsel as the terrorist Irgun and hunted down its members.

When World War II broke out in 1939 the Irgun halted its war against the British in order to fight Hitler's Nazi Germany. Some of its members were opposed to this policy. In 1940 Zhabotinsky died in New York. Abraham Stern (1907–42), known by his code name of Yair, created the Freedom Fighters of Israel, known by its Hebrew acronym of Lehi. These quasi-Fascist extremists fought the British in the midst of Britain's war against Germany. The British contemptuously called them the Stern Gang. In 1942 the British security forces, tipped off by informers, tracked down and killed Stern. His son, born shortly thereafter and named Yair Stern, now directs Israeli Television's first channel. The Etsel and Lehi fought a war of terror against the anti-Jewish British government. In 1945 Ernest Bevin (1881–1951) was named foreign secretary in Clement Attlee's Labour government. Bevin's Palestinian policy was anti-Jewish. He refused to allow the Jewish survivors of the Holocaust to immigrate to Palestine. Those who tried to immigrate illegally by sea were tracked down by British radar, seized by British troops, and deported to Cyprus. Feeling totally misunderstood, the Palestinian Jewish leaders reacted furiously. The Etsel and Lehi joined the Haganah in forming the "Hebrew Resistance Movement," which in 1946 blew up railroad tracks, bridges, radar installations, and police stations. Whether or not their violent activities led to the end of the British Mandate, to the British withdrawal from Palestine, and to the creation of Israel is still a matter of historical controversy.

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Holocaust

Webster's Dictionary defines "holocaust" as "a great or complete devastation or destruction, especially by fire." The word derives from the Greek *holokaustos* meaning "burnt whole," the ancient Greek name for sacrifices and burnt offerings to the gods. During World War II Hitler's Nazi Germany efficiently and bureaucratically murdered six million European Jews, as well as millions of Gypsies, Slavs, Catholics, homosexuals, Communists, the mentally ill, and other "subhuman enemies." While the Nazis hated the Jews, the *Vernichtung* (annihilation) was carried out in a detached, obsessional manner, using different methods of mass murder ranging from firing squads to wholesale gassings (Hilberg 1985).

The enormity of the Holocaust is too painful to contemplate. Mourning the loss of six million fellow Jews is a task too terrible to perform. One psychic defense is to raise existential questions. How could such atrocities occur? Why did the terrible tragedy ever take place? What are the roots of genocide? What are we to make of this great catastrophe? Will it happen again? Does the murder of millions of Cambodians by the Khmer Rouge in our own time constitute genocide and another Holocaust? What about the millions of Russians and other people killed by Stalin in the Soviet Union? Will there be a nuclear holocaust? These questions touch on the very existence of our species. Some anti-Semitic "scholars" have denied the reality of the Holocaust altogether, accusing the Jews of inventing the Holocaust for their own political or psychological purposes (Irving 1977; Grimstad 1979; Butz 1985; McCalden 1982:30-35; Faurisson 1985). This attitude kills two psychological birds with one stone: it rids the author of his horror and guilt at the enormity of the Holocaust and projects his self-hate into Jew-hate.

The Germans conquered Europe, seized the Jews, and transported them under conditions worse than cattle to *Konzentrationslager* (concentration camps). These camps soon became *Vernichtungslager* (extermination camps). The victims walked into the gas chambers thinking they were walking into delousing showers. After being locked inside and gassed to death in a scene out of Dante's *Inferno*, their corpses were taken out by Jewish inmates called *Sonderkommandos* (special commandos) and cremated. The Israeli Hebrew term for the Holocaust is *Shoah*, a Biblical Hebrew word meaning devastation or destruction (Isa. 10:3, Prov. 3:25).

The Holocaust has been exploited politically by Israeli Jewish statesmen, who

demand sympathy and support for Israel from visiting statesmen, and it has been exploited commercially by writers and film-makers who have made millions out of Holocaust books and films. The French Jewish film-maker Claude Lanzmann made a moving nine-hour documentary on the Holocaust entitled *Shoah* (1985), recording the memories and feelings of victims and victimizers alike. Lanzmann feels that commercial Holocaust films, including Steven Spielberg's Academy Award-winning film *Schindler's List* (1994), are untrue to what really happened and that the only other genuine Holocaust film beside his is Alain Resnais's *Nuit et Brouillard* (1955).

The enormity of the Holocaust defies our comprehension. We human beings tend to think of ourselves as restrained by our own conscience—as being feeling and compassionate, unable to carry out the monstrous atrocities like those of the Holocaust. Yet the German Nazis and their accomplices all over Europe did just that. How could they? And why? The naïve yet obvious questions of “How could this happen?” and “How are such things possible?” come up every time the Holocaust is discussed. Kren and Rappoport (1980:12) thought that these questions are ultimately correct, “for according to the fundamental tenets of Western civilization such things are not possible.” Yet the Nazis' murderous acts were so inhuman, their hatred of the Jews so fanatical, their racist theories so irrational, that the question of “How could this happen?” seems unanswerable. Kren and Rappoport (1980:1-4) believed that, despite countless previous massacres, persecutions, and killings, the Holocaust was unprecedented in human history. “Complete destruction of the Jews was never made a state policy, let alone attempted on a broad scale, anywhere except in Germany . . . although historical anti-Semitism was clearly relevant to the Holocaust, it cannot be accepted as a primary cause” (ibid., 3).

Kren and Rappoport (1980:4-8) discerned four ascending levels of atrocity in the human history of mass destruction: (1) Passionate acts in which occupying soldiers rape, pillage, and murder under great stress and emotional excitement. (2) Deliberate acts of mass destruction “to which human passions are either incidental or irrelevant.” (3) The physical destruction of people because their “immediate existence is perceived as a threat or stumbling block to the designs of those wanting them out of the way.” (4) The Holocaust, in which the Jews posed no physical challenge or threat to Nazi authority, claimed no territory, posed no threat to prevailing religious or cultural orthodoxies, stood in the way of no economic, political or military activity, and could do nothing to save their lives by capitulation, collaboration, or conversion.

Kren and Rappoport felt that the Holocaust differed from all previous levels of mass destruction in its motives, its methods, and its attendant emotions. The Jews were singled out for destruction only because they were Jews. The methods of destruction were highly organized and bureaucratized. The murderous activity in the death camps was highly compartmentalized and routinized. The killers' feelings were repressed, isolated, split off, and denied, and the victims were dehumanized. In other words, the entire gamut of schizoid and obsessional defenses operated on a vast scale. The atrocities of the Holocaust seem excessively irrational, yet Kren and Rappoport (1980:9) thought that “far from being irrational, the Holocaust can only be epito-

mized in terms of excessive rationality, an example of logical thought slipping the bonds of human feeling." Kren and Rappoport (1980:19–27) found a psychohistorical split in German culture between "extreme private sentimentality" and "extreme public rationality." For example, in 1525 Martin Luther violently condemned the Peasant Revolt against the established political authority of the German princes, while upholding the individual's right to rebel against the Roman Catholic Church.

The German cultural split was very deep. Germans could be sentimental, compassionate, and warm in their private lives while harsh, rigid, and authoritarian in their public lives. The State was above conventional moral law, and Germans were servants of their State. They idealized their leaders. The German "Iron Chancellor" Otto von Bismarck (1815–98) was in reality a neurotic person, a whining hypochondriac who suffered from profound feelings of insecurity and often sobbed uncontrollably (Pflanze 1972; Waite 1977:308; Hughes 1983:45–76). Bismarck argued that when acting as a servant of the state, a man was not bound by usual moral law. Germany was "vulnerable to authoritarian and romantically anti-intellectual leadership" (Kren and Rappoport 1980:37). Kren and Rappoport (1980:27–37) believed that the deep deprivation and trauma of the World War I led to political, economic, and social confusion in Germany, to the "heroic nihilism" of the paramilitary Freikorps (Free Corps), which preceded the Nazi state, and to a craving for fanatical, disturbed, and charismatic leaders like Adolf Hitler.

Like infants, the Nazis unconsciously split their emotional world into gods and demons, heroes and villains, fairies and witches. Their gods and heroes included Wotan, Siegfried, Tristan, and Parsifal, while their demons and villains consisted of Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, Communists, Socialists, Liberals, Catholics, pacifists, homosexuals, the mentally ill, and the retarded. Germany was their suffering mother who had to be rescued from the evil Jews. Adopting the racist delusions of the misguided French "ethnologist" Count Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau (1816–82) and of his disciple, the deranged English Germanophile Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927), the Nazis thought of themselves as noble "Aryans" and of the Jews, Slavs, Gypsies, and other groups as inferior, subhuman races.

Nazism was a collective paranoid psychopathology. Projection and externalization are the basic mechanisms of paranoia. The Nazis projected upon the Jews their unacceptable murderous and incestuous feelings. The Nazis thought of themselves as *Übermenschen* (supermen) and of the Jews as *Untermenschen* (subhumans). The Jews were seriously accused of poisoning the blood of the German nation, seducing innocent German girls, defiling the German race, attempting to take over the world, sucking in German money, robbing Germans of their livelihood, and sucking away the milk and blood of Germany.

Waite (1977:426) believed that for the Germans, who desperately sought a simple explanation for their woes, the Jews had great psychopolitical value as a private scapegoat. The Jews were a convenient target, "monolithic, discernible and defenseless." They served as "a safe outlet for hatred and aggression when war against an external enemy was not feasible." The Nazis began actively persecuting the Jews two months

after they assumed power (Kren and Rappoport 1980:79). They depicted the Jews as rats and vermin in their propaganda films. The Jews were dehumanized, stripped of their rights, and murdered when the tide of war turned against Germany. In the Nazi imagery Germany stood out as a virtuous Good Mother defiled and damaged by the evil Jews. Hitler's mother, who had died of cancer, had been treated by a Jewish doctor, Eduard Bloch, whom Hitler inwardly blamed for her death (Waite 1977:208–13). Hitler unconsciously identified his mother's dying body with that of Germany. He became an anti-Semite immediately after his mother's death (Waite 1977:215–21). Hitler treated Germany as a hurt child treats its mother, with great idealization masking rage and guilt feelings and with a symbiotic attachment. Because Hitler thought his father might have been part-Jewish, he feared his own Jewishness. The Jews unconsciously stood for his deepest fears: fear of engulfment, castration, and death. All evil was projected upon the Jews. The Nazis felt righteous rage at the Jews. Jewish shops and firms were boycotted, Jews were barred from all trades and schools, their jobs taken away, their shops confiscated, and their freedom severely restricted. Shirer (1960:233) chronicled the progressive restrictions and persecutions of the German Jews:

The so-called Nuremberg Laws of September 15, 1935 deprived the Jews of German citizenship, confining them to the status of "subjects." [The Nuremberg laws] also forbade marriage between Jews and Aryans as well as extramarital relations between them, and prohibited Jews from employing female Aryan servants under thirty-five years of age. In the next few years some thirteen decrees supplementing the Nuremberg Laws would outlaw the Jew completely. But already by the summer of 1936, when the Germany which was host to the Olympic games was enchanting the visitors from the West, the Jews had been excluded either by law or by Nazi terror—the latter often preceded the former—from public and private employment to such an extent that at least one half of them were without means of livelihood. In the first year of the Third Reich, 1933, they had been excluded from public office, the civil service, journalism, radio, farming, teaching, the theater, the films; in 1934 they were kicked out of the stock exchanges, and though the ban on their practicing the professions of law and medicine or engaging in business did not come legally until 1938 they were in practice removed from these fields by the time the first four-year period of Nazi rule had come to an end [1937].

In 1938 the German Nazi government annexed Austria and the German-populated Sudetenland from what was then Czechoslovakia. On 7 November the third secretary of the German embassy in Paris, Ernst vom Rath, was shot by a young Polish Jewish student named Herschel Grynszpan. Rath died on 9 November. That night, on orders from Reichskanzler Hitler and Propagandaminister Goebbels, a "public degradation ritual" known as the *Kristallnacht* took place (Loewenberg 1987). Thousands of Jewish homes, shops, offices, and synagogues throughout Germany and Austria were attacked and burned, their windows smashed. Ninety-one Jews were killed, hundreds were injured, thousands were humiliated and terrorized. The chief organizer of the *Kristallnacht* riots was the ruthless young Reinhard Tristan Eugen Heydrich

(1904–42), Himmler's deputy in the S.S. (Schutz-Staffel, or Defense Squad) and head of the S.D. (Sicherheits-Dienst, Security Service), and Gestapo (Geheime Staats-Polizei, or Secret State Police). Heydrich had the Gestapo arrest some thirty thousand wealthy German Jews, who were only released on condition they surrendered their wealth to the state and left Germany.

On 30 January 1939, on the sixth anniversary of his accession to power, the vengeful and frenzied Adolf Hitler predicted the upcoming annihilation of the European Jews "if international-finance Jewry . . . should succeed once more in plunging nations into another world war" (Hilberg 1985:393). In March 1939 the Nazis annexed what remained of Czechoslovakia. On 1 September 1939 they invaded Poland, provoking World War II. By the summer of 1940 Germany had annexed most of Europe to the Reich. It soon became psychologically possible for the Nazis to intern the Jews of Europe in "concentration camps," to turn the latter into extermination camps, and to murder nearly all the Jews of Europe.

Hitler's Nazis were masters of political correctness. They euphemistically called their genocide of the Jews "the Final Solution of the Jewish question" (*die Endlösung der Judenfrage*) and the order to carry it out "the Leader's order on the Final Solution" (*der Führerbefehl über die Endlösung*). This order was issued in mid-1941, when Hitler began to realize that his victories were not endless (Shirer 1960:965, Waite 1977:430–31). The first written mention of the "final solution" was made in a memo dated 20 May 1941 from Walter Schellenberg, an official of the R.S.H.A. (Reich Security Main Office), to General Otto von Stulpnagel, the German military commander in France. Schellenberg informed Stulpnagel that the emigration of Jews from France was to be prevented because transport facilities were limited and because the "final solution of the Jewish question" was in sight (Hilberg 1985:401).

BACK TO CLAUDE VIGÉE

In mid-1940 Nazi Germany invaded and occupied two-thirds of France: the east, north, and northwest. French military resistance, such as it was, quickly collapsed. Paul Reynaud (1878–1966), the prime minister, invited the eighty-four-year-old World War I hero, the *maréchal de France* Henri-Philippe Pétain (1856–1951), to join his cabinet as vice premier. Pétain and other ministers wanted an armistice with Germany, which Reynaud refused. On 16 June Reynaud resigned and Pétain became prime minister. He quickly signed an armistice with Germany.

The French military rank of *maréchal* (marshal) came from the medieval Frankish office of *marescalius*, "the master of the horse." Due to the crucial importance of cavalry in medieval warfare, the office of marshal became increasingly important. Napoléon's successors created the rank of *maréchal de France*, the highest rank in the French army. During the First World War, General Pétain successfully defended Verdun (1916). He became a popular hero, was promoted to *maréchal de France* (1918), and was named vice president of the Supreme War Council and inspector

general of the French army. In a token and irrational concession to the *maréchal* Pétain, the Germans left the French southwest a *zone libre* under Pétain's government based at Vichy.

In 1940 the life of Claude Vigée (b. 1921), the well-known French Jewish writer, became entangled with Pétain's. Vigée's original family name was Strauss. He was born at Bischwiller, Alsace, on the Rhine, across the border from Germany. Claude's first cousin and future wife, Evelyne Meyer (b. 1923), was born in the Alsatian capital of Strasbourg. Claude and Evelyne knew each other well since childhood.

After the German takeover of France in mid-1940, the nineteen-year-old Claude Strauss fled German-occupied Alsace, arriving in Toulouse in the *zone libre* in October 1940. On 19 October the Pétain government published the anti-Semitic Statut des Juifs in the French press. When Claude read it he was overwhelmed by impotent rage. His world had collapsed: "Never have I forgotten, never will I forget that moment. It succeeded in dividing my life into two irreconcilable periods: that of confidence, that of doubt and abandonment" (Vigée 1970:105; my translation). Good Mother France had become the bad mother, corrupted by Father Pétain.

The young Claude Strauss wrote a furious letter to Pétain, which only got him in trouble with the authorities. He spent two years (1940–42) as a medical student at the University of Toulouse, joining the clandestine Jewish resistance Action Juive (A.J.), which later became Armée Juive (Jewish Army) (Vigée 1970:50–53). Pétain's French police and Hitler's plainclothes German spies hunted down the Jewish resistance. The members of the A.J. were issued false papers to fool the French and German authorities. Each A.J. member chose a *nom de guerre*, and Claude Strauss chose the name Vigée. Under the anti-Semitic Statut des Juifs (1940–1941) it was illegal for Jews to publish anything without state permission. Vigée (1985:27–28) explained his name change (my translation from the French):

I first used the name Vigée, added legally to my father's name since 1949, during my clandestine work for the A.J. (Armée Juive) of Toulouse, from 1940 to the end of 1942. It is under the signature of Claude Vigée that I (illegally) published the first poems of *La Lutte avec l'Ange* [The struggle with the angel, 1950] in the Résistance journal *Poésie* 42 (no. 2), published by Pierre Seghers at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, during the Second World War. Vigée was the phonic transposition that I made in the fall of 1940 (at the time I began to work for the A.J. of Toulouse) of the biblical phrase *Hay Ani* (Living, I!) which is found in Jeremiah (33, 34, 35) and above all in the prophet Isaiah, Chapter 49, Verse 18, in the original Hebrew. This astonishing text announces the imminent restoration of destroyed Israel. One can imagine my amazement, when I read it up close, for the first time, in these tragic words, on the eve of the genocide of the Jews of Europe by the already victorious Nazi executioners:

Can a woman forget the infant at her breast, or a mother the child of her womb?
But should even these forget, I shall never forget you . . . *Hay-Ani*, living, I! says YHWH (Isaiah 49:15–18).

A little further on the prophet writes: "The Lord God has given me the tongue of one who has been instructed . . ." (Isaiah 50:4). These words did not fall on a deaf ear—in Toulouse in October 1940—when I was nineteen. Thus is decided a destiny, at

the very end of the procession, when no way out remains but an impossible tomorrow: "Hay-Ani!" Like my ancestor Jacob emerging from the ford of Yabbok [Jabok] victorious but wounded, after the struggle with the angel, "I limp, but *vie j'ai* [life I have],—me too!" Henceforth, Claude Vigée will be my name, that of a Jewish poet.

Actually, *hay ani* is an ancient Hebrew oath meaning "as I live" or "by my life." This oath occurs many times in the Bible and invariably has to do with Yahweh swearing to take vengeance on his foes or bestow great fortune on his friends. The verses left out by Vigée from his quotation read:

I have inscribed you on the palm of my hands; your walls are always before my eyes. Those who rebuild you make better speed than those who pulled you down, while those who laid you waste leave you and go. Raise your eyes and look around: they are all assembling, flocking back to you. As I live, I, the Lord [Yahweh] swear it, you will wear them as your jewels, and adorn yourself with them like a bride. (Isa. 49:16–18)

As Vigée himself said, the maternal imagery in Isa. 49:15 had affected him no less than the striking phrase that followed it. In addition, by changing his last name he was dropping that of his father. The chapters cited by Vigée in Jeremiah (33–35), although in the same prophetic spirit, actually do not contain the phrase *hay ani*, but other verses in Jeremiah do use the phrase in the same sense of an oath:

As I live, says the Lord, although you, Coniah, son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, are the signet ring on my right hand, I shall pull you off and hand you over to those who seek your life, to those you fear (Jeremiah 22:24). As I live, one will come, says the King whose name is the Lord of Hosts, one mighty as Tabor among the hills, as Carmel by the sea. Get ready your baggage for exile, you native people of Egypt. (Jer. 46:18–19)

In late 1942, when the danger of being apprehended by the authorities, arrested, and deported to the German Nazi death camps became imminent, Claude and his cousin Evelynne fled France for Spain, then on to Portugal and the United States, which they reached in 1943, and where Claude reverted to his father's name of Strauss. When the war ended in 1945, Claude resumed his contacts with France, publishing poems and other works in French literary journals. In 1947 the twenty-six-year-old Claude Strauss married his twenty-four-year-old cousin Evelynne, and in 1949 officially changed his last name to Vigée. In 1950 his first book, *La Lutte avec l'Ange* was published. Claude Strauss had changed both his name and his career, in an inner quest for identity and rebirth. Although he wrote later that he had *added* his new name of Vigée to his father's name, he had actually dropped his father's name of Strauss, taking on a name derived from Father God's biblical oath.

In 1947 Claude Vigée received his Ph.D. in literature. He and his cousin-wife Evelynne had a daughter, Claudine (b. 1948), now a Strasbourg psychologist, and a son, Daniel (b. 1953), now a Paris psychiatrist. For eleven years Claude Vigée taught French and comparative literature in the United States, first at The Ohio State University, then at Wellesley College, and finally at Brandeis University. For him America

was an "exile." In 1960 the Vigées migrated to Israel, where Claude Vigée became a professor of Romance literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Yet he never became an Israeli citizen. Since 1976 he has been spending his winters in Paris and his summers in Jerusalem. He has published dozens of books in French—poetry, prose, literary criticism, and personal memoirs—and is well known in France.

Hitler's "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" became a horrific reality in 1941, when Claude Vigée was still in Toulouse. On 20 January 1942 R.S.H.A. chief Reinhard Heydrich convened a meeting of the various S.S. and S.D. agencies at Wannsee, near Berlin, to speed up the pace of the "final solution." The Jews of Europe were transported to the Nazi *Vernichtungslager* (annihilation camps) at Auschwitz, Treblinka, Chelmno, Belzec, and Sobibor, and gassed or shot to death. Their corpses were cremated.

PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDIES OF ADOLF HITLER

The historical literature on the Holocaust is vast (see Friedman 1954; Poliakov 1954; Braham 1963; Manvell and Fraenkel 1967; Fackenheim 1970; 1980; Feingold 1970; Bauer 1973; Dawidowicz 1975, 1976, 1981; Ringelblum 1975; Suhl 1975; Friedlander 1976; Fein 1979; Bauer and Rotenstreich 1981; Dobkowski and Wallimann 1983; Dobroszycki 1984; Gilbert 1982, 1986; Hilberg 1985; Morse 1985; Littell 1986; Reitlinger 1987; Zucotti 1987; Rosenberg and Myers 1988; Evans 1989; Gutman 1989; Mayer 1989; Arad 1990; Levin 1990; Rosenberg 1990). The psychohistorical Holocaust literature is minute (Stein 1979, 1980, 1984; Rubenstein 1966, 1975; Kren and Rappoport 1980; Luel and Marcus 1984; Hilberg 1986). This is no accident. The psychological study of the Holocaust is very difficult and painful. Conventional historians are free to demonize Hitler and his Nazi murderers and idealize the Jewish martyrs and fighters. Psychohistorians must try to understand them.

The psychoanalytic literature on Hitler (Erikson 1942; Kurth 1947; McRandle 1965; Langer 1972; Binion 1976; Stierlin 1976; Waite 1977; Bromberg and Small 1983) does not match the thousands of biographical volumes on the Führer. Since Hitler was the supreme leader of the Third Reich and the key figure in the murder of the Jews of Europe, we shall briefly review the psychoanalytic studies of this most evil and most tragic figure of human history. Some of these studies use Hitler's autobiographical *Mein Kampf*, others his secret conversations, still others his once-secret documents, as source material.

Erik Erikson (1942) was writing at the height of World War II. Erikson was the illegitimate son of a young Danish Jewess named Karla Abrahamsen who had married a German Jewish pediatrician named Homburger. Erikson, then Erik Homburger, emigrated from Germany to the United States in 1933 as a young Jewish psychoanalyst trained in Vienna, later giving up his Judaism. He analyzed Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and pointed out that it was pure mythmaking, blending fantasy and reality, and causing pious wonderment and burning ambition. Erikson identified some common symbols making all Germans one people and one danger: "the fiery leader as well as

obedient follower; the indifferent onlooker, as well as the paralyzed rebel and the romantic deserter." He detected oedipal elements in Hitler's imagery. Despite Hitler's obvious borderline psychopathology (Waite 1977; Bromberg and Small 1983), Erikson refused to diagnose Hitler in clinical terms, arguing that Hitler exploited his "hysteria" in his politics. Hitler chose different roles while speaking to his audiences, "and precisely that which to the non-German looks queerest and most morbid becomes the Brown Piper's best tune for German ears." Erikson pointed out that Hitler blended the imagery of country and family very openly. Germany was "the beloved mother" and its alliance with the "sham state" of Austria was tragic. Hitler himself was an Austrian-born German. Hitler's mother was much younger than his father. His father had been violent and tyrannical. Hitler may well have felt his parents' marriage to have been tragic. Erikson speculated that Germany and Austria stood for his mother and father in Hitler's unconscious mind. Still, Erikson (1963:329) declined to make the obvious oedipal interpretation of Hitler's imagery:

Such [a] seemingly naïve coincidence of themes lends itself easily—much too easily—to a psychoanalytic interpretation of the first chapter of *Mein Kampf* as an involuntary confession of Hitler's Oedipus complex. This interpretation would suggest that in Hitler's case the love for his young mother and the hate for his old father assumed morbid proportions, and that it was this conflict which drove him to love and to hate and compelled him to save or destroy people and peoples who really "stand for" his mother and his father. There have been articles in [the] psychoanalytic literature which claim such simple causality. But it obviously takes much more than an individual complex to make a successful revolutionary. The complex creates the initial fervor; but if it were too strong it would paralyze the revolutionary, not inspire him. The striking use of parental and familial images in Hitler's public utterances has that strange mixture of naïve confession and shrewd propaganda which characterizes the histrionic genius. Goebbels knew this and he guided his barking master well—until very close to the end.

The true psychological problem is not to distinguish between unintentional neurotic confessions and intentional, wily propaganda, but between oedipal conflicts and much more archaic, infantile, pre-oedipal developmental conflicts. Hitler's emotional troubles were deeper, earlier, and more serious than the oedipal conflict detected by Erikson. Langer (1972) called Hitler a "neurotic psychopath," but the correct diagnosis, as Waite (1977) and Bromberg and Small (1983) have shown, was borderline personality disorder. Hitler was stuck in his earliest symbiotic attachment to his disturbed mother, forever yearning to fuse with her and to break away from her, to love her and to kill her at the same time. He was overwhelmed by feelings of helplessness and nonbeing that he had to ward off. His defensive processes of projection, splitting, and denial were both archaic and massive.

Why did Hitler so passionately hate and exterminate the Jews? Hitler believed that a Jewish doctor had "killed" his mother, but that was not all. Waite (1977:429) thought that Hitler's extermination of the Jews was his unconscious defense against his own fears:

Since he never knew whether his own grandfather was Jewish, and no one could prove he was not, Hitler had to prove to himself beyond the shadow of a doubt that he could not possibly be "corrupted" by Jewish blood. In order to convince himself that such a direct threat to his personal identity and his life work was an utter impossibility, he became history's greatest scourge of the Jews. In effect he was saying: "See, I cannot possibly be Jewish. I'll prove it. I am the killer of Jews." And thus he screamed that he would "annihilate the Jews down to the third generation," that is, down to the degree of blood relationship he was trying so desperately to prove could not possibly be his own.

PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDIES OF NAZISM

As mentioned, there are few truly psychological studies on National Socialism. Hilberg's chilling chronicle of the Nazi bureaucratic mind at its murderous work (Hilberg 1985) is not a psychological book, yet it does offer psychological insight into the splitting and isolation of feeling in the Nazi mind. The incisive studies of the Holocaust and of its historians by Dawidowicz (1975, 1976, 1981) are similarly historical rather than psychological. The Nazis not only killed six million Jews but also ruined the lives of many others. The German Jewish philosophers Walter Benjamin (1892–1940) and Theodor Wiesengrund (T. W. Adorno, 1903–69) were friends at the University of Frankfurt. In 1928 Benjamin wrote his Ph.D. thesis, "Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels" (Origins of German tragedy), which was rejected by the university. Wiesengrund taught at the University of Frankfurt for two years (1932–34), unofficially teaching Benjamin's work. Benjamin fled Germany for France in 1933. The two friends kept up a correspondence. Wiesengrund left for England in 1934, a choice that saved his life. In 1938 Wiesengrund immigrated to the United States, while Benjamin stayed in France.

When France fell to the Nazis in 1940, Benjamin fled southward, hoping to reach Spain and then the United States. He reached Port-Bou on the French-Spanish border, by the Mediterranean Sea, where he was informed by the French police that he would be handed over to the Gestapo. The desperate Benjamin killed himself. The grieving Wiesengrund thereupon changed his last name to Adorno, his mother's maiden name. Adorno became a well-known American sociologist of authoritarianism and anti-Semitism. The horrors of the Holocaust prompted his studies of the authoritarian personality (Adorno et al. 1950), as well as psychoanalytic studies of anti-Semitism (Loewenstein 1951), of the inmates of the Nazi death camps (Cohen 1953; Frankl 1959; Bettelheim 1960; and Rappaport 1968) and psychoanalytic studies of the Holocaust (Kren and Rappoport 1980; Luel and Marcus 1984).

Most psychoanalytic scholars agree that the anti-Semitism of National Socialism was an extremely pathological ideology, deriving from the primitive processes of projection and splitting. All bad aspects of the German individual and group self were split off and projected upon the Jews. Anti-Semitism and the belief in the superiority of the Germans as a *Herrenvolk*, both cornerstones of National Socialism, were a

collective paranoid illness. Let us take a closer look at the psychological aspects of National Socialist ideology and of the mass murder of the European Jews by the Nazis.

The monumental study by Adorno et al. (1950) on the structure and psychodynamics of the authoritarian personality was brought forth by the horrors of the Second World War. The scholars, some of whom had been forced by Nazi persecution to emigrate from central Europe to the United States, were able to displace and to sublimate their painful feelings about their losses, about the war, Fascism, Nazism, and Hitler into the creative and constructive field of scientific study. These scholars sought to understand and to explain how and why such an extreme, racist, fanatic, irrational, violent, destructive, and dangerous right-wing political party as the German Nationalsozialistische deutsche Arbeiterpartei (Nazi Party), had come to power in Germany and brought about a terrible catastrophe both upon Germany itself and upon the rest of the world.

There had been studies of Fascism and Nazism before and during the war, such those of as Reich (1946), Horkheimer (1936), and Fromm (1941). There had been studies of political treachery (Jones 1941) and of young Fascists (Sanford and Conrad 1944). But Adorno et al.'s postwar study was the first to combine the insights of psychoanalysis with those of social and experimental psychology. They found that those who became Nazis, who collaborated with the Nazis, and who submitted to them were characterized by inner insecurity and a longing for a domineering, aggressive, and tyrannical leader, and had "resolved" their oedipal conflict by surrendering to an authoritarian father, repressing their jealousy and their rage at him. This was often a homosexual solution, confusing sadism with sexual potency.

Freud (1911) thought that denial and projection of unconscious homosexuality produced paranoid delusions of persecution. The leadership of the Nazi Party and of its dread "security" forces, the S.A., S.D., S.S., and Gestapo, certainly showed much homosexual, obsessional, and paranoid psychopathology. The doubts and ambivalence of the obsessional patient often become the suspicions and delusions of the paranoid. Projective paranoid rage, suspicion, intrigue, plots, and murders were common among the Nazi leaders. But Adorno and his colleagues, like Freud, ignored the more powerful pre-oedipal forces that motivated the Nazi homosexuals, as well as heterosexuals.

The acronym S.A. stands for *Sturmabteilung* (Assault Division). This paramilitary body was organized by Hitler in 1921 out of disturbed, violent former members of the right-wing *Freikorps*. The storm troopers of the S.A. marched in Nazi Party rallies, protected Nazi Party meetings, and violently assaulted left-wing political rivals. From 1931 the S.A. brownshirts were led by Ernst Röhm (1887–1934), the charismatic former leader of the *Freikorps* and a notorious homosexual. Röhm amassed great personal power. From 1931 to 1934 his S.A. grew to some two million members. But Röhm provoked the envy and hatred of the German army leaders, of wealthy German industrialists, of the S.S., and of Hitler himself. In June 1934 the simmering tensions within the Nazi Party leadership boiled over. Hitler believed that Röhm and

his S.A. were about to overthrow him. The threat of losing power overwhelmed him with anxiety. On the Night of the Long Knives (29–30 June 1934), Hitler personally carried out a bloody purge of the S.A. leadership. Röhm and hundreds of S.A. leaders were summarily executed. Germany was terrorized and any remaining resistance to the Nazi regime ended.

The acronym S.S. stands for Schutzstaffel (Defense Squad). The S.S. was Hitler's dread black-uniformed private army, whose very name struck terror all over Europe. The S.S. began as Hitler's private bodyguard in 1923. An S.A. commander named Julius Schreck ("Terror") picked eight S.A. men to serve as Hitler's personal bodyguard, named Stabswache (Staff Guard). In late 1923 the Stabswache took part in Hitler's failed Beer Hall Putsch in Munich. Hitler was briefly imprisoned. In 1926 a racist *Völkischer Beobachter* (People's observer) journalist named Joseph Berchthold took over the bodyguard, renamed Schutzstaffel. Hitler proclaimed the S.S. his "elite organization." In 1927 Berchthold was replaced by Erhard Heiden, "a former police stool pigeon of unsavory reputation" (Shirer 1960:121) who adopted the title of Reichsführer S.S. After 1929 the Reichsführer S.S. was a disturbed racist fanatic named Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945). By 1933 the S.S. membership had grown to fifty thousand. Himmler personally screened applicants, seeking to recruit the "elite" of the German people. It was the S.S. that ran the Nazi death camps and gassed to death millions of Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, and other "enemies."

Kren and Rappoport (1980:39) believed that "study of the S.S. leads one into a bottomless pit of contradictions . . . rational study of the S.S. seems impossible because the organization was never really based upon consistent principles defining either its structure or its function." The S.S. was characterized by paradox, diversity, contradiction, disunity, and irrationality. Kren and Rappoport (1980:40) thought that only two methods were appropriate for understanding the S.S.: the Alice in Wonderland principle and the psychiatric model. The first principle suggests that in the world of the S.S., everything was the reverse of the normal world. A man was killed not because there was a reason to kill him, but because the S.S. found no reason to keep him alive. The second principle suggests that only psychiatry (and psychoanalysis) can really explain the gross irrationality of the S.S. The empty slogans in the Nazi death camps such as *Arbeit macht frei* (Work Makes Free) and *Jedem das Seine* (To Each His Own) were similarly irrational.

Heinrich Himmler was the supreme S.S. commander as well as the chief of the Gestapo and all German police forces. Loewenberg (1971) explored the unhappy circumstances of Himmler's early life and diagnosed Himmler as schizoid and obsessional. Dicks (1972) found that the S.S. killers suffered from unhappy childhoods, stern fathers, and corporal punishment. Waite (1977:24) thought that the sadistic S.S. men were intentionally inured to suffering, blood, and death:

In Hitler's Germany, medical doctors of the SS were required to perform, or to watch, "medical experiments" such as skin grafts and abdominal surgery on the unanesthetized bodies of Jewish or Polish "patients." Other initiates of the SS were forced to kill

Jewish babies before the eyes of their mothers. Hitler's theory was that after members of his SS had participated in such activity, they would feel drawn together by the bonds of a common experience. The technique seems to have worked rather well.

The German acronym S.D. stands for Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service). The S.D. struck terror in all Germans (Shirer 1960:273). It was set up by Heinrich Himmler in 1932 as the intelligence wing of the S.S. Its leader was Reinhard Tristan Eugen Heydrich (1904–42), “an arrogant, icy and ruthless character” (ibid.). Heydrich was a murderous, paranoid man known as “Hangman Heydrich.” He cast his net of informers all over Germany, spying on every German and reporting the most casual remarks to S.D. headquarters. People no longer spoke freely. Anyone nearby could be an S.D. informer. The obsessional psychopathology of the S.D. spies was remarkable. “Among these professional spies there was always the bizarre atmosphere of pedantry. They had a grotesque interest in such side lines as the study of Teutonic archeology, the skulls of the inferior races and the eugenics of a master race” (ibid.). After murdering millions, the thirty-eight-year-old Heydrich was assassinated in Prague by bomb-throwing Czech nationalists in 1942. The Nazis took terrible vengeance, killing thousands of Czechs and Jews. The entire male population of the Czech village of Lidice was executed. The women and children were carted off to the death camps. Lidice itself was wiped off the face of the earth.

DENYING THE HOLOCAUST

We tend to avoid thinking about the Holocaust, feeling the grief of this terrible loss and the rage at those who brought it about. For many years after the Holocaust, the specific psychological problems of the survivors were not dealt with by Israeli professionals. This is known as denial.

I shall permit myself here another personal digression. As mentioned, my father was born in Germany in 1913, my mother in Poland in 1916. Both immigrated to Palestine during the first three years of Hitler's rule (1933–35). My paternal grandfather was interned at Buchenwald but was released before the *Führerbefehl* on the “final solution,” when Germany was still letting its Jews leave, and my grandfather came to Palestine as well. My father's family survived, although *his* father became seriously ill. Most of my mother's family was killed in the Lodz Ghetto of Poland or in the death camps around the time of my birth in 1943. My mother lost both her parents and six out of her nine siblings. This only became clear to her after the war, when her younger surviving brother arrived in Palestine. In 1957, as an adolescent boy, I saw my first Holocaust film, a documentary made by the French director Alain Resnais and entitled *Nuit et Brouillard* (*Night and Fog*, 1955). The title is the French rendering of Hitler's Nacht- und Nebel-Erlass (Night and Fog Decree), issued on 7 December 1941. Its purpose was to seize persons deemed to endanger German security, who were not to be immediately executed, and to make them vanish without a

trace into the "night and fog" of Germany (Shirer 1960:957). No information was given to the vanished person's family or friends. The S.D. was charged with carrying out this decree.

Halliwell (1989:725) called *Nuit et Brouillard* "an account of the concentration camp at Auschwitz, contrasted with the peaceful surroundings ten years after its abandonment. An official film of great dignity." To me *Nuit et Brouillard* was horrifying. For the first time in my life, I saw the inmates at Auschwitz led into gas chambers and let out dead, the corpses of women and children piled up before the crematoria, Jews being shot to death and dumped into mass graves they had just dug themselves. This film traumatized me. For several nights following this film I could barely sleep. The horrors kept coming back to me. After a while I calmed down. For a long time thereafter, though, I avoided contact with Holocaust literature and films. It was not until many years later, when I became a psychotherapist and saw Holocaust survivors, that I actively read about the subject.

Those who have lost their dearest ones tend to avoid feeling grief over their losses. The good doctor called in to heal Lady Macbeth in Shakespeare's play says, "My mind she has mated, and amaz'd my sight. I think, but dare not speak" (*Macbeth* 5.1). It may be more accurate to say that he dares not *feel*. Many German doctors became Nazis and took part in the mass extermination of the Jews without feeling what they were doing. These Nazi physicians were studied by Lifton (1986). Lifton (1967:32) called the processes of ceasing to feel "psychic closing-off" and "psychic numbing," which he distinguishes from unconscious denial (Fenichel 1946:144). However that may be, the pain of facing the unspeakable horrors of the Holocaust is so great that we would deny it ever happened, not wish to think about it, and never want to feel it. We deny both the external reality and our own feelings.

THE WARS OF THE GERMAN AND JEWISH HISTORIANS

It is also very unpleasant for Germans to think of what they or their parents have done to the Jews. Guilt feelings and shame are very painful, and pain leads to denial. During the late 1980s and early 1990s a *Historiker-Streit* (historians' fight) erupted in Germany after the German historian Emil Nolte claimed that the Holocaust was not unprecedented or unusual, and that Germany had suffered no less than the Jews. Nolte felt that the Nazi Holocaust was less horrific than Stalin's purges in the Soviet Union. The German sociologist Jürgen Habermas severely criticized Nolte's views, and the battle was joined by other German scholars.

In America and France, revisionist "historians" like Bill Grimstad (1979), Arthur Butz (1985), Robert Faurisson (1985), and David Irving (1977) have denied not only the enormity but the very occurrence of the German genocidal actions. The fact that millions of Jews were seized, deported to camps, abused, tortured, starved, shot dead, and gassed to death and that their corpses were burned to ashes is being denied by an entire school of German history. Bradley Smith (1978) has called these efforts "alibis

for the inhumanities.” These non-German “scholars” seem to outdo their German colleagues in denying historical reality.

There were two aspects to the German destruction of the European Jews. One is the horrors perpetrated upon the Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators; the other is the almost total absence of organized or individual resistance of the Jews to their mass extermination. The Jewish partisans and ghetto fighters who did resist the Nazis numbered several tens of thousands. Those who offered no resistance were millions. In biblical language one might say that the Jews were led like lambs to the slaughter (Isa. 53:7). This is a fact that Jewish historians find unbearable. It is a deep blow to the collective Jewish narcissism that underlies their life’s work. Some cannot understand it. Emanuel Ringelblum, the tragic Jewish historian of the Warsaw Ghetto who survived the brutal German quelling of the Warsaw ghetto uprising in 1943 only to be murdered by the S.S. in 1944, cried out in October 1942:

Why didn’t we resist when they began to resettle 300,000 Jews from Warsaw? Why did we allow ourselves to be led like sheep to the slaughter? Why did everything come so easy to the enemy? Why didn’t the hangman suffer a single casualty? Why could 50 SS men (some people say even fewer), with the help of some 200 Ukrainian guards and an equal number of Letts, carry out the operation so smoothly? (Ringelblum 1958:310)

In 1952 the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research published Ringelblum’s original Yiddish-language diary in censored, tendentious, and mutilated form, minimizing Polish anti-Semitism and collaboration with the Nazis and exaggerating Polish acts of kindness to Jews (Dawidowicz 1981:100–101, 169–70). The English version of 1958 was a translation of the censored Yiddish version of 1952. Ringelblum’s anguished cry nonetheless survived the censors. Why indeed were the Jews led like lambs to the slaughter? Hilberg (1985:22–23) pointed out that the unpleasant fact that Jewish passivity, dependence, and helplessness in the face of persecution had ancient roots. His explanation is worth quoting in full:

The Jewish posture in the face of destruction was not shaped on the spur of the moment. The Jews of Europe had been confronted by force many times in their history, and during these encounters they had evolved a set of reactions that were to remain remarkably constant over the centuries. . . . Preventive attack, armed resistance, and revenge were almost completely absent in Jewish exilic history. The last, and only, major revolt took place in the Roman Empire at the beginning of the second century, when the Jews were still living in compact settlements in the eastern Mediterranean region and when they were still envisaging an independent Judea. During the Middle Ages the Jewish communities no longer contemplated battle. The medieval Hebrew poets did not celebrate the martial arts. The Jews of Europe were placing themselves under the protection of constituted authority. This reliance was legal, physical, and psychological. The psychological dependence of European Jews is illustrated by the following incident. In 1096, when the Jewish communities of Germany were warned by letters and emissaries from France that the Crusaders were coming to kill them, the Jewish leadership of Mainz replied: “We are greatly concerned with your well-being.

As for ourselves, there is no cause for fear. We have not heard a word of such matters, nor has it been hinted that our lives are threatened by the sword." Soon the Crusaders came, "battalion after battalion," and struck at the Jews of Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and other German cities. More than eight hundred years later, a president of the Jewish council in Holland was to say: "The fact that the Germans had perpetrated atrocities against Polish Jews was no reason for thinking that they behave [*sic*] in the same way toward Dutch Jews, firstly because the Germans had always held Polish Jews in disrepute, and secondly because in the Netherlands, unlike Poland, they had to sit up and take notice of public opinion." In the Netherlands, as in Poland to the east, Jewry was subjected to annihilation. For the Diaspora Jews, acts of armed opposition had become isolated and episodic. Force was not to be a Jewish strategy again until Jewish life was reconstituted in a Jewish state. During the catastrophe of 1933–45 the instances of opposition were small and few. Above all, they were, whenever and wherever they occurred, actions of last (never first) resort.

In other words, Hilberg believed that the Jewish communities facing slaughter in Europe were emotionally unable to face the horrible reality of what the Christians were about to do to them. They repeatedly denied the reality of what was about to happen to them, and perished as a result of their own denial.

Bettelheim (1960) described the regression, passivity, denial, and other psychological defenses that enabled the inmates of the Nazi death camps to survive their savage traumatization by their captors before they were finally murdered. Arendt (1964) described what she called the "banality of evil" and the tragedy of what happened on all sides. Taking a psychological rather than a judgmental posture, Arendt, Bettelheim, and Hilberg sought to explain the tragic nonresistance of the Jews to the Nazis, not to criticize or attack it. Some Jewish historians nonetheless read "savage criticisms" of the Jews of the Holocaust period into Arendt's, Hilberg's, and Bettelheim's work and felt compelled to "defend" the murdered Jews against these imaginary "attacks." The projections, distortions, and misperceptions in the "wars of the Jewish historians" over the Holocaust are fascinating. Dawidowicz (1981:132, 178 n. 16) sharply attacked Bettelheim and Hilberg, who were not historians:

The chief polemicists now were not participants of the underground movements, but American scholars whose proficiency was not in Jewish studies and whose training was not in history. They lacked altogether that necessary empathy with which a historian reconstructs a period of the past, an empathy even more necessary to understand that terrible period of the Holocaust. In their works, these writers charged the murdered European Jews with passivity under German terror and attributed the failure of the Jews to prevail over the Germans not to lack of Jewish resources, but to ingrained Jewish psychology and to age-old Jewish cultural traditions. . . . One of the two most controversial works was by Bruno Bettelheim, a psychologist and psychoanalyst, the other by Raul Hilberg, a political scientist. Neither was familiar with Jewish history or Jewish traditional life and culture. Neither understood the historian's craft in terms of critical analysis of sources and exploration of complex interacting factors. Bettelheim's book . . . criticized the behavior of Jews as passive and regressive. Hilberg's book . . . savagely charged the European Jews with passivity and, in profound ignorance of Jewish history, blamed "Jewish ghetto history," that is, Diaspora history, for that passivity.

Biale (1986:142) blamed Arendt for having "castigated the Jews of the Holocaust period for their lack of resistance and believed that this was a consequence of the apolitical character of earlier Jewish history." Curiously, Dawidowicz (1981:178 n. 16) had *defended* Arendt:

Arendt was mistakenly accused of holding views similar to Hilberg's on resistance. She did not blame the Jews for lack of resistance, declaring that "no non-Jewish group or people had behaved differently."

But neither had Bettelheim or Hilberg "blamed" the Jews for their nonresistance. They had tried to *explain* it, not condemn it. Dawidowicz had mistakenly accused Hilberg and Bettelheim. Attacks and criticisms are often in the eye of the beholder. One projects one's own aggressive feelings and one's guilt feelings upon one's colleagues. Bauer (1973) published a book entitled *They Chose Life* to prove that many Jews did resist the Nazis. Bauer took his title from a biblical verse (Deut. 30:19). The incensed Dawidowicz (1981:178 n. 20) felt that the very title of Bauer's book "is an offense against the memory of the murdered Jews in its implication that those who did not engage in armed resistance to the Germans chose death over life." To the key question of whether or why the Jews went like lambs to the slaughter, Dawidowicz (1981:134-35) offered a counterquestion: "To what extent was resistance possible, given the overpowering might of German military forces and the savage terror of the S.S.? To what extent could the Jews offer significant resistance, given the physical conditions of their incarceration and oppression and the political conditions of their powerlessness?" Biale (1986:143) agreed with Dawidowicz and attacked both Hilberg and Arendt:

For the Jews of the Holocaust, especially in those countries ruled directly by the Germans, such as Poland, the conquered areas of Soviet Russia, Holland, and Germany itself, the system allowed virtually no escape: the vast majority were killed, quite regardless of whether or not they suffered from a "Diaspora mentality." If the Jews failed to believe the reports of the fate the Germans had planned for them, it was less a result of a historical mentality of passivity than of a thoroughly modern faith in the state, a faith they shared with all other people.

The psychological approach to history, and to humanity, seeks to *understand* and to explain, *not to assign blame*. The historian's "transference" in general, and in the case of the Holocaust in particular, is very powerful (Loewenberg 1985b).

THE ISRAELI AMBIVALENCE ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

Many Israeli Jewish historians, especially Holocaust survivors, cannot face the bitter truth about the nonresistance of their European brethren in the face of mass annihilation. It deeply wounds their self-esteem (narcissism). Indeed, the Israeli Jewish people as a whole denies the fact that its European brethren were led like lambs to the slaughter.

We Israelis have a day in our calendar called Yom haZikaron laShoah velaGevurah (Holocaust and Heroism Memorial Day). It is neither a day of fast nor a day of rest. The Holocaust is commemorated by the sounding of sirens for a couple of minutes, during which everybody is supposed to reflect on the Shoah. The Warsaw Ghetto uprising, the Treblinka death camp uprising, and other isolated acts of Jewish "heroism" during the Holocaust are repeatedly discussed in the schools and in the media, magnified out of proportion to their real significance.

We Israelis also have a Holocaust memorial museum and research institute on Mount Herzl in Jerusalem called Yad vaShem, which literally means "Memorial and Name." Here the names of the millions of victims are recorded and research into the history of the Shoah is conducted. Important dignitaries, especially German ones, who come to Israel for the first time, are first taken to Yad vaShem. In 1994 many Israelis were scandalized when the visiting Egyptian foreign minister refused to follow this ritual.

The unconscious purpose of these rituals is to deny that six million European Jews were led like lambs to the slaughter and to make ourselves believe that Jewish resistance and "heroism" in the face of the Nazi murder machine was widespread. Bauer (1973) would have us believe so. Hilberg (1986:17) observed the deep ambivalence of the aging generation of European-born Israeli Jewish historians, such as Ysrael Gutman and Yitzhak Arad, who have unconsciously or implicitly accepted the idea that there was very little Jewish resistance to the Nazis during the Holocaust, while at the same time continuing to think and to write as if there had been great Jewish resistance (Gutman 1982, 1989; Arad 1990). Hilberg's incisive and moving comments are worth quoting in full:

I think the issue of Jewish nonresistance is dying because something is happening now. In Israel itself the people who are in charge of the research apparatus and whose main business is the Holocaust belong to a different generation from those who preceded them. I am struck by the fact that an awful lot of people concerned with writing about and dealing in some aspect or another with Holocaust matters were born in the single year 1926. This is a generation that just saw the war, some more than others, but for all of them, it is a central fixed point in their lives. But they're sober because they were not leaders and so they didn't have to defend anybody, they didn't have to defend the Jewish leadership, they didn't have to defend the councils, they didn't have to defend anybody. Just the opposite. Ysrael Gutman was a fighter in the Warsaw ghetto and Yitzhak Arad fought as a partisan. Even Rachel Auerbach, who was the secretary of Ringelblum, told me once that she's against all this *Gleichschaltung* [equating]. She said: "The people who really resisted are not like everybody else." There were a handful of people who "really resisted," meaning shot a rifle or carried a message or did something very tangible. These people think it is absurd to approach victims as though every victim is like every other victim, all martyrs and heroes, everybody resisting by simply living, eating, discussing things, operating schools, healing the sick. They don't buy this reasoning. Yitzhak Arad came up to me one day in Jerusalem back in 1979 and asked me to go for a walk with him. He said he wanted to test a theory on me. He was writing a book about the death camps, Sobibor, Treblinka, Belzec, and there he deals with the uprisings. You can't write a book about anything in Israel without lead-

ing to the uprisings. That's the climax, so that if you write a book about the Warsaw Ghetto the climax is the revolt, if you write a book about Treblinka the climax is the revolt, if you write about Sobibor the climax is the revolt. But there's a twist. The inmates in the death camps waited and waited and then they discovered in 1943, particularly in Treblinka, that the transports were thinning out, that they weren't coming any more because everybody had already been gassed. And then that handful of people, these thousand people that were kept as an inmate force, went hungry because the only way they fed themselves was from the supplies brought in by the deportees about to be gassed. They feared that if additional trains, which they serviced, were not going to arrive, their turn would come. And then they revolted. Now Arad said, "What is your opinion? Does this comport with what you have concluded?" And I said to myself: "Now that is really very interesting. Not only is this man saying mouthfull, volumesfull about nonresistance, but now he is explaining what the resistance was all about when it took place!" Who is this man? He is the director of Yad Vashem. What else was he? He was a partisan. He joined the partisans at age sixteen, he fought in the [Arab-Israeli] war of 1948. He is a typical general. He takes you on a tour and says, "See that bridge? I lost five men taking this bridge in 1948." He's been through all the wars. So he doesn't buy the old arguments. How can you talk to a general in terms of resistance when you leave out what he understands resistance to be? That's why I think the argument has died. I [shall] give you another example with Ysrael Gutman who was a fighter in the Warsaw ghetto. If you look at the old books about the Warsaw Ghetto fighting, the old ones, you'll often see a statistic that the Jews killed a thousand Germans in the ghetto, maybe more. Statistics are a subject in and of themselves. We know who fought in the Warsaw Ghetto battle. We know how much equipment was available. I know how much ammunition can be shot away before one hits a dog, let alone a man. When I look at the Stroop Report of the Warsaw Ghetto battle, I see he begins the report with a casualty list, with the names of his dead and wounded men. He doesn't hide his losses—quite the opposite—he emphasizes them. Sixteen people killed, he says, eighty-five wounded, that's a lot. See what we had to endure with these Jews! Now you look at Gutman's book. Does he mention 3,000 people killed? Not at all. One thousand? Not at all. No figure. But he does say how few were the defenders. And why? He himself fought there. If everybody is supposed to have been fighting, where does that leave him? He really fought. It's as simple as that. Moreover, this man had a son who was killed in the Israeli army, and the book is dedicated to his memory.

Indeed, the personal emotions of the Israeli Jewish historian who survived the Holocaust, whose family of origin was killed by the Nazis, and whose son was killed in his people's wars are so powerful that his entire way of looking at his people's history is colored by his traumatic experiences. He is out to prove an emotional thesis, to ward off guilt feelings, or to protect his self-esteem. His view of history is bound to be affected.

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Israeli Paradoxes

The modern state of Israel is a Jewish island in a sea of Arab countries. Loewenberg (1994:8) called Israel, the United States, Brazil, and Indonesia "synthetic nations." He felt that these countries were "invented nations, each with an assertive self-worshipping and aggrandizing nationalism, and each worthy of special attention, study, and interest" (Loewenberg 1994:8–9). Indeed, tiny Israel has excited a great deal of attention and interest. The scholarly and popular literature on modern Israel is vast. Hundreds of volumes and thousands of articles can be found in any good university library dealing with the modern Jewish state. There are dozens of periodicals in many languages, both inside and outside Israel, that deal with Israeli life. Most of this literature deals with Israel's history, politics, economics, society, and military problems. There is little scholarly literature on Israel's psychological history. Volumes have been filled with the stormy political affairs and warfare in Israel's forty-six-year history as a modern state. I shall focus here on the psychological conflicts and contradictions inherent in Israel's social and political structure.

From 1920 to 1948, after each violent flare-up of the Palestinian Jewish-Arab conflict, the British government and other organizations sent commissions of inquiry to Palestine, all of which failed to resolve the Arab-Jewish conflict. The British royal commissions were chaired, among others, by Sir Walter Shaw (1929–30), Lord Robert Peel (1936–37), and Sir John Charles Woodhead (1938). In 1945, after World War II and the Holocaust, the United Nations came into being in San Francisco. From 1945 to 1948 hundreds of thousands of Jewish survivors of the Nazi death camps who had been placed in "displaced persons" camps in Europe attempted to reach Palestine. But British foreign secretary Ernest Bevin (1881–1951) ordered the British troops in Palestine to intercept their ships and deport them to Cyprus, or turn them back to Europe. The best-known case was that of the ship *Exodus* (1947), carrying thousands of survivors and refugees.

The bloody Palestinian Jewish terrorist acts of 1946 and the harsh British reprisals paved the road for U.N. intervention. An Anglo-American Commission that had seen the Jewish survivors being turned away by the British troops recommended a U.N. Trusteeship over Palestine, the repeal of the British government's third White Paper on Palestine, and the immediate immigration of one hundred thousand Holocaust survivors to Palestine. On 29 November 1947, the U.N. General Assembly voted

to partition Palestine into two states, a Jewish one and an Arab one. The Palestinian Jews were jubilant, but the Palestinian Arabs furiously turned down the partition resolution and began a war on the Jews to prevent the creation of the Jewish state, which was nevertheless proclaimed on 14 May 1948. This paved the way for forty-five years of Arab-Israeli warfare.

When the British left Palestine in May 1948, the first Arab-Israeli war (1947–49) was already being fought. It was a bloody conflict. Some six thousand Israeli Jews lost their lives; many more were wounded, physically and emotionally. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs lost their homes and lived in squalid refugee camps in Trans-Jordan, which annexed the Arab “West Bank” of the Jordan River, in Lebanon, and elsewhere. Israeli Jewish historians have claimed that the Arab refugees left their homes voluntarily, responding to calls from the invading Arab countries, who hoped to throw the Palestinian Jews into the sea and repatriate the Palestinian Arabs. The “new Israeli historians” have challenged that view (Morris 1988; Pappe 1988; Shlaim 1988), provoking furious outcries from the “old” historians. This Israeli historians’ controversy has raged for several years.

The Israeli Jews have called the 1948 war by three different names: the war of *atsmauth* (independence), the war of *shikhrur* (liberation), and the war of *komemiyuth* (uprightness). These names indicated the painful prewar feelings of dependence, subjection, and downtroddenness. The Arabs called it the great catastrophe of 1948, and hated Israel. The Israeli Jews were ecstatic. After two thousand years of “exile” and “diaspora” they felt they had found their long-lost motherland and once more become the ancient Hebrews and Maccabees. Like all fantasies, this one too was to end with a rude awakening.

JEWISH RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM

The new Jewish state of Israel had a Jewish population of about six hundred thousand and a large Arab minority. During its first five years (1948–53) the new Israel absorbed large numbers of mostly poor and uneducated Jewish immigrants from the Islamic countries of the Middle East and North Africa, vastly changing the country’s formerly European demography and culture. From 1948 to 1993 Israel was at war with its Arab enemies, both within and without. During those forty-five years the Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs denied each other’s political and national reality (Falk 1992; Oz 1993).

The great stress of the Arab-Israeli wars has generated fantasies that are lived out as realities. Religion and nationality became confused with each other. The Israeli Arab Druze community is a case in point. The Druze are an important Muslim Arab sect in Syria, Lebanon, and Israel. In 1947–48 many Palestinian Druze initially fought with their fellow Arabs against Israel. After Israel’s victory in 1949 the Israeli Druze leaders chose to side with the Israeli Jews against their fellow Arabs. Curiously, in Bosnia and Israel, religion and nationality were given new Orwellian meanings.

Although the only thing that separated them from the Serbs and Croats was their religion, the Bosnian Muslims, mostly Islamized Slavs and Turks, were defined as an *ethnic* rather than a religious group. Flying in the face of reality, the Israelis similarly defined the Druze as a nationality rather than as a religion. The Arab Druze accepted this fiction for decades, denying their Arab ethnicity. While Muslim and Christian Arabs are not drafted into the Israeli army and police, the Druze Arabs are. It was only after the Palestinian Arab *intifada* (uprising) began in late 1987, and especially after the Israeli-Palestinian accords of September 1993, that some Israeli Druze openly began to identify themselves again as Arabs, and some Israeli Arabs as Palestinians.

It was not only the Israeli Druze who denied their ethnic identity. The Israeli Jews themselves had a serious problem with their own ethnic and religious identity. Was being a Jew a matter of religion or nationality? The creation of a Jewish state named Israel was an outcome of a myopic Zionist ideology that saw all the world's Jews as having been "exiled" from the Land of Israel and living in a Jewish "diaspora." Consequently every Jew in the world could now "return" to Israel and receive its citizenship. The political system adopted by the new state, most of whose founders had come from Europe, was that of a European parliamentary democracy. The 120-member parliament was named the Knesseth. The name harked back to Persian rule in Judaea in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., when the Great Knesseth had been the supreme legislature of the Jews. In 1950 the Knesseth enacted the Israeli Law of Return, which granted Jews automatic residence and citizenship rights in Israel. This naturally raised the legal question of who was a Jew.

The answer to this question was settled by the paradoxical realities of Israeli politics. Although most Israelis were secular, there was a large Orthodox Jewish minority. Because of the fractiousness of Israeli politics, no single Israeli political party was large enough to form a government. The party that won the plurality of votes was forced to form a coalition with the religious parties, which exacted a religious definition. Because, as Strindberg and Tolstoy pointed out, paternity is not always easy to ascertain, a Jew was defined as a person who was born of a Jewish mother or had converted to Judaism in accordance with the Halakah (Orthodox Jewish law). Not only were the strict Jewish dietary laws enforced countrywide, so that only kosher food could be imported and sold, but all matters of birth, death, marriage, divorce, personal status, religion, and nationality were placed under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox-controlled Interior Ministry and the Orthodox rabbinical courts. Conservative and Reform Judaism have no official status in modern Israel.

The new Israeli Jewish state kept many of the trappings of British colonial rule in Palestine: military government over the Israeli Arabs, the supremacy of the national government over local government, emergency regulations restricting citizens' movements, foreign currency controls, and other abridgments of civil rights. Over the next forty-five years some of these were eased, but many remain. Compulsory military service was universal for men and women from age eighteen to twenty-one, as well as another fifty-four years of reserve duty. Every Israeli citizen and resident had to carry an identity card, in which his nationality and religion were inscribed. The Jews

were defined as a nationality rather than a religion, as were the Druze. The adoption of the Orthodox Jewish definition of Judaism in Israeli law excluded immigrants to Israel who had been born of Jewish fathers and non-Jewish mothers, who had Jewish mothers but had converted to Christianity, or who had converted to Judaism under Conservative and Reform rabbis. Some of these had been victims of Nazi persecution, some had saved Jews during the Holocaust, and some had served in the Israeli army. These people were denied Israeli citizenship and even residence by the Interior Ministry. They were denied registration as Jews in the ministry's rolls. Some appealed to the Israeli Supreme Court.

East and West are psychogeographical terms. Australia, lying southeast of the Asian Far East, is considered a "Western" country. Throughout its existence as a modern state, Israel, an Asian country, has lived in a fantasy of belonging to Europe. Israel has been an affiliate member of the European Economic Community and of the European Union, has traded with Europe more than with any other continent, has been a member of the European Broadcasting Union and of the various European sports associations, has taken part in the annual European sports tournaments and EuroVision song contests, has received the European editions of major international newspapers and magazines, and in other ways has pretended that it was in Europe.

While in the "West" the term "Oriental" means Far Eastern, in Israel it means Arab or Middle Eastern. One of the most painful Israeli social and political issues has been the strained relations between Jewish immigrants from "Western" countries and those from Arab, Muslim, and other "Oriental" lands. The issue became acute after millions of mostly poor and uneducated Jews from the Arab and Muslim lands migrated to the newly created Jewish state of Israel in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Most of the wealthy and educated Jews from these Muslim countries migrated to France, Britain, the United States, Canada, and other "Western" countries. The "Asiatic" immigrants, as the European-born Israeli community called them, aroused deep anxieties that produced hostility, lack of empathy, discrimination, and lack of understanding. Tragically, the "primitive" immigrants' patriarchal family structure often crumbled in Israel's relatively free society. Sons rebelled against their fathers, who reacted to their loss of authority and status by drinking, violence, or both. Crime, drugs and prostitution became endemic in these "Oriental" communities. The large majority of Israel's prison inmate population comes from these families.

The self-image of the Israeli Jews from Arab and Muslim countries was damaged. Israel was at war with the Arab world, the Arabs were denigrated and despised, and being labeled Arabs was very painful to these Jews. Therefore, while Israeli Jews from Germany call themselves German Jews, and Israeli Jews from Turkey call themselves Turkish Jews, Israeli Jews from Arab countries never call themselves Arab Jews, only Oriental or Sephardi Jews. Even if their mother tongue is Arabic and their food typically Arab food, they refuse to call themselves Arabs. The Iraqi Jews in Israel still call themselves the "Babylonian" Jews. The Moroccan Jews in Israel call themselves the Mughrabi (Western) community, because they come from the Arab Maghreb (West) in North Africa, yet are considered "Oriental" Jews. To make matters

more absurd, "Western" Israeli Jews are collectively called Ashkenazi, while "Oriental" Jews are identified as Sephardi. Jewish-owned restaurants serving Arab food in Israel are always called "Oriental" restaurants, never Arab restaurants. Arab-hatred among "Oriental" Jews is significantly more extreme than among "Ashkenazi" Jews. This can be understood as the unconscious externalization of the bad self-image upon the Arabs.

During those forty-five years, the highly heterogeneous Jewish Israeli society made great military, economic, social, cultural, and political progress. It integrated millions of immigrants from widely differing cultures. Some Israeli scientists and scholars have won international renown. Israel has moved from being a Third World country to being one of the world's most progressive. But the Israeli Jews still refused to face reality. We insisted that all the world's Jews not only belonged in Israel but would eventually settle there. We kept thinking of ourselves and our country as the center of the world. We lived in a garrison state and believed that the Arab hostility to us would go away when the Arabs saw reality. Instead, several bloody wars were fought between the Arabs and the Israelis, especially those of 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, and 1982. The number of Israelis killed in the wars reached twenty thousand.

Each Arab-Israeli war gave rise to striking Israeli fantasies. The names we Israelis gave to our wars with the Arabs betray our fantasies. When Israel seized the Sinai peninsula from Egypt during the Suez war of October–November 1956, we Israelis were ecstatic. We believed we had "returned" to Mount Sinai, where our Jewish Torah had been given to Moses 3300 years earlier. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion ecstatically proclaimed the Third Kingdom of Israel. Songs were written about the miraculous return, victory albums were published, memorials were erected. Reality hit Israel in the face when international pressure forced it to withdraw from the Sinai shortly thereafter. During the Six-Day War of 1967 Israel not only recaptured the Sinai but also the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. We Israelis now believed in our omnipotence. The West Bank, populated by over a million Palestinian Arabs, was called Yehudah and Shomron (Judaea and Samaria), the Hebrew names for the ancient biblical lands that were populated by Jews.

It took the Yom Kippur War of 1973 to shake us out of our illusions. When the Israeli troops repelled the Egyptians at one point on the Suez Canal, crossed the canal, and established a foothold on its west bank, the Israelis called that part of Egypt "Africa" and "the Land of Goshen." The biblical land of Goshen, in which the Jews had lived, was on the Nile River, not on the Suez Canal, which of course had not existed. Nonetheless we insisted on calling that small area of "Africa" the Land of Goshen. We had "returned" to our ancestral land. At first the name of the War of the Day of Judgment was given to the war, implying that we would pass judgment on our enemies. That name fell by the wayside. The name "Yom Kippur War" not only referred to the day on which the war broke out, but also, unconsciously, to our need to atone for our sins of narcissistic grandiosity. The Lebanon War of 1982 was given the

Orwellian name of the "War of the Peace of the Galilee" because its stated aim was to give the Galilee respite from murderous Arab attacks. Only years later was the name changed to the War of Lebanon.

The unconscious obstacles to an Arab-Israeli reconciliation were deep (Falk 1992). After five bloody Arab-Israeli wars from 1948 to 1982 and six bloody years of Palestinian Arab *intifada* against Israeli rule from 1987 to 1993, and after several months of secret negotiations in Norway, the Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin (b. 1922) and the Palestinian leader Rahman Abd ar-Rauf al-Qudwah (b. 1929), better known as Yasr Arafat, agreed to recognize each other and create a Palestinian political entity in the Gaza Strip and Jericho, leading to Palestinian autonomy and eventually to a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

What were the psychological changes that made such an agreement possible? I believe it was the process of mourning that enabled Rabin and Arafat, and more generally the Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs, to come to terms. It was only through the gradual acceptance of and reconciliation to their losses that both sides could recognize each other. Each group had to accept the painful losses of territory, sovereignty, and control that went with mutual recognition. The breakup of the Soviet Union and the Gulf War of 1991 helped this process along. So no doubt did U.S. pressure and promises of financial support. But the most important change was the acceptance of painful reality after going through the mourning process. As I write these concluding words, in 1995, Israel and the Palestinians have signed yet another interim agreement, but Syria and Lebanon have yet to sign a formal peace treaty with Israel; so, for that matter, do the Palestinians. I believe they will, but the dislocation of the Israeli settlers from the West Bank and Golan Heights will be painful.

There were several dramatic events in Israel and Palestine in 1994: the tragic massacre of thirty Palestinian Muslim Arabs in Hebron's Cave of the Patriarchs by an unhappy American Jewish physician who had immigrated to Israel; the signing of the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty; and the suicide-killing of twenty Israeli Jews on a Tel Aviv bus by a fundamentalist Muslim Palestinian Arab terrorist. When the American Jewish physician was in Brooklyn he wrote a pacifist essay saying that God's greatest commandment was "Thou shalt not kill." Nonetheless he settled in "The Land of Israel" seething with righteous rage against the Arabs and wound up killing thirty of them at prayer before being killed by the enraged survivors. The Muslim Palestinian Arab terrorist who killed himself along with his Israeli Jewish victims on the bus was no less fanatical. He truly believed that by so doing he would become a hallowed Muslim martyr and spend his afterlife in Allah's heaven.

In 1995 there were more suicide bombings by fanatical Muslim Arabs, but also the signing of another Israeli-Palestinian accord. Israeli Jews are still arguing whether these tragedies will destroy the chances for peace or enhance them, while the rest of the world's Jews are assimilating into their non-Jewish environments and becoming less Jewish. Some Israelis complain that the American Jews have a superficial knowledge of their Judaism; but these Israelis do not think that to the American Jews, their

Judaism is not nearly as important as it is to the Israelis, or that their own national Jewish pride may be defensive. Modern Israel was a fantasy that became a reality. The price for living in that fantasy has been high. Perhaps now, if peace with the Arabs does become a reality, we Israelis will begin to live normally and let the rest of the world's Jews take care of their own Judaism and be whatever kind of Jews they wish.

On 4 November 1995 the seventy-three-year-old Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin (1922–95), was assassinated by a twenty-five-year-old man named Yigal Amir, a fanatical right-wing and Orthodox Israeli Jewish law student, who wanted to stop the peace process and hated Rabin for handing the sacred “Land of Israel” to the Arabs. The tragedy was both that of the murdered peacemaker and his unhappy murderer. When Rabin was a teenager, he had lost his hard, domineering mother; he spent his entire adult life trying to save his idealized mother, the state of Israel, from destruction, by waging war against her enemies; in his final years, he tried to save her by waging peace, winning the Nobel Peace Prize. Rabin's murderer, who likewise unconsciously transferred his feelings from his mother to his motherland, felt that Rabin was dismembering his sacred motherland by giving parts of her away to the enemy. After the murder, we mourned our loss of our Great Good Father. To console ourselves, some of us hoped that Rabin's death would advance the cause of peace, and that the tragic Arab-Israeli conflict, which had claimed so many victims, would become the last tragedy of Jewish history.

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